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THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

Its Antiquities, Symbols, Constitutions, Customs, Etc.

Embracing an Investigation of the Records of the Organisations of the Fraternity in England, Scotland, Ireland, British Colonies, France, Germany, and the United States.

Derived from Official Sources.

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VOLUME III.

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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF FREEMASONRY.

CHAPTER XXI.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND—1814-85.

BY the Union of the two English Societies a great work was accomplished, although the terms on which it was effected, left many things to be desired. "Neither the English writer nor the English reader," it has been observed with some justice, "can keep clear from the egotistical insular tendency to look upon England as the central point of the whole system of events in this wide world." Animated by this proclivity, our native historians have too rashly assumed that the termination of the Great Schism—which restored peace and concord to the English Craft—has been as favourably criticised by foreign writers as by themselves. Not indeed that the authors of our text-books are alone in this misapprehension. The fact that Masonry has a general, as well as a national, character, has been but too often forgotten by the legislators as well as by the students of the Craft. Foreign commentators, however, have regarded the mutual concessions of 1813 as involving a great sacrifice of principle—to say nothing of a loss of dignity—on the part of the older—and as they rightly style it—legitimate Grand Lodge of England. Thus, by Rebold the recognition of the Royal Arch degree has been termed an act of feebleness on the part of that body, which has destroyed, to a great extent, the unity and the basis of true Masonry, as it had been practised by them up to that time with a laudable firmness.[1] The admission of Past Masters to a seat in, and a life membership of, Grand Lodge, has been denounced in equally strong terms by Mitchell[2]—whilst Krause, writing shortly after the Union, boldly affirms that the New Grand Lodge of London has not only retained the ancient restrictions and impediments which obstructed the progress of the Fraternity, but has actually imposed even further *new* regulations, which will have precisely the contrary effect[3] [to what might have been hoped and expected]. Between the English Masonic usages and those existing in the United States, there are now some remarkable

[1] General History of Freemasonry, trans. by J. F. Brennan, 1875, p. 105.
[2] History of Masonry (12th edit.), 1871, p. 383.
[3] Findel, *op. cit.*, p. 393; German edit., 1878, p. 219.

By the Duke of Kent.	By the Duke of Sussex.
R. F. Mestayer, . . Grand Master's Lodge, No. 1.	Rev. S. Hemming, D.D. (*present*), L. of Harmony No. 255, R.W.M.
T. Harper, Jun., . . Do. Do.	W. Meyrick (*do.*), Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2, S.W.
J. H. Goldsworthy (*present*), Lodge of Fidelity, No. 3.	W. Shadbolt, G. Steward's Lodge, J.W.
W. Fox (*do.*), Royal York L. of Perseverance, No. 7.	S. Jones (*present*), Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2.
J. Ronalds (*do.*), Robert Burns Lodge, No. 25.	L. Thompson (*do.*), Lodge of Felicity, No. 58
W. Oliver (*do.*), Royal Jubilee Lodge, No. 72.	J. Jones (*extinct*), L. of Sincerity, No. 66.
M. Corcoran (*do.*), Middlesex Lodge, No. 143.	J. H. Sarratt (*present*), Moira Lodge, No. 92.
R. Bayley (*extinct*), L. at the Ld. Cochrane, No. 240.	T. Bell (*do.*), Caledonian Lodge, No. 134.
J. M'Cann (*present*), Lodge of Tranquillity, No. 185.	J. Joyce (*do.*), Bank of England Lodge, No. 263.
Edwards Harper, *Secretary.*	William Henry White, *Secretary.*

By a circular dated January 10, 1815, Provincial Grand Masters and Masters of Lodges at a distance from London, were earnestly recommended to take the earliest opportunity of deputing by written authority, some one or more of the most qualified members of their respective Lodges, to attend the Lodge of Reconciliation. The meetings of that body, they were informed, would be held weekly at Freemasons' Hall, where the acknowledged forms to be universally used would be made known to them for the information of their brothers. In the meantime, however, the members of the two Fraternities were empowered and directed mutually to give and receive, in open Lodge, the respective obligations of each Society.[1]

The meetings of the Lodge were, however, postponed by a circular issued in the following March, it having been deemed advisable to await the presence of delegates from Scotland and Ireland.

The Minutes of the Lodge, which were written on loose papers until December 8, 1814, begin August 4 of that year. On the latter day Dr Hemming, the W.M., presided, and there were also present the other members of the Lodge, together with the representatives of twelve Lodges, to the number of twenty-six. Two degrees were rehearsed; and at a meeting held on the following day—attended by 74 brethren representing 30 Lodges—three. Among the early visitors to the Lodge were J. G. Godwin, Peter Gilkes (introduced by J. M'Cann), Peter Broadfoot, and Thomas Satterley, all in their day noted preceptors in the Craft. The regular minutes come to an end May 9, 1815; but a loose sheet records the presence of the Duke of Sussex, who was attended by many Grand Officers, on May 3. There is also amongst the papers a letter dated February 11 in the same year, wherein the Master of the Lodge—Dr Hemming—informs the Grand Master that he has "introduced a trifling variation in the business of the second degree."

At a Grand Lodge held August 23, 1815, the Duke of Sussex referred to certain points connected with Nos. IV., V., and XV. of the Articles of Union.[2] The "Ancient Obligations" of the first and second degrees were then repeated—the former from the throne—when it was

[1] This injunction was faithfully carried out at Manchester on August 2, 1814, when "the Fraternities of Freemasons of the Old and New Systems"—the former title being bestowed by joint consent on the "Atholl" representatives—met at the Talbot Inn in that city "for the purpose of forming a Lodge of Reconciliation." Two Lodges were formed, and the W.M.'s having exchanged the "O.B.'s, an O.B. of Reconciliation was repeated by the whole of the Brethren present, and accepted as an act of Union" (Extracted by Mr J. Gibb Smith, and printed in the *Freemason*, July 5, 1884).

[2] These are given in full in the Appendix.

"RESOLVED and ORDERED that the same be recognised and taken in all time to come, as the only pure and genuine Obligations of these Degrees, and which all Lodges dependent on the Grand Lodge shall practise."

"Forms and ceremonies" were then "exhibited by the Lodge of Reconciliation for the opening and closing of Lodges in the three degrees," which were "also ordered to be used and practised."

In the following year—May 20, 1816—also in Grand Lodge, "the officers and members of the Lodge of Reconciliation opened a Lodge in the First, Second, and Third Degrees successively, and exhibited the ceremonies of initiating, passing, and raising a Mason as proposed by them for general adoption and practice in the Craft."

On June 5 ensuing, the minutes of the previous Grand Lodge—"when the Ceremonies and Practices, recommended by the Lodge of Reconciliation, were exhibited and explained—were read; and alterations on two Points, in the Third Degree, having been resolved upon, the several Ceremonies, &c., recommended, were approved and confirmed."

The decision on one of those points was, "that the Master's Light was never to be extinguished while the Lodge was open, nor by any means to be shaded or obscured, and that no Lanthorn or other device was to be admitted as a substitute."[1]

The *rationale* of this decision is thus explained by a high authority—"One of the Lights represents the Master, who is always present while the Lodge is open, if not actually in his own presence, yet by a brother who represents him (and without the Master or his representative the Lodge cannot be open), so his Light cannot be extinguished until the Lodge is closed; the other two Lights figuratively represent luminaries, which, at periods, are visible—at other times, not so."[2]

The last mention of the Lodge of Reconciliation, in the official records, occurs in the proceedings of September 4, 1816, when the "W. Master, Officers, and Brethren," were awarded the thanks of Grand Lodge, "for their unremitting Zeal and Exertion in the cause of Free-Masonry."

At the Annual Feast in 1815, eighteen Grand Stewards were nominated by the Grand Master, being an excess of six over the number appointed in the older Grand Lodge before the Union. Although under the old practice the twelve Stewards had the right of nominating their successors, for several years[3] prior to the fusion, the privilege was restricted to members of nine Lodges—The Somerset House, Friendship, Corner Stone, Emulation, Globe, Old King's Arms, St Albans, Regularity, and Shakespeare;[4] the Somerset House Lodge furnishing three, the Friendship two, and the remaining Lodges one Steward each. Occasionally the persons nominated, declined to serve, when the vacancies were filled by the Board of Stewards.

Tickets for the Annual Feast were issued at fifteen shillings each, the Stewards paying the difference between the actual cost of the dinner, and the amount realised by the sale of tickets. This was generally a large sum, and on March 16, 1813, it appears that each member of the Board deposited £35 in the hands of the treasurer, to provide for the deficiency. Matters were in a transitional state in 1814, for in that year, a Board of Stewards was formed with

[1] Letter, dated Dec. 7, 1839, from W. H. White, G.S., to Peter Matthew, and published by Mr Brackstone Baker, P.G.D., in the *Freemason*, March 21, 1885.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *I.e.*, from 1805, and probably much earlier.

[4] *Now* Nos. 4, 6, 5, 21, 23, 28, 29, 91, and 99.

some difficulty, by the Master of the Grand Steward's Lodge. The Tickets for the Feast on that occasion were issued at a Guinea each, and the Stewards incurred no liability, the deficit, which amounted to £105, 14s. 6d., being made good by Grand Lodge.[1]

From each of the eighteen Grand Stewards, however, appointed in the following year, a deposit of £20 was required, whilst the dinner ticket was again lowered to 15s. This Board, so their minutes inform us, "on account of their peculiar situation," were "all admitted to the Grand Steward's Lodge without ballot."

In 1816, the Grand Master—as prescribed by the new Book of Constitutions—selected the Stewards from eighteen different Lodges, each of which Lodges was thereafter to possess the right of recommending one of its subscribing members (being a Master Mason) to be presented, by the former Steward of that Lodge, for the approbation and appointment of the Grand Master.

Accordingly we find, in the year named, the right of wearing the "Red Apron" vested in the following Lodges—the *numbers* given being their present ones—Grand Master's (1), Antiquity (2), Somerset House (4), Friendship (6), British (8), St Mary-la-bone, *now* Tuscan (14), Emulation (21), Globe (23), Castle Lodge of Harmony (26), Old King's Arms (28), St Albans (29), Corner-Stone, *now* St George and Corner-Stone[2] (5), Felicity (58), Peace and Harmony (60), Regularity (91), Shakespeare (99), Pilgrim (238), and Prince of Wales (259).

These Lodges continue to return a Grand Steward at the Annual Festival—except the Pilgrim and the Old King's Arms Lodges, the former of which voluntarily surrendered its right of nominating a Steward in 1834,[3] whilst the latter forfeited the privilege by omitting to make the prescribed return to Grand Lodge in 1852. Their places as "Red Apron" Lodges, were assigned by the Grand Master to the Jerusalem (197), and the Old Union (46) Lodges respectively.

The Laws and Regulations of the two Societies were ultimately referred to the Board of General Purposes,[4] with directions to form one system for the future government of the United Craft; "and the Board having attentively considered all the laws then existing, *as well as those of most of the other Grand Lodges in Europe*,[5] prepared a Code of Laws, which was submitted to the consideration of a Special Grand Lodge, held February 1, 1815, whereupon it was ordered, that copies should be made and left, at two convenient places, for the perusal of all the members of Grand Lodge, for *one* month. During this month, the Board of General Purposes met weekly, to receive and discuss any alterations or amendments which might be suggested. The Laws thus improved were again read and discussed, at a Special

[1] The Grand Steward's Lodge, and with it the Board of Grand Stewards as an institution, was in some danger of lapsing, owing to the Grand Officers being no longer selected from the former body.

[2] St George's Lodge was originally constituted Aug. 2, 1756, as No. 55 on the Atholl Roll. Became No. 3 by payment of £4, 14s. 6d., June 6, 1759, and No. 5 at the Union. Absorbed the Corner-Stone Lodge, *then* No. 37—constituted March 25, 1730—Dec. 6, 1843. The result being that the amalgamated Lodge retained (and retains) the high place and antiquity of its several moieties.

[3] The Pilgrim Lodge relinquished its privilege of nominating a Grand Steward on Feb. 8, 1834, owing to the reduction of its numerical strength. This surrender, it should be added, was accepted by the Duke of Sussex with much regret. *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 496.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 2, 3.

[5] It may be hoped that a careful study of the Laws of *all* Grand Lodges will precede any future revision.

Grand Lodge, on May 31, and were then ordered to lie open for another month, for the perusal of the brethren. At a further Special Grand Lodge, held August 23, these Laws were a third time read, discussed, and unanimously approved, and it was resolved that they should be in force for three years, from November 1, 1815, and then be subject to revision." [1]

It was originally intended to publish the new Book of Constitutions in two parts, and the second part, containing the Laws and Regulations of the Society, was delivered to the subscribers (1815) with an intimation that the first part, comprising the History of Masonry, from the earliest period to the end of the year 1815, would be printed with as little delay as possible.[2] The historical portion, however, was never completed, nor can its loss be regretted, since so far as the proof sheets extend, the part in question is simply a servile copy of Noorthouck's edition of 1784, in which 350 pages were allotted to the History, and 50 only to the Laws, Regulations, and Ancient Charges of the Society.

It has been justly observed that there was "no important yielding of the irregular Grand Lodge, except to throw away their ill-gotten and garbled Book of Constitutions, having the imposing name of *Ahiman Rezon*, and fall back on the highest and only extant code of laws contained in Anderson's *Constitutions*." [3]

In substance, the "Ancient Charges," as given in all the Books of Constitutions, published under the authority of the Original Grand Lodge of England—with the single exception of the edition for 1738—were reproduced in the "Second Part" of the Constitutions for 1815.

Charge I.—"Concerning God and Religion"—sustained the greatest variation. Before the Union, the words ran—"But though in ancient times Masons were charged in every country to be of the Religion of that country or nation, whatever it was, yet it is now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves." [4] In the Constitutions, however, of 1815, the same Article reads—"Let a man's religion or mode of worship be what it may, he is not excluded from the order, provided he believe in the glorious architect of heaven and earth, and practise the sacred duties of morality."

The remaining Charges, as printed *before* and *after* the Union, are almost, if not quite identical, the "N.B." appended to the fourth Charge (which has been already noticed) [5] alone calling for observation.

The appointment of Grand Officers was vested by the new "General Regulations" (1815) in the Grand Master, subject to no qualification whatever, except with regard to the offices of Chaplain, Treasurer, and Sword-Bearer, for each of which three brethren were required to be nominated by the Grand Lodge in March, from whom the Grand Master was to make his selection. This arrangement, however, giving rise to dissatisfaction, the appointment of Chaplain and Sword-Bearer was left entirely in the hands of the Grand Master at the revision in 1818, at which date also the absolute election of Treasurer was restored to the Grand Lodge.

As the practice of the "United Grand Lodge of England," with regard to the selection of Grand Officers, differs from that of any other Grand Lodge—or at least if there is any other under whose Constitution the Grand Master and Treasurer are the only *elected* officers, it is

[1] Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masons, pt. ii., 1815.—*Sanction.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 383. [4] See further, Constitutions 1756, p. 34; 1784, p. 38.

[5] Chap. XVI., p. 336, note 8.

unknown to me—it will be convenient to state that the "Atholl" custom of *electing* all the Grand Officers, was in closer harmony with the "Ancient Landmarks" as disclosed to us by the "General Regulations" of 1723.

By the Laws of 1815 the Provincial Grand Masters[1] were given precedence above the Grand Wardens, who had previously ranked before them.[2] And *past* rank was not extended to the holder of any Grand office below that of Deacon.

The Master, Wardens, and *one Past Master* to be delegated by the brethren of each Lodge, were admitted to Grand Lodge.[3] No Lodge was allowed to make a Mason for a less consideration than three guineas, exclusive of the registering fee.[4] Military Lodges were restrained from initiating into Masonry any persons not members of the military profession.[5] The tenure of office of a Master in the chair was limited to two years, and the practice of conferring Degrees at a less interval than one month, or any two in one day, was forbidden.

In the "manner of constituting a new Lodge," there occurs a singular innovation, with which I shall take my leave of these regulations. The language employed differs otherwise in no material respect from that used in the earlier Constitutions, but the passage I am about to quote, derives an importance to which it is by no means entitled, by being introduced between inverted commas, as the veritable method of constituting a new Lodge "practised by the Duke of Wharton, when Grand Master, in the year 1722, according to the antient usages of Masons."

According to the Constitutions of 1815, a lodge is to be formed, an ode sung, the petition and other documents read, and the inevitable "oration" delivered, after which "*the Lodge is then consecrated*, according to ceremonies proper and usual on those occasions."

Now, in the POSTSCRIPT to the Constitutions of 1723—or in the subsequent editions of that work up to, and inclusive of, the one for 1784—there is no mention of an ode, of documents, or even—strange to say—of an oration. But passing these over, as of slight consequence—if, indeed, *any* misquotation in a Code of Laws will admit of colour or excuse—the positive statement that, according to the practice of the Grand Lodge of England in 1722, the ceremony of "Consecration" was performed at the inauguration of New Lodges, requires at least to be noticed and refuted. Under both Grand Lodges of England, prior to the Union, Lodges were solemnly *constituted* by the Grand Master or his representative, and although the "Ceremony of Consecration" is described by William Preston in his "Illustrations of Masonry," it was first *officially* sanctioned in the "Book of Constitutions" for 1815.

In the previous history of the Grand Lodge of England, I have, to the best of my ability, divided the general subject into sections, corresponding as nearly as possible with the tenure of office of each Grand Master. The same plan will now be continued, though, for the sake

[1] According to the Constitutions of the older Grand Lodge, for 1756 and 1784, Provincial Grand Masters in the former year ranked after Past Deputy Grand Masters, and in the latter, after the Grand Treasurer.

[2] Articles of Union (VII.). [3] *Cf. Ibid.*

[4] This law came into operation September 7, 1814, and remained in force until December 5, 1883, when the *minimum* initiation fee was fixed at five guineas, inclusive of the registration and certificate fees, in England; and at three guineas, exclusive of registration and certificate fees, abroad.

[5] At the Union there were in existence fifty Military Lodges, which, with only six exceptions, held "Atholl" warrants, whilst in the present year there are but six. In other words, the proportion of Military to the other Lodges has fallen off from one in twelve in 1814, to one in three hundred and fifty in 1885.

of convenience, and to avoid confusion, where the evidence relating to any topic lies scattered throughout the official records, it will be presented as a whole, either in the course of the chapter, or at its close.

The Duke of Sussex remained at the head of the Society until his death in 1843. Throughout this long administration, however, there are but few stirring events to record. The Duke governed on the whole both wisely and judiciously, and though his idea of the relation in which he stood towards the Craft, may be best summed up in the famous phrase "*L'état—c'est moi!*" there is nothing to show that his encroachments upon their constitutional liberties were distasteful to the general body of those over whom he presided.

To the Duke of Sussex is due the singular merit of cementing, as well as promoting, the Union of the two great divisions of English Freemasonry. Patronage, it has been said, implies subjection, which latter, it is again urged, can work no good to the Fraternity. Starting from these premises, it has been laid down by a writer of distinction, that Royal brethren cannot but make their exalted position felt in the Lodge, and thus affect the brotherly equality existing among the members.[1] But however true this may be as an abstract principle, the Freemasons of England owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Royal Family of this country. Their immunity from the "Secret Societies" Act of 1799[2] was due in great measure to the circumstance of the heir to the throne being at the head of the Older Society—in which capacity, be it recollected, he had nominated as "Acting Grand Master" the chivalrous Earl Moira, by whose tact and address English Freemasonry was saved from extinction, or at the very least from temporary obliteration.[3] Later, when under the combined influence of two Princes of the Blood, discrepant opinions had been made to blend into harmonious compromise, the odious animosity between the rival fraternities might at any time have been revived, had a suspicion been awakened, that the interests of either of the parties to the alliance had been made subservient to those of the other.

No such feeling was engendered, and though the result might have been the same, had the Masonic Throne, after the Union, been occupied by the Duke of Kent or some other member of the Royal Family, there was probably no person of lesser degree—with the single exception of the Earl of Moira[4]—who would have enjoyed the entire confidence of the English Craft in the position of Grand Master.

The Duke of Sussex was very loyally supported by the leading figures on the "Atholl" side. These were Perry, Agar, and Harper, Past Deputy Grand Masters, who were very regular in their attendance at Grand Lodge, and at its boards and committees. Perry, it will be recollected, succeeded Laurence Dermott in 1787, and in the same year Harper and Agar were Senior and Junior Grand Wardens respectively.[5] All three men, therefore, were prominent characters under the "Ancients," at a period when each Society regarded the other as "a mob of impenitent schismatics."[6] We may assume, then, that the example set by these worthies, of acting up to the spirit as well as to the letter of the Treaty of Union, was not thrown away upon the rank and file of their party. The most captious "Ancient" could hardly allege that the government of the Craft was conducted on *modern* lines, when

[1] Findel, *op. cit.*, p. 523. [2] Chap. XX., p. 487. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 490.
[4] This nobleman, as mentioned in the last Chapter (p. 490), assumed the government of British India in 1813.
[5] Chap. XIX., p. 450, note 1. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

three former "Atholl Deputies" were present at nearly every meeting of Grand Lodge, and which was as often as not presided over by one of them. Agar, moreover, was the first President of the Board of General Purposes, and among his colleagues were Perry and Harper. Their services on this, and the other committees of Grand Lodge, will be again referred to, though it may be shortly stated that these only ceased with their respective lives.

It is unreasonable to suppose that the three veterans would have laboured so earnestly and unceasingly under any ordinary Grand Master. In the "Atholl" system the "Deputy" was virtually the chief, and it seems to me, therefore, in the highest degree improbable, that men of advanced years, who had each governed the Society with which he was formerly connected, would have foregone his well-earned repose, and toiled with the energy and perseverance of youth, save under circumstances of a very exceptional nature.

These we meet with in the fortunate results which crowned the happily inspired efforts of the two Royal brothers—the Dukes of Kent and Sussex. In the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Union, the former was assisted by the three "Atholl Deputies;" and in the subsequent proceedings, when the younger was proposed by the elder brother for the supreme dignity, they attached themselves to the latter with a fidelity which is unsurpassed in the annals of Masonry. But the Duke of Sussex fully justified the confidence that was reposed in him. It was nearly twenty years before the last of Dermott's prominent contemporaries ceased to participate in his councils.[1] By this time the old order of things had been succeeded by the new. The two sets of Freemasons were firmly welded together into one homogeneous whole, and the last decade of the Duke of Sussex's administration was unclouded by any revival of the ancient animosities.

Some dissensions, indeed, of a distinct character are recorded during this last period, which will be briefly noticed as we proceed, and of these it is not perhaps too much to say, that many of the acrimonious discussions which both wasted the time, and ruffled the composure, of our Masonic Parliament, might have been altogether averted if the Grand Master had still had by his side such faithful and judicious counsellors as the "Atholl" worthies, whose inestimable services to the "United Grand Lodge of England" I have so feebly portrayed.

In 1816, on the proposal of the Grand Master, the Rev. Hermann Giese was appointed Grand Secretary for German Correspondence; and a friendly alliance was entered into with the Grand Lodge of Astrea, at St Petersburgh.

On September 3, 1817, it having been announced that the two Grand Chapters of the Order of the Royal Arch, existing prior to the Union of the Craft, had formed a junction, that rank and votes in all their meetings had been given to all the officers of Grand Lodge, and that the Laws and Regulations of that body had been as far as possible assimilated to those of the Craft, it was

"*Resolved Unanimously*, That the Grand Lodge will, at all times, be disposed to acknowledge the Proceedings of the Grand Chapter, and, so long as their Arrangements do not interfere with the Regulations of the Grand Lodge, and are in conformity with the Act of Union, they will be ready to recognise, facilitate, and uphold the same."

[1] Perry was last present in Grand Lodge, June 3, 1818; Harper, March 2, 1831; and Agar, June 6, 1832. The two former must have died before April 1834, as their deaths are not recorded in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, which begins on that date. Harper, however, must have been very old in 1831, as he became a Royal Arch Mason in 1770. James Agar (a barrister-at-law) died Jan. 25, 1838, aged 80.

The General Regulations of the Society were revised in 1818, and the new Code ordered to take effect from November 1. The following being the principal alterations and amendments:—That *all* Past Masters should be members of the Grand Lodge, but the privilege to be forfeited by non-subscription for more than a year to some Lodge.

That all Present and Past Grand Officers, and all Masters of Lodges, should be members of the Lodge of Benevolence.

On December 9 the Board of General Purposes recommended that certain regulations common to the Grand Lodges of Ireland and England, should be established for the government of the Lodges abroad and in military corps; and that deputations from the two Grand Lodges, and from that of Scotland, should be appointed if possible, to confer on the subject, which was agreed to.

This year witnessed the death of William Preston, whose memoir has been given in Chapter XVIII., but it may be added that the total amount of the Masonic benefactions appearing in his will was £1300 consols, of which £500 was bequeathed to the Charity Fund of Grand Lodge; £500 in support of the Girls' School; and the interest of the remaining £300 "to be paid"—to use the word of the testator—"to any well skilled mason, to deliver, annually, a lecture on the First, Second, or Third Degrees of the Order of Masonry, according to the system practised in the Lodge of Antiquity during my Mastership."

"In consequence of the rain the female orphans belonging to the Freemason's Charity in St George's Fields were not able to follow in procession to St Paul's, but mustered at the Cathedral under the care of the Treasurer, M^{r} W. M. Forsteen, Captain Deans, J.G.W., and others, and returned to the house of the deceased, where they partook of wine and cake." Thomas Harper, D.G.M., was also present to pay the last mark of respect to the friend with whom he had been so long associated in Masonry.

In the following year, at the Grand Lodge held in December, the Grand Master "addressed the Brethren on the Subject of the Lectures, when he stated that it was his opinion that so long as the Master of any Lodge observed exactly the Land-marks of the Craft, he was at liberty to give the Lectures in the Language best suited to the Character of the Lodge over which he presided."

On December 5, 1821, the "Conduct of Lodge No. 31 at Liverpool," was brought under the notice of Grand Lodge, and for two years engaged the attention of that body. The facts of the case, however, may be stated in a few words.

In December 1818 it was suggested to the Board of General Purposes by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire, "that some regulation was necessary, relative to the Number of Brethren requisite to remain Members of a Lodge, in order to continue it a Legal Lodge, competent to initiate, etc."

To this a reply was sent, January 5, 1819, by order of the Board, stating, "that the subject is one which has undergone a great deal of discussion and consideration, especially on the late revision of the Laws. But it is a matter of so much delicacy and difficulty, that it was thought advisable not to depart from that silence on the subject which had been observed in all the Books of Constitutions."[1]

Towards the close of the year a Memorial was sent from the Provincial Grand Lodge to

[1] "Should the number of members [of a Lodge] remaining at any time be less than three, the warrant becomes extinct" (Constitutions, 1884, § 219).

the Duke of Sussex. This proved to contain matter relating to the Royal Arch, and was therefore not laid before Grand Lodge, whilst the Grand Master was subsequently informed that the Memorial, being considered by the Provincial Grand Lodge improper, its withdrawal was desired; he therefore did not deem it necessary to intimate to the Grand Lodge, or the Board of General Purposes, that such a document had been addressed to him.

Although this withdrawal was perfectly voluntary on the part of the Provincial Grand Lodge, it was seized upon by the members of No. 31, as the ground for a charge against the Board of General Purposes, and cited by them as "a case where the Board had detained a communication from the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Lancashire, which consists of sixty-two Lodges on record; consequently, if the Board acted thus, without the authority of the Grand Lodge, we consider their conduct highly reprehensible; and if, on the other hand, the Grand Lodge gave them power to act in this manner, then we consider it a dangerous innovation upon the landmarks of our Order."

Notwithstanding it was pointed out to these brethren that they were arguing on false premises, circulars and manifestos continued to be issued, and all efforts to restore subordination having failed, the Grand Lodge was left no alternative but first to suspend, and afterwards expel twenty-six of the offenders; also to erase No. 31 from the list of Lodges.

Sixty-eight Masons, belonging to eleven Lodges,[1] were suspended in the first instance, of whom all but twenty-six [2] were admitted to grace, on submission duly made and promise of good behaviour. The latter not only remained contumacious, but actually endeavoured to establish a Grand Lodge of their own for Liverpool and adjacent parts. After this we hear no more of them until September 3, 1823, when the Sea Captains' Lodge at Liverpool, No. 140, which had threatened to separate itself from the Grand Lodge unless the proceedings taken against Lodge No. 31, and the twenty-six expelled brethren, were cancelled—was struck off the roll. "This prompt example," observes Dr Oliver, "was completely efficacious, and from hence we hear no more of opposition or intemperate resistance to the decrees of the Grand Lodge."[3] But the observation, though true, and strictly founded on the "Printed Proceedings" of the governing body, is, nevertheless, somewhat misleading, for whilst the Lancashire Schismatics ultimately placed themselves altogether in the wrong, and beyond the pale of forgiveness, they took their stand—however, erroneously—on what they deemed to be a matter of principle, and neither the Board of General Purposes—who declined to advise upon a constitutional point which was submitted to them—or the Duke of Sussex, who quietly pigeon-holed the subsequent "Memorial,"[4] can be acquitted of having materially conduced to a most deplorable misunderstanding, which agitated the Craft for several years, and left behind it very bitter memories.

William Meyrick, the Grand Registrar, was also, at this time (1819-23), President of the Board of General Purposes, and on March 7, 1822, the Province of Lancashire had been placed in his charge. This also was an error of judgment on the part of the Grand Master,

[1] Nos. 31, 140, 348, 380, 442, 466, Liverpool; 74, 486, Wigan; 59, 378, Manchester; and 655, Pilkington.

[2] Nos. 31, two members; 74, eight; 140, four; 182, one; 348, one; 466, two; 486, eight.

[3] History of Masonry from 1820 to 1823 (Illustrations of Masonry, seventeenth edit., 1861, p. 341).

[4] A printed circular, filling three folio pages, and containing *forty-nine* paragraphs, was sent to all the Lodges, Dec. 5, 1822. Although intended as a complete vindication of the Grand Master's action throughout the dispute, the execution by no means comes up to the design.

for as the members of No. 31 professed themselves (*inter alia*) to be aggrieved by the action of the Board, it was hardly to be expected that they would regard its President, as properly qualified to pursue the judicial investigation which had been intrusted to him. Nor did they. One of the statements made in the printed papers, circulated from Liverpool, was, "that the Board of General Purposes had withheld, or been instrumental in withholding, from the Grand Lodge, the Address of the Provincial Grand Master to the M.W. Grand Master, dated September 27, 1819," and this the Lodge No. 31 continued to re-assert, and, indeed, set the authority of Grand Lodge altogether at defiance.

Passing from this unhappy dispute, it may be convenient if I here proceed with the early history of the Board of General Purposes, and interweave therewith some slight sketches of a few of its more remarkable members. James Agar was the first President, and remained a member from 1814 to 1828, when for one year (1829) he served on the Board of Finance. James Perry, Thomas Harper, and James Deans were also members from 1814. Perry remained a member until 1817, during which and the following year he also served on the Board of Schools; Harper was reappointed annually to the Board of General Purposes or to that of Finance, until 1831; and James Deans served uninterruptedly on the former Board until 1833, with the exception of one year (1827), when he was appointed to the latter, on which he again served in 1835. Deans, who died April 3, 1838, was for upwards of forty years Captain and Paymaster in the Royal London Militia. He was initiated in the Lodge of Emulation (21), of which he passed the chair, as he also did of the Jerusalem (197) and the Grand Steward's Lodges. His services in the Lodge of Promulgation, of which he was the Senior Warden, were rewarded with the Collar of a Grand Officer, and he was one of the Commissioners for carrying out the Union of the two Societies.

Among the elected members we meet with the names of the following Masters of Lodges, all of whom were noted in their day as Masonic preceptors:—J. H. Goldsworthy, 1816; Thomas Satterley, 1816, 1819, 1824;[1] Lawrence Thompson, 1817, 1820, 1827-28;[2] Philip Broadfoot, 1817; J. G. Godwin, 1819; Peter Gilkes, 1822-33;[3] and Peter Thomson, 1824. Two of the number—Goldsworthy and Lawrence Thompson—served on the Lodge of Reconciliation. The first-named was initiated in No. 194, "Ancients"—now the Middlesex, No. 143—February 6, 1806; served the chair of the Lodge, and was elected one of the nine "Excellent Masters" or "Worthies." Joined No. 2—now Fidelity, No. 3—July 12, 1809, when he was appointed Lecture Master. In 1811 he had the honour of seconding the motion for a Committee, "vested with full powers to carry into effect the measure of a Masonic Union of the two Societies." S.G.D., 1845, and a nominated member of the Board of General Purposes, 1845-47 and 1849-50. Died in February 1858, nearly eighty years of age.

Lawrence Thompson joined the Lodge of Antiquity about 1811, in which for many years he delivered, by order of the Grand Master, the Prestonian Lecture. Died June 9, 1855, in his eighty-second year, and at the time of his decease was a member of the Antiquity, Somerset House, Shakespeare, and other Lodges. He served as Grand Steward in 1815, on the Board of General Purposes (for the fourth time) in 1837, in the following year on that of Finance, and as Junior Grand Deacon in 1847.

[1] As Master of (*present*) Nos. 49, Gihon, in 1819; and 185, Tranquillity, in the other years.

[2] As Master of (*present*) Nos. 92, Moira; 167, St John's; and 58, Felicity, respectively.

[3] Also during this period, except in 1826, a member of the Board of Finance.

Philip Broadfoot was initiated in No. 300 "Ancients," *now* the Lodge of Stability, No. 217, and was four times its Master. Recommended by the Grand Chapter as one of the nine "Excellent Masters," 1812. Removed from the Custom-House at London to that of Lynn in 1835, and died August 16, 1858, in his seventy-fourth year, being at the time Secretary to the Philanthropic Lodge, No. 107.

The famous "Stability" Lodge of Instruction—under the sanction of the Lodge of Stability, which he at that time represented on the Board of General Purposes—was founded by Broadfoot on the first Friday in September 1817, his chief coadjutors being Satterley and Peter Thomson. Broadfoot was the first Master elected to the chair, and Thomson the second, but the latter soon became the more prominent figure of the two, and for a period of nearly thirty-four years was hardly ever absent from a meeting of the Lodge.

The "Emulation Lodge of Improvement for Master Masons," was founded by the following brethren in 1836—John Smyth, Burlington (96);[1] Joseph Dennis; E. Whittington, Unions (256); John Wilson, Percy (198); and Gervase Margerison, Constitutional (55). At first only lectures were delivered, but subsequently the ceremonies were introduced, which gave much satisfaction. Peter Gilkes was present at the first meeting, and about twelve months afterwards he joined the Lodge.[2]

But the champion preceptors on either side were the two Peters—Thomson and Gilkes. The former, a Scotsman, born in 1779, was initiated in the Lodge of Confidence, December 13, 1810, raised to the third degree that day week, and joined the Lion and Lamb, *now* No. 192, in 1811. Served as S.G.D. in 1844, and died February 2, 1851, aged 72. He was a life governor of all the Charities of the Society, and the most brilliant of his pupils—the late John Havers—spoke of him as the greatest Mason he had ever known.

Peter Gilkes was born May 1, 1765, baptized a Catholic, and named after the then Lord Petre. By his industry and perseverance he acquired a small property, the interest of which amounted to about nine shillings a day. Upon this he retired from business, and devoted himself wholly to Masonry. He was initiated in the British Lodge (8), and the Lodge of Unity (69) first elected him their Master. During the last sixteen years of his life, in order to continue a member of the Lodge of Benevolence, and to qualify for election to the Boards, he annually served as Master of a Lodge, and discharged its arduous duties. In the course of his Masonic life he filled the chairs of the Royal York (7), Globe (23), Unity (69), Cadogan (162), Old Concord (172), St James' Union (180), Unions (256), Hope and Unity (214), and St Michael's (211) Lodges, several times each, and may be said to have died in harness as the Master of No. 211.[3]

It was his custom to teach gratuitously such brethren as were disposed to attend at his house, every day from one o'clock until it was time for him to attend some Lodge or other,

[1] As the numbers of Lodges have been twice closed up since 1823, those given in the text are the *present* ones.

[2] So far the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, 1836, p. 322; but in the *Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*—Jan. 16, 1855—Mr Thomas Scott writes to say that the Lodge of Emulation "was founded by Bros. Dennis, Garner, Longstaff, and himself—all then living of Peter Gilkes' pupils, who did establish it—and that Gilkes gave it his great and most violent opposition on the ground that it could never succeed whilst excluding brethren in the inferior degrees." For two reasons I adopt the earlier statement. In the first place, because it appeared within two years of Gilkes' death, and remained uncontradicted for nearly twenty years; and, secondly, because the editor of the Quarterly publication (Dr Crucifix) was completely conversant with every detail of London Masonry.

[3] Present titles and numbers are used throughout.

where his evenings were generally spent. His fame as preceptor of the "Emulation Lodge of Improvement" was very widely diffused, but though many times offered the collar of a Grand Officer, he invariably declined, on the plea that his circumstances in life were not equal to the appointment. His death occurred December 11, 1833.[1]

J. G. Godwin was a member of the Peace and Harmony (60) and the Bank of England (263) Lodges, the former of which he represented as Grand Steward in 1816. In early days he disputed the palm with Peter Gilkes. But although an earnest as well as an able Mason, and notwithstanding he took great pains with his pupils, he did not make the impression that his competitor did, chiefly from an infirmity of temper. Died December 31, 1836, aged 72.

To the labours of these worthies the Craft is in a great measure indebted for its existing prosperity. The most eloquent of Masonic statesmen—whose voice, alas, is now hushed in the tomb, in a noble address delivered at the "Stability" Festival in 1851, observed with great force—"I claim for the memory of Peter Thomson, and the active teachers of his time, a large share of merit in our present position. When all was disarranged—when all was unsettled—when every difficulty beset the young aspirant after Masonic knowledge—then Godwin and Gilkes, and Broadfoot and Thomson, then White and Goldsworthy, Lawrence Thompson and Satterley, were the Masons who manfully and zealously attempted (and succeeded in the attempt) to procure uniformity in Masonry, and to disseminate the genuine principles of our Order; and we cannot fail to perceive that in exact proportion to the advancement of Masonic knowledge was the advancement of Masonic charity, the very end, aim, and object of our Institution. Doubtless a part of this was due to the Union of the two Grand Lodges, but not much, for we find that there were nearly as many Lodges then as now, and that from time immemorial (as it is the fashion to call it) up to the year 1813, the two together mustered but some £2500 per annum, and that since then our income, and our funded property, and consequently our usefulness, has increased in a fourfold degree."

Yet among the early preceptors of those days, there existed a certain degree of rivalry and jealousy. Their mode of working, though identical in all essential points, differed somewhat in the verbal arrangements of a small portion of the ceremonies.[2] To so high a degree at one time did these jealousies extend, that even the great teachers of that period gave vent to mutual recriminations, and the West-end preceptors laid a complaint before the Board of General Purposes, that the preceptors in the city were not practising pure Masonry. Happily, however, the complaint was allowed to drop.

The Lodge of Reconciliation was formed with the object of bringing the various forms of working into one harmonious whole. Dr Hemming, the Master, is said to have drawn up a system and form, but falling ill, and being unable to complete his work thoroughly, it was given to Williams,[3] who added to, and completed it.[4] "Hemming's form, however, was

[1] Peter Gilkes was a great smoker, and averaged thirty pipes of tobacco and coltsfoot daily. He generally used the same pipe for three months, and when completely black would present it to some favourite pupil!

[2] *Cf.* the *dictum* of the Duke of Sussex, *ante*, p. 11, which is generally regarded as declaratory of the actual law on the subject.

[3] Grand Steward, 1812; Prov. G.M., Dorset, 1812-39; President, Board of General Purposes, 1818; and for many years Treasurer to the Girls' School. He was deeply skilled in the *arcana* of Masonry, and delighted to show forth its principles on all occasions. Died February 8, 1839.

[4] Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, "Notes on our English Ritual" (Freemason, May 15, 1880).

used, notably in Yorkshire, at one time to a great extent, and is still represented by the Stability Lodge of Instruction.

"The perfected form of Williams is that now in use in the Emulation Lodge of Improvement, and which seems destined to become the more general form of working in the Craft. The Prestonian form indeed lingers, and is to be found in Lodges, alike in London and the provinces. There are also remains of an old York 'Working,' and of the form in vogue under the Ancients."[1]

So far Woodford, by whom the subject has been made a special study, and whose conclusions are borne out by the testimony of many brethren now deceased, participators in the occurrences he relates.[2]

An Especial Grand Lodge was held at the Thatched House Tavern, St James's Street, on February 22, 1828, for the purpose of installing the Duke of Clarence, the Lord High Admiral, as Master of the Prince of Wales' Lodge,[3] the Grand Master assigning as a reason for this step, his belief that it was "of the first Importance to obtain the Sanction and Protection of the Royal Family to the Proceedings of the Craft."

In the following year—September 2—the Duke of Sussex announced that "he had approved the Design for a Medal to be worn by Brethren who had served the office of Steward to *both* the Masonic Charities."[4]

King George IV. died in 1830, and at the request of Grand Lodge, his successor on the throne—William IV.—took his place as Patron of the Craft.

In 1832 the numbers of the Lodges were ordered to be closed up; and in 1834 a notice of a benevolent project for erecting and endowing an asylum for aged and decayed Freemasons of good character, was promulgated in the July number of the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, a publication edited by Dr R. T. Crucifix—which made its first appearance in the April of that year.

In 1834 the office of "Pro-Grand Master" was established, or rather revived,[5] in the person of Lord Dundas, afterwards first Earl of Zetland.

In 1835 four *Past* Masters were, in each case, added to the Boards of General Purposes and of Finance; and in the same year, it was ordered, that the jewels worn by the Grand Stewards of the year should in future be gilt, upon the ground "that the Grand Stewards, during their year of service, are Officers of the Grand Lodge."[6] A Sub-Committee of Charity, entitled the "Weekly Lodge of Benevolence," was established on June 7, 1837, but lasted for a short time only; and at a Quarterly Communication, held in the ensuing December, it was resolved (on the motion of Dr Crucifix) "that this Grand Lodge recommend the contemplated Asylum for the worthy, aged, and decayed Freemasons to the favourable consideration of the Craft."[7]

[1] Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, "Notes on our English Ritual" (Freemason, May 15, 1880).

[2] Notably the late W. H. White and Stephen Barton Wilson.

[3] The present Grand Master—H.R.H. the Prince of Wales—who has been the Master of this Lodge since 1874, was preceded in that office by *George*, Prince of Wales, 1787-1820; the Duke of York, 1823-27; the Duke of Clarence, 1828-30; and the Duke of Sussex, 1831-43.

[4] Since extended to brethren serving as Stewards of any *two* of the *three* existing charities.

[5] *I.e.*, the *office*, though not the *title*, was identical with that of "Acting Grand Master," held by Lords Effingham and Moira, under George, Prince of Wales.

[6] Previously to this enactment, all Grand Stewards—present and past—wore jewels of silver, suspended by red collars.

[7] The attitude of the Grand Master, with regard to the institution of a *Third* Masonic Charity, will be presently noticed, but I may here observe that the above resolution was carried in the teeth of his opposition.

In the following year, a testimonial, of the value of one thousand guineas, was presented by the Lodges and brethren to the Duke of Sussex, to commemorate his having been Grand Master for twenty-five years; the Boards of General Purposes and of Finance were amalgamated;[1] and, Edwards Harper retiring on a pension, W. H. White became sole Grand Secretary to the Society.

At the meetings of Grand Lodge, held in June, September, and October 1840, the conduct of Dr Crucifix became the subject of investigation, which a short digression will enable me to place more clearly before my readers.

Robert Thomas Crucifix—initiated in 1829, a Past Master of the Burlington (113), Bank of England (263), and other Lodges, Grand Steward 1832, and Junior Grand Deacon 1836—set on foot in 1834 a movement in favour of a charity for aged Freemasons, the expediency of which was affirmed by a vote of Grand Lodge in 1837. The Grand Master objected, in the first instance, to the creation of a *third* charity, but ultimately based his dissent from the views of its promoters, upon the ground that a system of annuities, rather than the erection of an asylum, would be the more judicious course to adopt. But the Committee were then pledged to the latter scheme, and which, as they justly argued, had been unanimously recommended to the favourable consideration of the Craft. They therefore proceeded with it, and at a Special General Meeting of the Charity, held November 13, 1839,[2] under the presidency of Dr Crucifix, some remarks were made by two of the speakers (Alderman Wood and J. L. Stevens), for which—and Crucifix for not "checking them"—a complaint[3] was preferred against all three at the Board of General Purposes. Crucifix and Wood were suspended from their Masonic functions for six, and Stevens for three, months. Against these sentences they appealed, and at a Grand Lodge held in June 1840, the suspension of Alderman Wood was removed, and that of the others confirmed.

Crucifix then addressed a very intemperate letter to the Grand Master,[4] which the latter forbore to notice until it was printed in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*—together with many editorial observations of an improper character—when the original letter was laid before the Board of General Purposes, by which body, after inquiry, he was summoned to show cause at a Special Grand Lodge why he should not be expelled from the Craft.

Accordingly, on October 30, he attended, and made a very humble apology. The motion for his expulsion was then put, to which an amendment was moved that his apology be accepted, which, on a division, was agreed to.

Among the leading opponents of the "Asylum Scheme" was the late Isaac Walton, Past

[1] The President and ten other members to be nominated by the Grand Master, and fourteen members (of whom seven were to be actual Masters) to be elected by the Grand Lodge.

[2] Besides the records of Grand Lodge, and the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, I am here indebted to the "History of the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution," by Mr G. B. Abbott (1884).

[3] The complainants were Peter Thomson, Lawrence Thompson, and two others.

[4] He sent a letter on the same day—June 11, 1840—to the Grand Secretary, containing his resignation as a Grand Officer, and stating that he was no longer a member of any *English* Lodge, afterwards disclaiming, on this ground, the jurisdiction of the Board of General Purposes. Here, however, he was foiled, but in the following year, by publicly notifying that he had ceased to edit the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*—or which, nevertheless, he continued to be the master-spirit—he succeeded in keeping out of the clutches of the Board, who would otherwise have rightly visited upon him the numerous sins of that journal.

Master of the Moira Lodge, No. 92. "Finding, however," says a contemporary writer,[1] "that opposition but aided the Asylum, he adopted the plan of competition, and hoisted the standard of a Masonic Benevolent Annuity Fund. The Duke of Sussex for a long time denied his patronage, but Walton sought an interview with him, and meeting with a repulse on his favourite theme, he fairly told the Grand Master, on taking leave, that there remained no other means of preventing the Asylum from being built and endowed. This decided the matter; the Grand Master relaxed, adopted Walton's scheme, and thus proved the fallacy of all opposition to the 'Asylum' principle; which, so far from being uncalled for and unnecessary, became the parent of a second Masonic charity."

An Annuity Fund for males was sanctioned by Grand Lodge, March 2, 1842, and extended to the widows of Freemasons in 1849, which continued as a separate organisation until 1850, when it amalgamated with the Asylum.

During the administration of the Duke of Sussex, which was only brought to a close by his lamented death in 1843, several new offices were created in Grand Lodge, some of which have been already mentioned. After 1819 the right of nominating all the Grand Officers, except the Treasurer, was vested in the Grand Master. But the patronage of the Duke of Sussex was not confined within these limits. He altered at pleasure the status of any Grand Officer, created new offices, and freely appointed brethren to rank in the Grand Lodge.[2] An Assistant Director of the Ceremonies was appointed by the Duke, *proprio vigore*, in 1836; but the office of Pursuivant—established in 1840—was created by a resolution of Grand Lodge, which at the same time regulated the status of the new Grand Officer.

The Earl of Zetland,[3] who, as Pro-Grand Master, virtually acceded to the supreme authority on the death of the Duke of Sussex, was nominated for the substantive office by Peter Thomson in December 1843, and unanimously elected Grand Master in the following March.

We have now reached a point where the accuracy of the historian becomes subject to the criticism of actors in the events he recounts. To use the quaint words of Thomas Fuller—"I hear the Cock's crow proclaiming the dawning day, being now come within the ken of many alive, and when men's *memories* do *arise*, it is time for *History* to haste to *bed*."

It is, however, quite impossible to compress the narrative of occurrences under the administration of Lord Zetland within the limits originally assigned to it, though I shall do my best to avoid prolixity, by treating the general subject in broader outline than has hitherto seemed consistent with historical proportion.

On December 3, 1845, the Grand Master announced that certain English Masons, "who professed the Jewish Faith, had been refused admittance as visitors into a Lodge at Berlin holding under the Grand Lodge, 'Royal York of Friendship,' on the ground that the Laws of that Grand Lodge excluded, even as visitors, brethren who were not Christians." In the following June, the subject was again referred to by Lord Zetland, who stated that the Grand Lodge "Royal York," at Berlin, declining to receive and acknowledge all certificates from the Grand Lodge of England without regard to the religion of those presenting them,

[1] Most probably Crucifix himself, as the quotation is taken from the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, 1846, p. 221. Walton, however, was as much the founder of one scheme as Crucifix was of the other.

[2] Although it is perfectly clear that the Grand Master possessed no other powers than were conferred upon him by the Grand Lodge, these irregularities of the Duke of Sussex were actually quoted as precedents in 1883!

[3] Born, 1795; initiated, 1830; J.G.W., 1832; D.G.M., 1839; Pro-G.M., 1840; and G.M., 1843-71.

the two bodies would no longer continue to exchange representatives. This estrangement lasted until 1847, when the principle stipulated for was gracefully conceded; and in 1872 the Grand Lodge Royal York "resolved to initiate Jews and men of all religions." The other Prussian Grand Lodges, the "Grand National Mother Lodge of the Three Globes," and the "Grand Countries Lodge of Germany," have not yet displayed the same liberality of sentiment. The subject was again brought forward in 1877, on the refusal of the former to receive as candidates for admission or joining any persons who were not Christians, when it was decided by the Grand Lodge of England, to refrain from any interference with a system of Freemasonry adopted by the "Three Globes Lodge" in 1740.[1]

"A more intimate connection and correspondence" was established in 1846 between the Grand Lodge of England and those of the Netherlands; of "Unity," at Darmstadt; and of Switzerland (Alpina), at Zurich.

In the following year the words "Free Man" were substituted for "Free Born" in the declaration subscribed by candidates for initiation; and at the suggestion of Mr Fox Maule—afterwards successively Lord Panmure and Earl of Dalhousie—the employment of an authorised reporter to take down the proceedings of Grand Lodge was sanctioned by the Grand Master.

On December 7, 1853, "the Earl of Zetland communicated to the Grand Lodge, that he had been under the painful necessity of removing from his office, the R.W. Brother William Tucker, Provincial Grand Master for Dorsetshire, in consequence of his having thought proper to appear in his Provincial Grand Lodge in the costume and with jewels appertaining to what were termed higher degrees,[2] not sanctioned or acknowledged by the Grand Lodge, and which militate against the universality of Freemasonry."

Mr Tucker, it appears, had taken his seat in the gorgeous regalia of a "Sovereign Grand Inspector General," being the 33d and last grade of the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite"—a series of degrees unrecognised by the Grand Lodge of England. Although one of the youngest of the Masonic Rites, it is at this day the most popular and the most extensively diffused. Supreme councils or governing bodies of the Rite are to be found in almost every civilised country of the world,[3] and in many of them it is the only Masonic obedience.[4]

In the latter part of the year 1855,[5] certain persons, belonging to Lodges under the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, and Ireland, formed themselves into what they then termed "The Independent Grand Lodge of Canada." They were, however, denounced by a large majority of the Lodges in that country, then holding under the Grand Lodge of England, as illegal, and intercourse with the persons and Lodges belonging to this self-constituted Grand Lodge was strictly forbidden. In June 1857, the largest proportion of the Lodges in Canada, holding warrants from the Grand Lodge of England, withdrew from their allegiance, and formed

[1] In the course of the debate, the Rev. R. P. Bent pointed out that in Sweden "Masonry was not exceptionally—as Lord Tenterden had shown to be the case in Germany—but universally, simply and purely Christian."

[2] Dr Oliver observes:—"I have reason to believe that many of the *hauts grades* are practised in some of the more numerous and flourishing Lodges. I was in frequent communication with an excellent Lodge thirty years ago [1816], which conferred the whole thirty-three degrees" (Hist. Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. ii., p. 101; *cf. post*, p. 21).

[3] The original members of the Supreme Council 33° of England and Wales were Dr Crucifix, Dr Oliver, and Henry Udall, who received a warrant—dated Oct. 26, 1845—from the Supreme Council, U.S.A., Northern Jurisdiction.

[4] See Chap. XXIV.

[5] *Cf.* the memoir of John Havers, *post*, p. 22 *et seq.*

In 1865, the titles of Provincial Grand Master, and Provincial Grand Lodge, were ordered to be used solely in England, and in order to distinguish such Officers and Bodies in the Colonies and Foreign Parts, the latter were to be styled District Grand Masters, and District Grand Lodges, respectively.

In 1868, the office becoming vacant by the death of William Gray Clarke, John Hervey, P.G.D., was appointed Grand Secretary.

On June 2, 1869, Lord Zetland informed the Grand Lodge, that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had joined the Fraternity, having been initiated by the King of Sweden. The rank of Past Grand Master was conferred upon His Royal Highness, at the Quarterly Communication held in September, and at that taking place in December, the Prince of Wales was present and received the homage of the Society.

An Assistant Grand Secretary was appointed by Lord Zetland (with the concurrence of Grand Lodge) in 1854, and the office of Assistant Grand Pursuivant, created by resolution of Grand Lodge, in 1859. In 1861, the power of conferring honorary rank was vested in the Grand Master. The number of Grand Deacons was increased to four by Grand Lodge in 1862, and in the same year (and manner), the President of the Board of General Purposes became a Grand Officer, by virtue of his office.

The Board of General Purposes, under the administration of Lord Zetland, increased, both in authority and reputation. Membership of, and service upon this committee, gradually became recognised as the legitimate channel to grand office, whilst upon the President[1] there virtually devolved the duties of Deputy Grand Master, as performed under both Societies prior to the Union. Among the prominent members of the Board, was Stephen Barton Wilson,[2] of whom it has been said that "the mantle of Peter Gilkes fell direct upon his shoulders."[3] That worthy, who was initiated by Gilkes in the St Michael's Lodge, No. 211, at his death in 1866, had held the office of President of the Emulation Lodge of Improvement for a period of thirty years.

Two remarkable Masons joined the Board of General Purposes in 1841,—John Llewellyn Evans and John Havers, Masters of the "Old Union" and "Jordan" Lodges, *now* Nos. 46 and 201 respectively. The former, who in the following year became Grand Sword-Bearer,[4] served on the Board as a nominated member from 1842 to 1851, and again from 1853 to 1874, and from 1862 to 1871 as its President. John Havers was initiated in the Jordan Lodge, March 8, 1838, and subsequently joined the St George and Corner-stone, No. 5, which sent him up as Grand Steward in 1846. He was Senior Grand Deacon in 1848, and Junior Grand Warden in 1862. His services on the Board of General Purposes ranged from 1841 to 1845, and as a nominated member from 1857 to 1860, and again in 1875-76. He was also annually elected on the Committee of Management of the Masonic Benevolent Annuity Fund during the years 1842-47, and was nominated a member by the Grand Master, 1849-52.

[1] With the exception of Alexander Dobie, of whom more hereafter, all the Presidents of this Board appear to have been singularly well qualified to discharge the duties of so important an office.

[2] 1834; 1837-39; 1851-52; 1858-65. J.G.D., 1857.

[3] This historic garment may be said to have descended, in like manner, upon Mr Thomas Fenn, who, after a life-time spent in Masonic labour, has recently undertaken the highly responsible duties of President of the Board of General Purposes.

[4] S.G.D., 1862; died 1875.

Havers rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the conductors of the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* by boldly denouncing the very reprehensible manner in which they garbled the reports of Grand Lodge meetings, and held up every one who differed from them to the ridicule of the public. In 1848, on his being appointed a Grand Officer, their indignation assumed a poetical form, and in the *Review* for that year (p. 124) we find the following lines:—

> "Be silent, Brother B[igg]![1] Be more discreet!
> Behold! GRAND DEACON HAVERS takes his seat!
> Submission to the *purple* badge is due—
> You *must* be wrong if only clothed in blue!
> No *silver'd* collar *virtue* can enfold—
> None can be good, unless begirt with *gold!*"

In 1855-56 Havers was summoned to the councils of the Grand Master, the entire English Craft being then in a state of insubordination and discontent.[2] The Grand Secretary—W. H. White—had been in office nearly fifty years. The President of the Board of General Purposes—Alexander Dobie[3]—was also Provincial Grand Master for Surrey, Grand Registrar, Solicitor to the Grand Lodge, Third Grand Principal (R.A.), and Treasurer, both of the Grand Officers' Mess—at that time a very influential office—and of the Royal Alpha Lodge, then the Privy Council of the Grand Master. These two brothers, together with Messrs B. B. Cabbell and W. F. Beadon, Past Grand Wardens, virtually ruled the Craft. No country Mason, and but rarely a London one, outside the charmed circle of three or four Lodges, was ever promoted to Grand Office. Out of twenty Grand Wardens, no less than thirteen were selected from a single Lodge—the "Friendship," No. 6!

Though viewed, in the first instance, to use his own words, as "an incendiary and red republican," within three years from the time when the general direction of affairs passed into his hands, those who had originally assailed his policy entertained him at a public dinner at the Thatched House Tavern (the Grand Master being present), and John Rankin Stebbing[4]—at one period his chief opponent—in one of the vice-chairs. The great Canadian question was definitely settled by Havers, and on retiring from the office of President of the Board of General Purposes, to which he was appointed in 1858, and held until 1861, the thanks of Grand Lodge were unanimously voted (on the motion of Mr Stebbing) "for his indefatigable devotion to the business, and successful efforts in facilitating the labours of the Board, and especially for his long and valuable services to Freemasonry." The proposal of the Grand Master, that the sum of five hundred guineas should be applied from the Fund of General Purposes, to

[1] "Literary portraits" of Havers and John Bigg (P.M., Moira, No. 92) are given in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, 1849, pp. 123, 237.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 20, and the *Masonic Observer*, 1856-59, *passim*.

[3] *Elected* a member of the Board, 1836; *nominated* by the Grand Master, 1838-57; President, 1842-48 and 1854-56; J.G.D., 1838; Grand Registrar, 1846-56; Prov. G.M., Surrey, 1847-71. Died 1876.

[4] P.M. of Nos. 76, 180, 319, 359, 785, 1373, and of a Portsmouth Lodge; P.G. Secretary, and afterwards D.P.G.M., Hants and Isle of Wight; member of the Board of General Purposes, 1860-66; and of the Building Committee, 1862-69; S.G.D., 1864. His frequent speeches in Grand Lodge were always listened to with pleasure, his clear, emphatic, ready voice being raised in support of the extension of Masonic privilege, and in defence of what he deemed justice and fair play. Died June 15, 1874.

purchase for him a life nomination to each of the Masonic schools—he declined in a graceful letter—read March 5, 1862—wherein the crowning labour of his Masonic life is shadowed forth by the expression of a belief "that the honour and dignity of Masonry demands a fitting temple devoted to its use."[1]

His services on the Building Committee have been already referred to, and I must bring this sketch to a close, by stating that his interest in the Society continued unabated until his decease, which occurred August 20, 1884.

In the period covered by the Grand Mastership of the Earl of Zetland, every now and then there appears to have been a mild form of agitation on behalf of a library for the Craft. The scheme had its origin so far back as about the year 1837, when it was launched with every prospect of success by the late John Henderson, at that time Grand Registrar, and also President of the Board of General Purposes. The sum of £100 was freely voted by Grand Lodge, and curators were appointed to carry out the design. But the scheme languished under Alexander Dobie—President, Board of General Purposes, 1842-48, though its merits were warmly advocated by Mr J. R. Scarborough in Grand Lodge, and by Crucifix in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*.[2] The former proposed in 1846 and again in 1847, that the sum of £20 should be laid aside annually for the formation of a Library and Museum; and in a characteristic speech delivered in the latter year, is reported to have shown "the desirability of possessing the means of cultivating intellectuality more than gastronomy; that the other bottle did not do half so much good as the other volume, that it was laughable to tell a poor but inquiring brother to make a daily advance in Masonic knowledge—and the arts and sciences his particular study, if we withheld from him the means of doing so, and did not even give him a hint where Masonic knowledge could be gathered." The motion for a pecuniary grant was seconded by Dr Crucifix, and after a long discussion, in which even the Grand Master himself "admitted the value of having such a Library," was referred to the Board of General Purposes.

In the following year, September 6, 1848, the Board made their report, from which it appeared that the Library then contained 279 printed books, and that of the £100 already voted by the Grand Lodge, £56, 9s. 6d. had been expended. To the report were appended ten recommendations, all of which were adopted, the most important being that the Grand Tyler should receive £15[3] annually for acting as a kind of sub-librarian, and that an announcement should be made in the quarterly accounts, inviting brethren to make contributions of books. Unfortunately this method of appealing directly to the Craft for their co-operation in the work of forming a Library and Museum, worthy of the oldest and richest Grand Lodge in the world, was never fairly tried, and I can only express a hope that some future Board of General Purposes may take up and improve upon the suggestion of that body in 1848, by

[1] At the Inauguration of the New Buildings, April 14, 1869, Havers said, "he had now seen carried out the dearest Masonic wish of his heart, in the separation of the tavern from the Masonic portion of the buildings."

[2] "The Library and Museum—The late report of the Board of General Purposes on this subject intimates pretty broadly that it has proved a failure. If so, on whom does the blame rest? There is a Board of Curators appointed. What report have we received of their labours? None whatever. Who appointed this learned and philosophical Board? The Grand Lodge? No.—The Board of General Purposes. Then who are the responsible parties? Why, the Board of General Purposes; and as this body will be elected in June next, let a proper investigation take place; the Library and Museum must not be sacrificed to the ignorance of a Dunciad" (F. Q. Rev., 1845, p. 1).

[3] Discontinued June 5, 1850.

soliciting both in the printed proceedings of Grand Lodge and in the "Freemasons' Calendar," gifts from all quarters, calculated to enrich either the Library or Museum.

The Building Committee of 1862-69 endeavoured to form a *Subscription* Library, but which, as might have been expected, proved a dismal failure.

Thus matters rested until 1880, when an annual grant of £25 was voted by Grand Lodge, and in the same year a Library Committee added to the subdivisions of the Board of General Purposes.

Lord Zetland was succeeded by the Earl de Grey and Ripon, and the installation of the latter—May 14, 1870—was deemed a suitable occasion for the presentation of an address to the former on his voluntary retirement from the Grand Mastership. The address was supplemented by a testimonial consisting of the sum of £2730, together with a silver inkstand; the latter passing into the possession of the Earl, and the former constituting the "Zetland Fund"—for the relief of distinguished brethren who might become distressed—of which the disposal was to rest with Lord Zetland, and after him, the Grand Master for the time being.

During the administration of the Earl of Zetland, both the present Boys' and Girls' Schools were built, and the pupils increased in number in the former from 70 to 115, and in the latter from 70 to 100.

In 1844 the number of Lodges was 723, in 1869 it was 1299. The certificates issued in 1844 were 1584, in 1869 they were 7000. Within the same period the income of Grand Lodge more than trebled itself, being £12,153 in the former year, and £38,025 in the latter. "Last but not least"—to use the eloquent words in which the retiring Grand Master was addressed on the occasion,[1]—"the noble hall and buildings in which they were assembled had been built in his Lordship's term of office, and the Grand Lodge of England had been freed from the just reproach of having held their meetings for a hundred years at a tavern. The Colonial brethren had been relieved of a large amount of taxation, and the selection of Grand Lodge Officers had not been confined to London Lodges and London Masons, but far and wide good services had been sought for, and, when found, rewarded."

The chief event in the administration of Earl de Grey and Ripon was the fraternal reception accorded to him whilst engaged in a mission of peace across the Atlantic by the Freemasons of the United States of America. Subsequently, this nobleman, then Marquess of Ripon, embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and on September 2, 1874, his resignation of the Grand Mastership was read in Grand Lodge.

According to the laws of the Society the office then devolved upon the Prince of Wales, as Past Grand Master, if willing to accept it; and a deputation[2] was therefore appointed to communicate with H.R.H., and request him to undertake the duties of M.W.G.M. until the next usual period of installation.

At the ensuing Grand Lodge in December, the Prince of Wales' acceptance of the Grand Mastership was formally notified; also that he had appointed the Earl of Carnarvon and Lord Skelmersdale, Pro-Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master respectively; and on April 28, 1875, His Royal Highness was duly installed at the Royal Albert Hall, South Kensington, in the presence of the largest Masonic Assembly ever held in Great Britain.

[1] By the late John Havers.

[2] Lord Carnarvon, D.G.M.; John Havers, J.G.W.; and Æneas J. M'Intyre, G.R.

Two years later, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Connaught and Albany were appointed Senior and Junior Grand Wardens respectively, both Princes having been initiated in 1874, the former in the "Prince of Wales," and the latter in the Apollo University Lodge.[1]

The progress of the Society under the Prince of Wales has been marked but uneventful. A committee[2] was appointed, December 5, 1877, to consider the action of the Grand Orient of France in removing from its constitution those paragraphs which asserted a belief in the existence of God; and in the ensuing March they recommended (*inter alia*) the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

"That the Grand Lodge, whilst always anxious to receive in the most fraternal spirit the Brethren of any Foreign Grand Lodge whose proceedings are conducted according to the Ancient Landmarks of the Order, of which a belief in T. G. A. O. T. V. is the first and most important, cannot recognise as 'true and genuine' Brethren any who have been initiated in Lodges which either deny or ignore that belief."

In January 1880 Colonel Shadwell H. Clerke[3] was appointed to the office of Grand Secretary, which had become vacant by the resignation of John Hervey.[4] Two Standard Bearers and a Deputy Director of Ceremonies were added to the number of Grand Officers in 1882; and on March 21, 1885, Prince Albert Victor, eldest son of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, was initiated in the "Royal Alpha" Lodge, London, by the Grand Master in person.

Their charitable institutions are munificently supported by the Freemasons of England. Each has its annual Festival, and the total amount raised in the year 1885, by voluntary subscription alone, exceeded £40,000. Since the schools were respectively founded, 1389 girls and 1631 boys have been educated in them; whilst 241 of the former and 216 of the latter are now receiving the benefits of these institutions. The Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution has 330 annuitants, of whom 163 are males and 167 females; and in addition there are no less than 19 widows, each in receipt of a moiety of her late husband's annuity.

The latest Lodge-warrant issued down to September 1885, bears the number 2111, being an increase of 40 Lodges, since the publication of the official calendar of current date, where the highest number shown is 2071. Many Lodges, however, included in the present numeration are now extinct, and from the nominal roll of 2111—or, including the Grand Stewards' Lodge —2112 Lodges, at least 176 should be deducted, which will show a total of 1936. Of these 337 are held in the London District, 1066 in the Provinces, 527 in places beyond the seas, and 6 in regiments.

Further statistics of English Masonry will be found in the Appendix. This will afford the student, facilities for a minute study of the distribution of Lodges according to Provinces and Districts, the income and expenditure of Grand Lodge, the various dates on which the

[1] Prince Leopold (Duke of Albany), youngest son of Her Majesty the Queen, passed the chair of the Apollo, Westminster and Key Stone, and Antiquity Lodges, and became Prov. G.M. for Oxfordshire 1875. "Of a delicate constitution from his youth, his beautiful and promising career was cut short by death in 1884" (G. W. Speth, Royal Freemasons, p. 11).

[2] Lords Carnarvon, Skelmersdale, Leigh, Tenderden, and Donoughmore; Rev. C. J. Martin; Messrs Æ. J. M'Intyre, J. B. Monckton, H. C. Levander, and R. F. Gould.

[3] S.G.D., 1878.

[4] Served on the Board of General Purposes, 1849-53, as an *elected*, and 1854-61, as a *nominated*, member. S.G.D. 1854. Died 1880. *Cf. ante*, pp. 21, 22.

constitutions were revised, the number of public ceremonies in which successive Grand Masters (or their representatives) have taken part, together with other details of a similar character; whilst their omission in the text will doubtless prove acceptable to the general reader.

The names of many eminent Masons now deceased have been introduced into this chapter. The list of Masonic worthies might be extended, but I shall draw a line between the present and the past, and let the services of these excellent brethren who are still labouring in our midst, be recorded by some future historian.

No substantial addition to the literature of the Craft has been derived from any English source until within the memory of the present generation. The works of the late Dr Oliver enjoyed an ephemeral popularity, but their authority has crumbled away under the cold criticism of time. As Froude well says, "Knowledge grows, belief expands, the facts of one age are seen by the next to have been no facts but creatures of the imagination." Oliver, indeed, was no exception to that paradox so generally to be observed in theorists, who are the most credulous of men with respect to what confirms their theory, but perfect infidels as to any facts that oppose it. But from the time of Dr Crucifix down to the present day, a vast and (of late years) unobtrusive labour has been performed by the Masonic press. The *Freemason's Quarterly Review* of 1834 is now represented by the *Freemason* and the *Freemason's Chronicle*. The Masonic journals of intermediate dates will be elsewhere referred to.

Here I bring to a close, the history of the Grand Lodge of England, although the subject of *English* Freemasonry will again claim our attention in a final Chapter, where the merits and demerits of all the Masonic systems—properly so-called—will be examined and compared.

CHAPTER XXII.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGES OF IRELAND.

THE earliest minutes of the Irish Craft are to be found in the "Munster Records," where we meet with the proceedings of a "Grand" as well as of a "Private" Lodge, dating from the year 1726.

The minutes of both bodies were kept in the same book, which, falling accidentally into the hands of the Rev. James Pratt, was presented by him, in 1824, to Robert Milliken, who restored it "to the proper custody." The volume is now in the possession of Mr Anderson Cooper, Dep. Prov. G.M., Munster, through whose courtesy Hughan received a transcript of its material features, which has been placed at my disposal.

In the original the two sets of records are mixed and interwoven. The entries are in strict chronological order, and the scribe was apparently the Secretary of both Fraternities. For the sake of clearness, however, the transactions of each body will be separately presented, commencing with those of the Grand Lodge.

MINUTES OF THE GRAND LODGE OF MUNSTER, 1726-33.

"At an assembly and meeting of the Grand Lodge for the Province of Munster, at the house of Mr Herbert Phaire, in Cork, on St John's Day, being the 27 day of December Añō Dm̄. 1726. The Honble James O'Brien, Esqre.,[1] by unanimous Consent elected Grand Master for the ensueing yeare; Springett Penn, Esqre., appointed by the Grand Master as his Deputy.

Walter Goold, Gente., } appointed Grand Wardens."
Thomas Riggs, Gente., }

"S : Jons day, Decembr 27th, 1727.

"At a meeting of the Rt. Worshipful the Grand Lodge of Freemasons for the Province of Munster at the house of Herbert Phair, in the City of Corke, on the above day, the Grand Master and the Deputy Grand Master not being present, Willm Lane, Master of the Lodge of Corke, being the oldest Master present, acted as Grand Master pro tempore.

"It appearing to the Grand Lodge that severall Lodges within this Province have neglected to pay their attendance wch is highly resented, in order to prevent the like for the future, and punish such as shall not conform themselves to their duty: It is agreed unanimously that for the future no excuse shall be taken from the

[1] Apparently the third son of William, second Earl of Inchiquin, a descendant of the ancient monarchs of Ireland, and Kings of Thomond, *temp.* Henry VIII.

Masters and Wardens of any Lodge for their non-attendance unless a suffic^{t} number appear, or that they send, at the time of such excuse, the sum of twenty-three shill. stg., to be disposed of as the Grand Lodge shall direct; the number deem'd suffic^{t} to be not less than three. It is further resolv'd that the Master and Wardens who have absented themselves on this day doe and are hereby obliged to pay the like sum of 23^{s}., to be dispos'd of as afors^{d}, except such as have justly excus'd y^{m}selves: And it is recommended to the Grand Master for the time being, that when he shall appoint any Master of a Lodge, that such Master shall oblige and promise for himself and Wardens that they comply with the aforemention'd rule, and moreover, that every Master and his Wardens shall require as many of his Lodge as he possibly can asure himself can have no just reason for absenting themselves to attend at y^{e} Grand Lodge. And further, it is resolvd that this Rule be read or recited to all Mast^{rs} and Wardens at their election or nomination.

"Ordered that these regulations be recomended to the several Lodges within our precincts.

"Ordered that the Deputy Grand Warden of this R^{t} Worshipfull Lodge, in their names, doe return thanks to Tho^{s}. Rigs, Esq., for his exelent speech in ye opening this Grand Lodge, and for all other his former service.

"Ordered that M^{r} Tho^{s}. Wallis, sec^{d} deputy Grand Warden, doe attend and open our next Grand Lodge.

"Ordered that this Grand Lodge be adjourned to y^{e} next S^{t} John's day, at this House of Brother Herbert Phair.

"W^{m}. Lane, *p. tempe*, G.M.[1]
Tho^{s}. Riggs, } G.W.
Tho^{s}. Wallis, }
Ja. Crooke, Treasurer and Secretary."
[And six others without Titles.]

"S. John's Day, June 24, 1728.

"At a meeting of the Rt. Worshipfull y^{e} Grand Lodge of Freemasons for the Province of Munster, at y^{e} House of Bro: Herbert Phair, in y^{e} City of Corke, on y^{e} above day, The Hon^{ble} James O'Bryan was unanimously elected Grand Mast^{r}. Rob^{t}. Longfield, Esq., appointed by the Grand Mast^{r} as his Deputy. Samuel Knowles, Esq., and Mr Tho^{s}. Wallis appointed Grand Wardens.

"Ord^{d}. that Mr John Wallis and Mr S^{t} George Van Lain be suspended this Lodge for their Contempt offer^{d} this R^{t}. Worshipfull Grand Lodge this day in refusing attendance though regularly summond, and appearing afterward before ye windows at y^{e} time of their sitting; and that they, before they be rec^{d} again, doe make a proper publick acknowledgm^{t} of their behaviour, and to pay, each of them, two British Crowns to y^{e} Treasurer of G^{d}. Lodge for y^{e} benefit of y^{e} poore Brethren.

"Tho^{s}. Wallis, } G.W. Ja. O'Bryen, G.M.
Sam^{ll} Nolers, } Rob^{t}. Longfield, D.G.M."

"S^{t} John's Day, June 24th, 1730.

"At y^{e} Grand Lodge held at Bro^{r}. Phaire's this day, Col. W^{m}. Maynard was by a unanimous Consent of y^{e} Brethern then present Elected Grand Master for y^{e} ensuing year, & M^{r} Tho^{s}. Riggs elected Deputy Grand Master, W^{m}. Gallway and Jo^{n}. Gamble, Esq^{rs}., Grand Wardens; Mr Sam^{ll}. Atkins, Secretary to s^{d} Lodge.

"Tho^{s}. Wallis, G.M. *pro temp.*
Adam Newman, } G.W.
James Crooke, } *pro temp.*, G.W.

"Ordered that this Grand Lodge be adjo^{r}urned to Bro^{r}. Phaire's on St John y^{e} Baptist's Day, wh. will be in y^{e} year 1731.

"Tho^{s}. Riggs, D.G.M.
W^{m}. Galwey, G.W.
John Gamble, G.W."[2]

[1] The transcriber, and Mr J. H. Neilson, concur in the belief, that in all cases the names appended to the minutes were the actual signatures of the parties.

[2] The same signatures are appended to the two following entries.

"S^{t} John's Day, June 24th, 1730.

"Humble supplication being made from some Brethern at Waterford to have Warrant from our Grand Lodge for assembling & holding Regular Lodges there, according to ancient Costome of Masonry; it is agreed y^{e} Petition shall be received from s^{d} Brethern to be approved and granted as they shall shew themselves Qualified at our next Grand Lodge."

"The like application from some Brethern at Clonmell, y^{e} like order for their approbation."

1731.—"At a Grand Lodge held the 24th Day of June at M^{r} Herbert Phaire's, S^{d} Grand Lodge was adjourned to Monday, the 9th Day of Aug^{t} 1731.

"Wm. Galwey, Mast^{r}."

"At a Grand Lodge held at M^{r} Herbert Phaire's, Monday, the 9th Day of August 1731, by unanimous Consent the R^{t}. Hon^{ble} James Lord Baron of Kingston[1] was elected Grand Master.

"Wm. Galwey, Mast^{r}."

"August the 9th, 1731.—M^{r} Adam Newman appointed Dep^{ty} Grand M^{r}., Jonas Morris and W^{m}. Newenham, Esq^{rs}., Grand Wardens, by the R^{t}. Worshipful the Grand Master, the R^{t}. Hon^{ble} James Lord Baron of Kingston, wth the unanimous approbation of the Brethern then attending his Lordship at the Grand Lodge.

"Kingston, G.M."

"St John's Day, June 24th, 1732.—A Grand Lodge was held on said day at Broth^{r}. Phairs, when said Lodge was adjourn'd to the 25th of July next, and it is unanimously agreed y^{t} all such members as are duly served and wont attend, y^{t} they shall pay y^{e} fine of five shillings and five pennce, or to be admonished or expold for s^{d}. misdemeanor.

"Adam Newman, D.G.M.
Wm. Galwey, Mast^{r} of y^{e} Lodge."

"June 23, 1733.—At a consultation held for adjourning the Grand Lodge, St John's day happning on Sunday, the Grand Lodge was accordinly adjourn'd to Monday, the 25th inst.

"Ad^{m}. Newman, D.G.M."

The Grand Lodge was again adjourned to July 26, when it was further adjourned to October 3, the order being signed as before. There are no further minutes, but the following Regulations are then given, though of anterior date by some three years:—

"General Regulations made at a Grand Lodge held in Corke on S^{T} John y^{E} Evangelist's Day, 1728.

"The Hon^{ble} James O'Bryen, Esq^{r}., Grand Mast^{r}.

"In due Honour, Respect, and obedience to y^{e} right Worshipfull the Grand Master, that his Worship may be properly attended for the more Solemn and proper holding our Grand Lodge on St John the Baptist's day, annually, for ever, and for y^{e} propagating, exerting, and exercising Brotherly Love and affection as becometh true masons, and that our ancient Regularity, Unanimity, and Universality may in Lawdable and usual manner be preserv'd according to immemorial usage of our most ancient and R^{t}. Worshipful Society, the following Regulations are agreed to.

[1] "According to letters from Dublin, *John*, Lord Kingston, is in custody of the High Sheriff of Cork, upon pretence that *his Lordship's son*, who left that kingdom some time since, was concern'd in enlisting men for the service of the Pretender" (Weekly Journal or Saturday Post, June 2, 1722).

1.[1] "That every Brother who shall be Mastr. or Warden of a Lodge, shall appear and attend, and shall allso prevail with and oblige as many of ye Brethern of his Lodge as can, to attend ye Grand Lodge.

2. "Every constituted Lodge, if the Master and Wardens thereof cannot attend, shall send at least five of ye Brethern to attend the Grand Lodge.

3. "That every Master of a Lodge shall give timely Notice in writing to ye Master of the Lodge where ye Grand Lodge is to be held, eight days before ye Grand Lodge, what number of Brethern will appear from his Lodge at the Grand Lodge.

4. "That if it shou'd happ'n that ye Master and Wardens or Five of ye Brethern of any Lodge shou'd not be able to attend at ye Grand Lodge, then such Lodge so failing shall send ye sum of twenty & three shill: to be paid to the Grand Mastr or his Deputy.

5. "That all & singular ye Brethern of such Lodges where the Grand Lodge shall be held, shall attend such Grand Lodge, or the person absenting to pay a British Crown.

6. "That these Regulations be duly entered in ye Books of each Lodge, and sign'd by the Master, Wardens, and all ye Brethern of such Lodge, and that at ye making of any new Brother, care be taken that he sign such Regulations.

7. "That an exact Duplicate of these Regulations sign'd by the Master and Wardens and all the Brethern be delivered with convenient speed to the Rt. Worshipful Grand Master, of each Lodge.

8. "That every new Brother who has not sign'd such Duplicate before it be deliver'd to the Grand Master, shall be oblig'd to attend at the next Grand Lodge which shall be held after his admission, there to sign such Duplicate.

9. "That no person pretending to be a Mason shall be considered as such within ye precincts of our Grand Lodge, or deem'd duly matriculated into ye Society of Freemasons untill he hath subscribed in some Lodge to thes regulatus., and oblig'd himself to sign ye before mention'd Duplicate, at wch time he sall be furnish'd with proper means to convince ye authentick Brethern yt he has duly complyed.

10. "That the Master and Wardens of each Lodge take care that their Lodge be furnish'd with the Constitution, printed in London in ye year of Masonry 5723, Anno Dom. 1723, Intitled the Constitution of Free Masons, containing the History, Charges, Regulations, &c., of THAT MOST ANCIENT & RT. WORSHIPFULL FRATERNITY.

"To due and full observance of the foregoing Regulations we, the subscribers, do Solemnly, Strictly, & Religiously, on our obligations as Masons, hereby oblige ourselves this Twenty-seventh day of December, in the year of Masonry 5728, and Anno Dm. 1728.

"The foregoing Regulations and form of obligation were read and approved by ye Grand Master and Grand Lodge afore mentioned, & ord'd to be observ'd as ye original Warrant under ye Grand Master's hand, and attested by all the Brethern then present, which Warrant is deposited with ye other records of this Lodge of Cork.

"Thos. Wallis, G.W. Frans. Healy, Mastr.
Thomas Gordon, James Crooke,
Hignett Keeling, } Wardens."
Thos. Riggs,
[And ten other Brethren.]

No minute is preserved of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge held December 27, 1728, when these Rules were agreed to. It seems to me, however, that there must have been earlier Records than those of 1726, also that more minutes of meetings from that period were kept than have come down to us.

The meetings were held at the tavern kept by Herbert Phaire, the same house being also selected for the purposes of the Lodge. The first Lodge minute is dated "December ye 81h, 1726," but the figure has been altered and probably means 8th?

[1] Not numbered in the Original MS.

MINUTES OF THE LODGE.[1]

"December y^e 8th, 1726.

"In a meeting of this Lodge this day at Mr Herbert Phaires, it was unanimously agreed that M^r Tho^s. Holl^d., a poor Brother, be every Lodge night a constant attend^t of this Lodge, and that every night he so attends a brittish crown be allow'd him for y^e relief of his distress'd Family.

"Mast^r., Springett Penn."

"Wardens, Thomas Gordon. Thomas Riggs. } The above named Thomas Holland missbehaveing himself at the Grand Lodge held on S^t John's Day, the 27^th of Decemb^r 1726, Order'd the above order continue no longer in force.

"D. G. Master, Springett Penn."

"At a monthly meeting of y^e worshipful Society of Freemasons at the House of M^r Herbert Phaire, Thursday y^e 2d of Feb^r. 1726 [1726-7], Mr Herbert Phaire was appointed to act w^th M^r W^m Lane as Warden of this Lodge, and M^r Septemius Peacock and M^r Adam Newman to act as Deacons[2] in y^e s^d Lodge.

"Springett Penn, D.G.M."

"Novemb^r 20^th, 1727.

"By an ord^r in writing from the Hon^ble James O'Bryan, Esq., our present Grand Mast^r, to us, directed for the convening a Lodge to choose Mast^r and Wardens for the Worshipf^ll Lodge of Freemasons in Corke, wee having accordingly conven'd a sufficient Lodge at the House of Brother Herbert Pair on this day, proceeded to the election, and then and there W^m Lane, Esq., was duly chosn Mast^r of s^d Lodge, and the Hon^ble S^r John Dickson Hamman, Knt. Barnt., and M^r Tho^s Wallis were duly chosn Wardens.

"Tho^s. Gordon. Fran^s. Cook."

"At the sametime M^r James Crooke, Jun^r., was chosen Treasur^r and Secretary to said Lodge.

"W. Lane, Master, Jas. Dickson Haman, Tho^s. Wallis, } Wardens."

The following is signed by thirty-three brethren :—

"We who have hereunto subscribed do resolve & oblige ourselves as Masons to meet on the first Monday of every month at the House of Bro^r Phaire (or such convenient place as shall be appointed) for the holding of a Lodge in a Brotherly or Friendly manner. Each member of the Lodge being absent to pay thirteen pence.[3] Dated 22^nd August 1728."

"December the second, 1728.

"The yeare of the Master & Wardens being expired the twentieth of last month, it was this day agreed to in a proper Lodge of the Worshipfull ffraternity of ffreemasons in the City of Corke assembled at the house of Brother Herbert Phaire, that ffrancis Healy, of the said City, Merchant, be elected to serve as Master, and James Crooke, Jun^r., and Joseph Collins, Merchants, be Wardens of the said ffraternity for the ensuing yeare, in the Room and place of the late Master and Wardens, which was consented & agreed to *Nemine Contradicente.*

"Fra^s Healy, Mast^r. J^o Collins, James Crooke, Jun^r., } Wardens. W^m Lane, late M^r. Tho^s Wallis, G.W. John Flower."

[1] No. 1, The first Lodge of Ireland, Cork.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XIX., p. 465.

[3] The "first Lodge of Ireland," Cork, continues to assemble on "the first Monday of every month," as did its ancient original, above mentioned.



RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF JERSEY

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF OXFORDSHIRE

Passing over the minutes of March 13, 1728, and January 1729, the following are the next in order :—

"Cork, Monday the 1st Day of March 173¼.

"At a Lodge held by adjournment this day for the election of Master and Wardens for the Lodge of Cork, by unanimous Consent Wm Gallway, Esq., was chosen Master, Mr Abraham Dickson and Mr Septs. Peacock, Wardens, for the year ensuing.

"Wm Galwey, Mastr. — Thos Wallis, late Mr.
Abram Dickson, } Wardens. — Thos Riggs, D.G.M.
John Gamble, G.W."

"Cork, 12th Augt. 1731.

"Att a Lodge held at Bro. Phairs, Wm Newerham, Esq., appeared & acted as Mastr, ye Mastr being absent, and only one Warden, at which time Thomas Evans, Rowland Bateman, William Armstrong, and George Bateman, Esqrs., were admitted Enter'd Prentices."[1]

The only other minute preserved, which begins on the reverse of the leaf containing the first part of the Regulations of 1728, and concludes on the next page after the Grand Lodge record of June 24, 1728—is to the following effect :—

"Cork, June the 21, 1749.

"At a Lodge held at brother Hignett Keelings on the day above written, the Master and Wardens being present, Mr Willm Bridges was Recd Enter prentice, and did then and there perform the Requisite Due.[2]

"Frans Cooke, Mastr.
Herbert Phaire, } Wardens.
Higt Keeling, }
Thos Rely.
St George Van Lawen.
John Hart, M.D."

The first minute of Lodge No. 1 begins December 8, 1726, and of the Grand Lodge, December, 27, 1726. But Mr Neilson—to whom I am much indebted for the loan of his unique set of the Irish "Constitutions"—has traced an earlier reference to Irish Freemasonry. In the Minute-Books of the Corporation of Cork under December 2, 1725, it is recorded—"that a Charter be issued out for the Master, Wardens, and *Society of Freemasons*, according to their petition." The next entry of a similar character occurs under January 31, 1726—"The Charter of Freemasons being this day read in Council, it is ordered that the further consideration of said Charter be referred to next Council, and that Alderman Phillips, Mr Crover, Foulks Austin, and Commissioner Spealeer do inspect same." Beyond these two entries, however, no allusions to the Craft are to be found in the Corporation Records.[3]

Although not capable of demonstration, it may, I think, be reasonably inferred that the Charter referred to, was applied for by the Grand Lodge of Munster,[4] in order that its

[1] Not signed.

[2] The minutes of Aug. 12, 1731, and June 21, 1749, are the only ones that refer to the ceremony of initiation, and all are silent as to Masonic *degrees*.

[3] Printed in the "Report on Foreign Correspondence," Grand Lodge of New York, 1879, p. 77.

[4] Note the phrase—"Society of Freemasons"—italicised by me in the extracts from the Cork Municipal Records, and the *London Journal*.

authority might be strengthened as the governing Masonic body of that Province, in which, at the time, there were many private Lodges.

It has been my good fortune to discover a still earlier notice of the Grand Lodge, which appeared in the *London Journal*—July 17, 1725, viz.—"From the same kingdom [Ireland] we have advice that *the Society of Free Masons* had met, and chose the Earl of Ross, Great Master for the year ensuing."

The precise import of this evidence it is impossible to determine. We cannot decide whether Lord Ross was Grand Master of Munster, or of one of the other three Provinces into which the country had been long (geographically) divided; or, assuming that the Province of Leinster then had a Grand Master, whether the jurisdiction of such officer was considered to extend throughout Ireland.[1]

It is probable, however, that the Earl of Ross was elected Grand Master for the Munster Province, and this supposition is strengthened by the circumstance, that in the "Book of Constitutions" published officially by Spratt as Grand Secretary in 1751,[2] the earliest of the Grand Masters of Ireland is stated to have been elected in 1730.

It is uncertain when Freemasonry was first introduced into Ireland. We know, however, that Francis Sorrel—Senior Grand Warden of England, 1723—was "appointed Agent to the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, in the room of Mr French, deceased,"[3] in 1725, and in the same year, among a list of books, described as having been "lately publish'd and sold opposite the Watch House, the North Side of College Green," Dublin, we meet with "The Constitutions of the Freemasons, 2*s.* 2*d.*,"[4] from which it may be inferred there were many Lodges in Ireland requiring copies of such a work. The same argument, therefore, which has been advanced in Chapter XVI., with respect to the permeation of English Masonic ideas into Scotland, will again apply; for, by a parity of reasoning, Sorrel's appointment, and the circulation of Dr Anderson's Constitutions,[5] must have materially conduced to the diffusion in Ireland of those Masonic principles which had their origin in England.

Why the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Munster was restricted to the Province of the same name, I cannot say, but that such was the case, is made clear by the records. The petitions for Lodges appear in each case to have emanated from brethren in the East of Munster (Waterford and Clonmell), and moreover, the Regulations were simply "recomended to the several Lodges *within our precincts.*" Mention is also made of the "precincts of our Grand Lodge," in the laws of 1728, and whilst it is patent that there were numerous Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Munster, I find nothing whatever to suggest that its authority ever extended beyond that Province. At the same time, however, having regard to the number of Lodges under that Grand Lodge, it is singular that with the exceptions of the records of the old Lodge at Cork, and the petitions from Waterford and Clonmell, we are literally without a scrap of information as to their origin, situation, transactions, or periods of existence. The earliest historian of the Irish Craft maintains a uniform silence with regard to them, though it is but reasonable to suppose that some particulars of their history must

[1] As the Grand Lodge of England—until 1724—only issued warrants to Lodges in London and Westminster, its original jurisdiction was confined within lesser limits than those of the Province of Munster.

[2] *Ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 454.

[3] Mist's Weekly Journal, July 17, 1725.

[4] Dublin Journal, No. XXXIII., for Saturday, July 31, 1725.

[5] *Cf. ante*, the Munster Laws of 1728, § x.

have been known to Spratt in 1742-51; also that applications from those Lodges for Charters of Confirmation, must almost certainly have been made later on to the more central and prosperous Grand Lodge at Dublin.

So far as we are enabled to judge, the customs of the English Society were adopted by the Grand Lodge at Cork. The records inform us that the Hon. James O'Brien was Grand Master, 1726-28; Colonel William Maynard, 1729-30; and Lord Kingston, 1731-33, during which period (1726-33) Springett Penn, Robert Longfield, Thomas Riggs, and Adam Newman were successively appointed Deputy Grand Masters. Grand Wardens were also elected. James Crooke is mentioned as Treasurer and Secretary, December 27, 1727; and on June 24, 1730, Samuel Atkins was elected Secretary, the prefix "Grand" being omitted in both cases, according to the early usage of Grand Lodges.[1] In the absence of the Grand Officers, the Master of the old Lodge at Cork—doubtless as representing the Senior Lodge—seems to have invariably presided over the deliberations of the Grand Lodge. Colonel Maynard does not appear to have attended the Grand Lodge after his election as Grand Master, but the brethren present on June 24, 1730, *elected* the D.G.M., Grand Wardens, and Secretary. Lord Kingston only attended on the day of his installation, August 9, 1731, and hence the numerous postponements of the Grand Lodge after that date. The records come to an end, July 26, 1733, and in all probability the "Grand Lodge for the Province of Munster" ceased to meet, owing to the Grand Master declining to preside any longer over its proceedings. It is quite possible that Lord Kingston regarded the existence of two Grand Lodges as undesirable, and though at the head of both, he may only have joined the Munster Society, in order to facilitate its absorption by the more highly favoured confederacy of Lodges at the capital. But, however this may be, the nobleman in question was elected to preside over the "Munster" Grand Lodge a year after he had been chosen to fill a similar position at Dublin, and acted as Grand Master of both associations in 1731. Clearly, therefore, the two Grand Lodges, though rivals, must have been on terms of amity, notwithstanding the invasion of Munster territory by their common chief—who, during his dual government, granted a Dublin warrant to a Lodge at Mitchelstown,[2] in the county of Cork.

Not a single "Munster" warrant—original or copy—has yet been traced. Even the "first Lodge of Ireland" at Cork, now meets under a Dublin Charter, and which, strange to say, is the identical document issued February 1, 1731, by the authority of Lord Kingston, for Mitchelstown.

On the reverse of this warrant are two endorsements. The first is of an uncertain character,[3] but the second clearly indicates that at whatever date the Lodge at Cork procured the warrant of 1731, the Provincial Grand Master for Munster (as representing the Grand Master at Dublin) did not officially sanction its removal from Mitchelstown until some forty-five years after its original issue.[4]

[1] Chap. XVII., p. 392.

[2] A few miles from the City of Cork.

[3] "This Wart. so long missing, thank God, is recovered, and I found the same on record. This we derive under March 2d, 1744" [or "1742."—The signature is illegible].

[4] "This is to certify that this Warrant, No. 1, granted to be held in the Town of Mitchellstown, and many years dormant, has been received [*revived?*] by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and is hereby transferred to be held in future in the City of Cork by the present Master and Wardens and their successors for ever. Given under my hand in Provincial Grand Lodge, in the City of Cork, this 1st day of August 1776, and of Masonry, 5776.

"Robert Davies, P.G.M., M[unster]."

Ireland," the designation would be incorrect on February 1, 1731, but substantially accurate on the same date in 173½, when the nobleman in question was at the head of both the Munster and the Dublin Grand bodies.[1]

The official Calendar of the Grand Lodge of Ireland still further complicates matters by giving a list of Grand Masters, which not only differs considerably from that in the "Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry," appended to the Constitutions, or "Ahiman Rezon" of 1858, and notably from Spratt's list of 1751, but is found to be extremely inaccurate[2] when collated with the Transactions of the Grand Lodge for the Province of Munster from 1726 to 1733.

According to Spratt, Lord Kingston was Grand Master in 1730, also in 1735, and again in 1745-46. The office was filled by Viscount Mountjoy,[3] subsequently first Earl of Blessington, in 1738-39; and from its formation the Grand Lodge of Ireland had "a noble brother at its head," until the year 1747, when Lord Kingston was succeeded by Sir Marmaduke Wyville.

On May 7, 1740, the Deputy Grand Master (Callaghan) proposed Lords Anglesey, Tullamore, and Donneraile for the office of Grand Master, which was the first contested election. Lord Donneraile, who obtained the suffrages of the majority, was installed in the June ensuing; and in the following year Lord Tullamore occupied the chair, and was succeeded by Baron Southwell in 1743. Lord Southwell attended the Grand Lodge held December 7, 1731, and in the minutes of the Grand Lodge of England for November 21, 1732, is named as a visitor, and styled "Provincial Grand Master in Ireland." The decease of Lord Allen, soon after his re-election on May 15, 1745, "deeply affected the Brotherhood with sorrow for so sensible a loss." Spratt, from whom I quote,[4] states that applications were "made to former Grand Masters and other noble Brethren" to fill the vacant chair, but without avail. "Then Masonry in *Ireland* might be said to be in a Twilight for want of its proper Lustre, till Application was made to the truly noble, and ever to be esteemed among Masons, the Lord Kingston. He, like an affectionate and tender Brother, always ready to espouse the Cause of Truth, Charity, and Virtue, most humanely and readily condescended to illuminate the Cause he had often been a shining ornament in." This nobleman, who was chosen Grand Master for the remainder of the term, was re-elected on May 7, 1746.

John Putland, D.G.M., announced to the Grand Lodge on January 3, 1749, that the late Grand Master, Sir M. Wyville, with Lord Kingsborough, G.M., the D.G.M., Grand Wardens, and other distinguished brethren, had "formed themselves into a regular Lodge to consult the Good of the Craft, and, as far as in their Power lies, promote the welfare of the Fraternity in general." After a complimentary resolution it was at once ordered "That a Registry be opened in the Front of the Grand Register Book for the said Lodge, and that the same shall henceforth be distinguished and known by the Denomination of the GRAND MASTER'S LODGE, and that all or any of the members thereof, who does at any Time think proper to visit the Grand Lodge, shall take place of every other Lodge on the Registry or

[1] It is indeed barely possible that the officers of 1731 were those of the previous year, in which case the Warrant of No. 1 may have been dated 173¾, but the supposition has very little to recommend it.

[2] According to the same publication, Lodge No. 1, Cork, was formed in 1731, and No. 2, Dublin, in 1727. Thus the latter is represented as antedating by three years the Grand Lodge from which its warrant was derived! In reality, however, No. 2 was chartered October 24, 1732, as appears from a transcript of the Warrant published by Hughan in 1875 (Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., p. 284).

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XIX., pp. 441, 454.

[4] Constitutions, 1751.

Roll Books of this Kingdom; and that each and every of them shall be as fully entitulled to all and every of the Privileges and Freedoms thereof, as any other member or members that this Grand Lodge is composed of."[1]

According to the Regulations of 1816, membership of the Grand Lodge was restricted—in the case of brethren of the Grand Master's Lodge—to Master Masons. By the Laws, however, of 1839, 1850, and 1858, such membership was restricted to the brethren of that Lodge who had been raised prior to June 9, 1837, whilst in the latest code (1875) the clause is omitted, and the representation of the Lodge is merely based on the same plan as those of the other Lodges. It continues, however, to enjoy precedence over the rest, and is shown at the head of the list without a number. The Lodge is governed by the Grand Master or the D.G.M.; and in their absence, by the acting Master, who is annually elected by the members. Candidates for admission must be approved by the Grand (or Deputy Grand) Master; and the members "are permitted to wear aprons fringed and bound with gold, similar to those worn by the Grand Officers, but distinguished by the letters G.M.L. embroidered in gold thereon."[2]

The Centenary of this highly favoured Lodge was celebrated on January 3, 1849, the circumstance being notified to the Grand Lodge of England on April 25 following, when Mr Godfrey Brereton, Representative to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, presented to the Earl of Zetland, Grand Master, a medal struck in commemoration of that event, which the Duke of Leinster, G.M., "requested the Grand Lodge of England to accept as a testimony of respect and fraternal regard."[3]

The loss of the early records of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, though variously explained, has never been satisfactorily accounted for. One statement is, that the minutes of prior date to June 24, 1780, were placed in the hands of some person for transcription, whose charge for his labours proving excessive, payment was refused, whereupon both writings —original and copy—disappeared. According to another account, these records were abstracted by Alexander Seton—a prominent figure in the schism which culminated in the formation of the Grand Lodge of Ulster. But without going so far as to ascribe the theft to any particular individual, it is probable, on the whole, that the early minutes of the Grand Lodge of Ireland passed out of the archives of that body, and were destroyed during the pendency of the secession.

In the absence of official documents, therefore, it is difficult to trace even the sequence of Grand Masters, and as the evidence is conflicting,[4] a really trustworthy list of these rulers of the Craft will only be forthcoming when the warrants issued to Lodges between 1730 and 1780 have been diligently examined.

[1] An "Atholl" Lodge, bearing the same name, and endowed with corresponding privileges, was duly proclaimed, and took the first seat as No. I., September 5, 1759. The warrant, which is dated August 13 in that year, was issued by the authority of Lord Blessington. *Cf.* Gould, Atholl Lodges, p. 1.

[2] Constitutions, 1875, p. 30.

[3] "1849, *January* 3.—The celebration of the centenary of the Grand Master's Lodge, at which his Grace the Duke of Leinster, G.M., presided, attended by the Grand Officers, the representatives of the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland, and the Grand Steward's Lodge of England, etc., with a numerous assemblage of the brethren. Commemorative medals were struck for the occasion, and worn by the members of the Lodge, and were also presented to the various Grand Lodges through their representatives" (Constitutions, 1858, p. 192).

[4] The *names* of those brethren who are said to have presided over the Irish Craft—derived both from official, and non-official sources—will be found in the Appendix.

The Marquess of Kildare (afterwards second Duke of Leinster) served his first term as Grand Master in 1771; and Viscount Dunluce (afterwards Earl and Marquess of Antrim) *appears*[1] to have done the same thing in 1773. The first Earl of Mornington—father of the great Duke of Wellington[2]—presided over the Society in 1777, and his son, the second Earl—later Marquess of Wellesley—in 1782-83.

Reference has already been made to the first (*Irish*) Book of Constitutions, which was published by John Pennell in 1730. This was little more than Anderson's publication (1723) brought down to date, the new matter being about counterbalanced by the omission of some of the old; for instance, the introductory portion, the "Old Charges," and even the Regulations are much curtailed.

It is very greatly to be regretted that the Constitutions of 1730 throw no light whatever on the opening history of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

The next edition of the Constitutions seems to have appeared in 1744, and was published with Dr Dassigny's "Impartial Enquiry" of the same year,[3] the title being "The General Regulations of the Free and Accepted Masons in the Kingdom of Ireland, Pursuant to the *English* Constitutions, approved of and agreed upon by the Grand Lodge in Dublin, on the 24th June 1741, Tullamore, Grand Master." The volume was dedicated to Lord Allen, the Grand Master, by Grand Secretary Spratt. Some 400 names are included in the list of subscribers, and among them we meet with those of "The Hon. Eliz. Alldworth" (the "Lady Freemason"), and "Mr Laurence McDermott,"[4] the latter being in all probability intended for that of the famous "journeyman painter," then a member of No. 26, Dublin, and who refers to the work in his "Ahiman Rezon" of 1756.

Spratt's Book of Constitutions (1751) presents, in parallel columns, the English Laws of 1738, and those agreed to in 1739 during "the second year of the Grand Mastership of the Lord Viscount Mountjoy."[5] The "Regulations of the Committee of Charity," which follow, were approved of in 1738. The work contains a short history of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which is brought down to the year 1750. The list of about 200 subscribers contains the names of several Officers of the Grand Lodge, and of brethren at Cork,—among the latter, that of David Fitzgerald, having the letters "P.D.G.M.M." appended.[6] The compiler refers to the period covered by the years 1747-49 in the following terms:—"It may be justly said, that within these three last years Freemasonry has arrived to the highest Perfection it ever was in *Ireland*, as is observed by many old Brothers, who had neglected the Lodges and lain rusty some years past, now re-entering among their harmonious Brethren, and joining in Concord to strengthen their Cement."

Another revision of the "Book of Constitutions" took place in 1768, and was approved by the Grand Lodge on November 3 of that year. This Code remained in force, or at least was continually reprinted, down to the year 1807, when the second edition of the "Ahiman Rezon,"

[1] *I.e.*, according to some lists, but he was certainly Grand Master of Ireland in 1779-81, and of England (*Ancients*), 1783-91. *Cf.* Chap. XIX., p. 448.

[2] Initiated into Freemasonry December 7, 1790, in No. 494, at Trim (Furnell, Recorded History of Irish Masonry, p. 45). With the exception of the date, which is uncertain, the foregoing statement is borne out by the records of No. 494. The signature of the Duke—"A. Wesley" (*sic*)—is still extant. His grandfather, father, and brother, each in turn filled the chair of this Lodge. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 254, note 3.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Memorials, 1874, p. 6. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 454.

[6] Provincial Deputy G.M., Munster.

by Charles Downes, P.M., 141, "Printer to the Grand Lodge," was issued, the first having been published in 1804, in which the "Rules, Orders, and Regulations" added between 1768 and 1803 were printed after the original XXIX. clauses. From very early times the officers of Lodges were required to pass through instructions, and give account of their proficiency. Thus, in 1768, it was provided by Article (or Regulation) IX. that "every Master and Warden, at his first entrance, shall stand such examination as the Grand Master, or the Right Worshipful in the chair, shall appoint; and, if found incapable of his office, shall not be received as a member of the Grand Lodge." For more than a century the Grand Lodge of Ireland has enjoined the strictest caution in the admission of new members; and the "Constitutions" lay down rules for preliminary inquiry into the character of candidates for initiation, which it is only to be regretted do not extend throughout the Masonic jurisdictions of Great Britain. Every Lodge is required to have a seal, with the impression of a hand and trowel, encompassed round with the name of the town or city where it is held. This rule has been in force from 1768.

The members of "Army Lodges" were relieved from the payment of annual contributions, except whilst "on Dublin duty," in 1768; but on November 6, 1788, a registry fee of 1s. 1d. per member was imposed; the dues, however, payable by all Lodges were thoroughly revised on December 27, 1845.

In 1779 it was ordered "That any brethren meeting on Sunday as a Lodge be excluded from the Grand Lodge," the prohibition being inserted even so late as the edition of 1875.[1]

The following regulation was passed in October 1789:—"That no Masonic transaction be inserted in a newspaper by a brother without permission from the Grand Lodge." This interdict, which remains in full force, has had a very prejudicial effect by instilling the idea that secrecy, even in "routine" matters, is enjoined by the Grand Lodge, and as a natural result the materials from which a really comprehensive history of Irish Freemasonry might be written, do not exist.

The Numerical List of Lodges on the Register of the kingdom of Ireland for 1885, shows the "Grand Master's Lodge" at the head of the Roll without a number, after which follow 387 Lodges, with numbers ranging from *one* to 1014. Of the 345 Lodges to No. 645 of 1785, only forty-seven are dated the years when the warrants were originally granted. No. 3 Cork, No. 4 Dublin, and No. 7 Belfast, are now dated 1808, 1825, and 1875 respectively, though the Lodges which were originally constituted with those numbers must have been chartered in 1731-32. These are but a few instances of the many curious numerical anomalies of the Register of Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and suffice to prove that the numbers which distinguish such Lodges at the present time frequently afford no real indication of their antiquity. There are, however, several Lodges on the Roll which date from 1732 to 1785, but how many of these can prove continuous working for a century, or for three Jubilees, as several have done in England of recent years, it would be difficult to determine.

Centenary Warrants—as they are termed in this country—are not granted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, therefore the Irish records are not searched with the same pertinacity as in England, where an emulation exists among the members of old Lodges to prove an uninterrupted Lodge-existence of a century. Neither are there histories published of particular Lodges, as in England, Scotland, and America, so that not only the Irish Craft, but also the

[1] In England, and within living memory, the practice of meeting on the Sunday was a very favourite one with Lodges of Instruction.

brethren of other jurisdictions, have, except in a few solitary instances, to put up with the entire absence of those details of Masonic life and activity which would throw a strong light on the Freemasonry of the Sister Kingdom.

I have already alluded to the first Lodge of Ireland, 1731, and the Grand Master's Lodge, 1749. The former, at Cork (with twelve others), enumerated by Milliken, was in existence in 1769, which year begins "the regular record," according to his authority, "after the lapse of forty years," but I have shown that the "lapse" was not to such an extent as Milliken imagined. The minutes of No. 1 from 1769 are worth reproduction, and should be published. On December 5, 1770, according to these records, "Richard, Earl of Barrymore, was admitted Entred Apprentice and Fellow Craft, and was afterwards raised to the sublime Degree of Master Mason." It will be recollected that the fourth Duke of Atholl was hurried through the degrees in the same manner in 1775,[1] and the cases of the two noblemen differ only in one particular, the Earl not being elected Master of the Lodge[2] until the *following evening*, whilst the Duke was placed in that office *the same night!*

In August 1773, in order to encourage the Irish manufactures, each member of No. 1 agreed "to provide a uniform of Irish Cloth, the colour garter blue, with crimson waistcoat and breeches."[3] Mr Neilson[4] mentions another Lodge, the members of which "wore the regimental uniform for nearly sixty-one years." This, the "first Volunteer Lodge of Ireland," No. 620, was constituted on September 13, 1783. The members were fined if present at any of its meetings without being clothed according to the By-Laws; the prescribed uniform being worn until January 10, 1844, when it was resolved that "the dress be black trousers and coat, satin faced, and velvet collar, with white vest." The late Rev. J. J. MacSorley[5] states that the "satin facings" were of the same colour as the uniform.

Of the other twelve Warrants for Cork in 1769, as recorded by Milliken, nearly all have been reissued to other Lodges, and bear later dates. Of these, No. 25 is now at Dublin, and is dated 1853; No. 28 is at Antrim, and dates from 1825; No. 67 is at Bantry (1884); No. 167 at Athy (1840); whilst No. 224 went all the way to Bermuda in 1867; No. 295 is still held in the 4th Dragoon Guards, as it has been from 1758—so it was in all probability for a time in Cork during 1769—and occurs in like manner in the lists of 1804 and 1813. In the latter Register, no less than 122 military Lodges are enumerated, and on the Roll of 1822 there were 42, whereas there are only 9 in 1885.[6] No. 347 has gone to Tasmania (from 1872); and Nos. 383, 395, and 400 are not on the present list. No. 95 is still at Cork, but dating from 1771, it must have been reissued since 1769. The only other Lodge to be accounted for is No. 27, which is now held at Dublin, and is declared to date from 1733. A sketch of this Lodge has been given by Hughan in the *Masonic Magazine*,[7] where its chequered career can be studied by the curious reader. The "Shamrock Lodge," originally chartered about 1733, was granted a singular privilege. Its members were allowed to wear aprons with "green flaps," and a golden shamrock embroidered thereon. As No. 27 Cork, it is inserted in the Register of 1804, and the name occurs on the Hon. Mrs Aldworth's Masonic Jewel, which

[1] Chap. XIX., p. 447.

[2] Sir Robert Tilson Deane, Bart., and Governor Jeffreys were the Wardens.

[3] Historico-Masonic Tracts, p. 117.

[4] Freemason, Oct. 1, 1881.

[5] The Rev. J. J. MacSorley was initiated in No. 620 on September 4, 1838, and was Grand Chaplain of Ireland for more than a quarter of a century. He was long known as the "Father of the Lodge."

[6] *Cf. ante*, p. 8, note 5.

[7] April 1878.

was given by the then owner to a P.M. of that Lodge, May 1, 1816; its Warrant being exchanged by the members of No. 167, Castle Townshend, about 1840. Shortly afterwards it languished, and in 1876 was transferred to Dublin, the present title of the Lodge being the "Abercorn." The "Shamrock" Lodge at one time kept a pack of hounds, called the "Masonic Harriers," and after enjoying the pleasures of the chase, the "Charter song" was often called for, when the members sang in chorus the beautiful words of the Irish poet:—

"O, the Shamrock! the green immortal Shamrock!
Chosen leaf
Of Bard and Chief,
Old Erin's native Shamrock."

Milliken informs us that the Hon. Mrs Aldworth was initiated in No. 95. Another writer connects the occurrence with the annals of No. 150. But although that lady unquestionably became a member of the Society, the Lodge in which she was admitted appears to have been No. 44—warranted in 1735.[1]

The Hon. Elizabeth St Leger was the youngest child and only daughter of the first Viscount Doneraile. The date of her initiation is uncertain, though it must have taken place before 1744, in which year her name appears on the list of subscribers to a Masonic work.[2] According to one account, the adventurous young lady concealed herself in a clock; and according to another, she witnessed the proceedings of the Lodge through a crevice in the wall. All versions of the occurrence agree, however, in stating that the eavesdropper was detected, and afterwards initiated in due form. On the death of her brother, without issue, the family estates passed to the "Lady Freemason," who married Richard Aldworth of Newmarket, in the county of Cork, and the title of Viscount Doneraile was subsequently revived in the person of their son. The portrait of Mrs Aldworth—in Masonic clothing—hangs in many of the Irish Lodge-rooms, and her apron is still preserved at "Newmarket House."

The old Lodge, No. 13,[3] held at Limerick from the year 1732, is still on the Roll, the testimony of Milliken being, that it has, "although Lodges, like all human institutions, are prone to change, preserved its respectability from its first formation." The same writer relates a pleasing story in illustration of the good feeling of its members. In 1812 two small vessels were captured by Captain Marincourt of "La Furel." One of these hailed from Youghal. The two Captains were Freemasons, and the captor, who was also a Brother, allowed them their liberty on their pledge to do their utmost to obtain the release of "Brother Joseph Gautier, then a prisoner of war in England," or failing in their endeavours, "they bound themselves to proceed to France within a given time, and surrender." Captain Marincourt and his ship were captured shortly afterwards by the British frigate "La Modeste," and in consequence of his Masonic conduct the French commander was unconditionally released.

[1] For details of this initiation, which may justly claim a place among the "remarkable occurrences in Freemasonry"—see "Biographical Memoir of the Hon. Mrs Aldworth, the Female Freemason" (Spencer, London), which is based on an earlier pamphlet published at Cork in 1811. The latter is believed to have been compiled from information supplied by Richard Hill of Doneraile, son of Arundel Hill, who was present at the occurrence. The name of Lord Doneraile, W.M., No. 44, "grandson of the Hon. Mrs Aldworth," will be found in the list of subscribers.

[2] By Dr Fifield Dassigny. *Cf. ante*, p. 40; and Chap. XIX., pp. 439, 458.

[3] *The Pocket Companion for Freemasons*, Dublin, 1735, gives a list of thirty-seven Irish Lodges. Of these, five were held in regiments, and one—No. 14—at Limerick.

The Lodge, No. 13 Limerick, together with Nos. 271 and 952 of the same town, by way of marking their esteem for his character, sent him a vase, of the value of one hundred pounds, but which he did not live long enough to receive. The handsome gift was in consequence returned to the donors, "where it remains an ornament in Lodge No. 13, and a memorial of the sublime friendship existing between Freemasons."[1]

The jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland was invaded by "Mother Kilwinning" in 1779, whose "Grand Master," the Earl of Eglinton, granted a Warrant in that year to "the High Knights' Templars of Ireland, Kilwinning Lodge,"[2] Dublin. The members of this Scottish Lodge fully considered that they were justified in working the Knight Templar degree by virtue of their charter, and actually did so as early as December 27, 1779. Other degrees were also wrought by the same body, such as the Royal Arch in 1781, and the Prince Rose Croix in 1782, whilst the "Chair," the "Excellent," and the "Super Excellent" degrees came in for a share of their attention. From this *Lodge* arose the "Early Grand Encampment of Ireland," which has chartered over fifty "Encampments,"—some having been for Scotland and England,[3]—whilst the present "Kilwinning Preceptory," Dublin, is an offshoot of the year 1780. When the "rights" of this Knight Templar Organisation were disputed or questioned, their "Sublime Commander" (John Fowler) maintained that their Warrant was "holden from the Royal Mother Lodge of Kilwinning of Scotland, the true source from which any legal authority could be obtained," and it was declared that "the documents to support this statement are in the archives of the Chapter, ready for the inspection of such Knights' Templars as choose to examine them." The Charter,[4] however, simply authorised the formation of a *Lodge*, "Mother Kilwinning" never having worked any other than the *three* degrees, and those only *since* the third decade of the last century.

The erection of this daughter Lodge encouraged, however, the belief in Kilwinning being a centre of the *hauts grades*. In 1813 application was made to the Mother Lodge to authorise the transfer of a "Black Warrant"[5] from Knights of the Temple and of Malta, in the Westmeath Militia, to brethren in the same degree serving in the Shropshire Militia. But the Lodge of Kilwinning, in reply to the "Sir Knights" of the latter regiment, repudiated the existence of any maternal tie between herself and any Society of Masonic Knighthood, and confessed her inability to "communicate upon Mason business farther than the Three Steps."[6]

Another old Lodge requires a passing notice. On St John's Day (in harvest) 1800, the members of No. 60, Ennis, attended the Roman Catholic chapel there, and heard a sermon by the Rev. Dr M'Donagh (Parish Priest), who subsequently dined with the Brethren. This

[1] Historico-Masonic Tracts, p. 119.

[2] The history of this Lodge has been narrated—though unfortunately in a series of articles not restricted to a single channel of publication—by W. J. Hughan and J. H. Neilson.

[3] Hughan has copies of Charters granted to Aberdeen (No. 43) in 1807, and to Scarborough (No. 51) in 1809, by authority of the "Early Grand Master."

[4] Copies of the Petition of April 1779, and of the Warrant of October 27, 1779, are to be found in the "History of Mother Kilwinning Lodge," by Robert Wylie, 1882, pp. 370, 371.

[5] "It was to their intercourse with brethren belonging to regiments serving in Ireland towards the end of the last century, that Scotch Lodges owed their acquaintance with Knight Templarism. This Order, then known as '*Black Masonry*,' was propagated, to a large extent, through Charters issued by the 'High Knights' Templars of Ireland, Kilwinning Lodge'—a body of Freemasons in Dublin, who were constituted by Mother Kilwinning in 1779, for the practice of the Craft Degrees" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 287).

[6] Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning (Freemasons' Magazine, Feb. 18, 1865, p. 114).

Lodge was warranted in 1736, and is still on the roll, with the same number and place of meeting.

We learn from a non-official source "that in the year 1797 Freemasonry in Ireland flourished so greatly under its accomplished Grand Master, the Earl of Donoughmore, that scarcely a village was without its Masonic meeting. The numbers of Masons, therefore, in the sister isle, manifested an enthusiasm which greatly exceeded its popularity in England. About 50 Lodges met in Dublin alone, and in the city of Armagh, 34 Lodges of that single county assembled in general committee to vote resolutions expressive of their loyalty, with a declaration to support the King and Constitution. In 1834 scarcely eight Lodges met in Dublin."[1]

There was a great deal of Masonic enthusiasm in Ireland during the closing years of the last century. Indeed this is placed beyond doubt by the large number of Lodges on the Roll at that period, but nevertheless the supply was plainly in excess of the legitimate demand, for many of them ceased to meet within a very short period of their constitution. In a list for 1804[2] the numbers range from 1 to 951, but of these 178 were vacant, consequently there were only 773 Lodges in actual existence. A still larger proportion of extinct Lodges is disclosed by the printed report of June 24, 1816. At that date only 607 Lodges had paid their dues, 110 were in arrears not exceeding five years, and 68 beyond that period. There were 25 military Lodges of which no account had been received "for many years," and 210 were "*dormant or cancelled!*" In other words 607 had obeyed the laws, and 413 had not, with respect to the annual and other payments to the Grand Lodge, there being 810 on the Roll, and 210 erased from the Register.[3]

In order to dispose of the 210 numbers then vacant, together with such others as were in arrear of dues and cancelled, it was ordered "that on and after June 24, 1817, the vacant numbers shall be granted to existing Lodges, according to seniority." The petitioning bodies were to be properly qualified and recommended, and a fee of one guinea was sanctioned "to meet the expense of revival and exchange" of each warrant.

"Perfect uniformity of Warrants" was also aimed at, and Lodges undesirous of changing the numbers they then bore, were recommended to "take a duplicate of same off the improved plate," with a distinct pledge that the original date should be preserved and inserted.

On the completion of these changes it was designed that all new warrants granted by the Grand Lodge should be ordered for the highest senior number then vacant on the List, so that the numerical order should not be increased till all the vacant numbers were disposed of.

From 1817 to the present time the "numerical order" has not been increased, the numbers distinguishing the Lodges in 1885 not having overlapped the list of June 24, 1816. Indeed, on the contrary, out of the 1020 numbers then existing, no less than 634 are at the present moment available for allotment! It has been observed by Mr Neilson that "The custom in Ireland as to Lodges being known, is different from England and Scotland, as in Ireland every Lodge is known only by its number, the name being a secondary matter, and consequently Lodge numbers have *never been changed from the time of their first being granted.*"

[1] Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1834, p. 318.

[2] "Printed by Brother C. Downes." Copies of this rare work are to be found in the libraries of Mr J. H. Neilson. Dublin; Mr J. Lane, Torquay; and of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, Bath.

[3] W. J. Hughan, in the *Freemason*, August 18, 1877.

But it would be difficult to substantiate this statement, at all events with regard to the usage prevailing between the years 1816-20, for it is evident that some Lodges then took higher numbers, and consequently violent numerical changes must have been made, of which no account has been officially notified from that period to this, the special regulations mentioned only affecting *old* Lodges, the new warrants being provided for in the revised Laws. Under the original Grand Lodge of England, however, and also in Scotland, changes of numbers have been duly chronicled, so that each Lodge can be traced through all its numerical vicissitudes, and if distinguished by a high number, though of late origin, the discrepancy is capable of explanation. In 1814 there were 647 Lodges on the Roll of England, and about 322—of which 42 were dormant or erased—on that of Scotland. Therefore, in the year named (1814) the total number of Lodges nominally *at work* under the three Masonic jurisdictions of these islands was as follows:—In England, 647; in Scotland, 280; and in Ireland, 810. Many of these were, of course, held *out* of the countries within whose jurisdictions they were comprised. According to the Irish Roll, for example, we find that two Lodges met in England—at Norwich [1] and the "Middle Temple, London," [2] respectively—a third in "Beeziers (*sic*), France;" [3] a fourth at New York; and a fifth at Baltimore; besides some others which assembled in parts of the world—the colonies and dependencies of the British Crown—where their presence does not call for any remark.

For the convenience of the general reader, and to avoid prolixity, the further history of the Grand Lodges of Ireland will be resumed in Chapter XXX., and concluded in the Appendix.[4] The subject of Military or Regimental Lodges—which had their origin in Ireland—will be pursued with some fulness in the former, whilst the general statistics of Irish Freemasonry will be found collected in the latter.

[1] No. 148. [2] No. 247. [3] No. 503.

[4] Subsequent references to the description *given in this work*, of Freemasonry in Ireland, must therefore be held to apply to Chapters XXII. and XXX., and to the portions of the Appendix which correspond with those divisions of the text. *Cf. post*, p. 132.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND.

IT has been already shown that in 1727, or within a decade of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, the permeation of southern ideas was very thorough in the northern capital.[1] Thence, by radiation, the English novelties became everywhere engrafted on the Masonry of Scotland.[2]

The innovations are known to have taken firm root in Edinburgh as early as 1729, and their general diffusion throughout the Scottish kingdom was a natural consequence of the event, which it will next become my task to relate, viz., the erection of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

From causes which can hardly be realised with the distinctness that might seem desirable, the circumstances immediately preceding the formation of governing bodies in the two territorial divisions of Great Britain were wholly dissimilar. In the South, and apart from York, we only hear of four Lodges, either as connected with the movement of 1717, or as being in existence at the time. Whereas, in the North, at the Grand Election of 1736, fully one hundred Lodges were in actual being, of which no less than thirty-three were represented on the occasion. As previously suggested, these early Scottish Lodges appear to have existed for certain trade—or operative—purposes, of which the necessity may have passed away, or at least has been unrecorded in the South.[3] It is possible that the course of legislation reviewed in Chapter VII., and ending with the Statute of Apprentices[4]—5 Eliz., c. iv.—enacted before the Union of the kingdoms, may have contributed to this divergency by modifying the relations between the several classes in the (operative) Lodge.

The proceedings of the English legislature were, of course, of limited application; and whilst therefore we may concede the possibility of the bonds being in some degree loosened which in the South connected the brethren of the Lodge, no similar result could have followed in the North. Indeed, long prior to the Union, at a convocation of master-tradesmen held at Falkland—October 26, 1636—under the presidency of Sir Anthony Alexander, General Warden and Master of Work to Charles I., the establishment of "Companies" of not less than twenty persons—which must often have been identical with, and never very unlike, *Lodges*[5]—in those parts of Scotland where no similar trade society already existed, was recommended as

[1] *Ante*, p. 337.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 314.
[3] *Ante*, pp. 258, 308.
[4] Chap. VII., p. 376 *et seq.* See also p. 372.
[5] *Cf.* Chap. XV., pp. 211, 212.

a means of putting an end to certain grievances, of which the members present at the meeting complained. The regulations passed on this occasion were "accepted" by the Lodge of Atcheson's Haven, January 4, 1637.[1] Even in later years, though at a period still anterior to the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the principle of association or combination met with much favour in that kingdom. Two or three years after 1717—if we follow Lecky[2] as our guide—clubs in Scotland began to multiply.

The abuses in the "airtis and craftis" of the Scottish building trades, which the formation of "Companies" was designed to repress,[3] had their counterparts in the "intolerable hardships" so feelingly complained of by the London Apprentices in 1641.[4] The latter—whose grievances were not abated, on becoming free of their trade—formed in many cases journeymen societies, which I think must have flourished to a far greater extent than has been commonly supposed.[5] In the Scottish "Companies," therefore, we meet with an organisation closely analogous to that of the English craft guild, as it existed prior to the uprooting of these institutions by the summary legislation under the Tudor Sovereigns.[6] The journeymen fraternities in this country were doubtless established on a very different basis, but I am disposed to believe that their influence, could we succeed in tracing it, would be found to have left its mark on the character of our English Freemasonry. The "Companies," however, may reasonably be supposed to have done more than merely affix a tinge or colouring to the Masonry of Scotland; and it is highly probable that the principle they embodied—that of combination or association—was a very potent factor in the preservation of the machinery of the *Lodge* for the purposes of the building trades.

In proceeding with the history of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the remark may be expressed, that if any surprise is permissible at the establishment of that body in 1736, it can only legitimately arise from the circumstance that the Masons of Edinburgh allowed the brethren in York, Munster, and Dublin to precede them in following the example set at London in 1717. If any one influence more than another conduced to the eventual erection of a governing Masonic body for Scotland, it will be found, I think, in the fact that within the comparatively short space of thirteen years, six prominent noblemen, all of whom were connected with the northern kingdom, had filled the chair of the Grand Lodge of England. One of these, the Earl of Crawford, would probably have been elected the first Grand Master of Scotland, but declined the honour, as he was leaving for England, and "was sensible that nothing could be a greater loss to the first Grand Lodge than the absence of the G. Master."[7] The Earl of Home, Master of the Lodge of Kilwinning, at the Scots Arms, Edinburgh, appears after this to have stepped into the place of Lord Crawford as the candidate whose election would have been most acceptable to the Lodges, though in the result, as we shall presently see, and at the conclusion of a pre-arranged drama, William St Clair, of Roslin, was chosen as Grand Master.

Although the preliminaries of the Grand Election were represented to have been taken by "the *four* Lodges in and about Edinburgh," there were at that time *six* Lodges in the metropolitan district, two of which, Canongate and Leith (*or* Leith and Canongate) and the Journeymen, were ignored in these proceedings. The other Lodges thus acting in concert were those of

[1] Lyon, Hist of L. of Edinburgh, p. 87. [2] Vol. II., p. 88. [3] Chap. VIII., p. 446. [4] Chap. VII., p. 372.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 370 *et seq.* [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 332, 337. [7] A. Ross, Freemasonry in Inverness 1877, p. 2.



Mary's Chapel, Canongate Kilwinning, Kilwinning Scots Arms,[1] and Leith Kilwinning—a recent offshoot from Canongate Kilwinning. The entire evidence, however, as marshalled by Lyon, makes it tolerably clear that in the agitation for a Scottish Grand Lodge the initiative was taken by Canongate Kilwinning. On September 29, 1735, as appears from the minutes of that body, the duty of "framing proposals to be laid before the several Lodges in order to the choosing of a Grand Master for Scotland," was remitted to a committee, whilst there is no recorded meeting of the four (subsequently) associated Lodges, at which the same subject was considered, until October 15, 1736, when delegates from the Lodges in question—Mary's Chapel, Canongate Kilwinning, Kilwinning Scots Arms, and Leith Kilwinning—met, and agreed upon a form of circular to be sent to all the Scottish Lodges, inviting their attendance either in person or by proxy for the purpose of electing a Grand Master.

It was eventually decided that the election should take place in Mary's Chapel on Tuesday, November 30, 1736, at half-past two in the afternoon; and at the appointed time thirty-three of the hundred or more Lodges that had been invited, were found to be represented, each by a Master and two Wardens. These were[2]:—

Mary's Chappell.
Kilwining.
Canongate Killwining.
Killwining Scots Arms.
Killwining Leith.
Killwining Glasgow
Coupar of Fyfe.
Linlithgow.
Dumfermling.
Dundee.
Dalkeith.
Aitcheson's Haven.
Selkirg.
Innverness.
Lessmahaggow.
Saint Brides at Douglass.
Lanark.
Strathaven.
Hamilton.
Dunse.
Kirkcaldie.
Journeymen Massons of Edinburgh.
Kirkintilloch.
Biggar.
Sanquhar.
Peebles.
Glasgow St Mungo's.
Greenock.
Fullkirk.
Aberdeen.
Mariaburgh.[3]
Canongate and Leith. *et e contra.*
Monross.

To obviate jealousies in the matter of precedency, each Lodge was placed on the roll in the order in which it entered the hall.

No amendments were offered to the form of procedure, or to the draft of the Constitutions, which had been submitted to the Lodges, and the roll having been finally adjusted, the following resignation of the office of hereditary Grand Master was tendered by the Laird of Roslin, and read to the meeting:—

"I, William St Clair of Rossline, Esquire, taking into my consideration that the Massons in Scotland did, by several deeds, constitute and appoint William and Sir William St Clairs of Rossline, my ancestors, and their heirs, to be their patrons, protectors, judges, or masters; and that my holding or claiming any such jurisdiction, right, or privilege, might be prejudiciall to the Craft and vocation of Massonrie, whereof I am a member, and I, being desireous to advance and promote the good and utility of the said Craft of Massonrie to the utmost of

[1] Formed February 14, 1729. Its original members were all Theoretical Masons. The Earls of Crawfurd, Kilmarnock, Cromarty, and Home; Lords Garlies, Erskine, and Colville; Sir Alexander Hope, and Captain John Young—D.G.M. 1736-52—were members, November 30, 1736; at which date the name of only one practical [*i.e.*, operative] Mason appears on the roll (Lyon, p. 175; *cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 312).

[2] Lyon, p. 172.

[3] Omitted in the Constitutions (1836, 1848, and 1852), and by Lawrie (1804).

my power, doe therefore hereby, for me and my heirs, renounce, quit, claim, overgive, and discharge, all right, claim, or pretence that I, or my heirs, had, have, or any ways may have, pretend to, or claim, to be patron, protector, judge, or master of the Massons in Scotland, in virtue of any deed or deeds made and granted by the said Massons, or of any grant or charter made by any of the Kings of Scotland, to and in favours of the said William and Sir William St Clairs of Rossline, or any others of my predecessors, or any other manner of way whatsomever, for now and ever: And I bind and oblige me, and my heirs, to warrand this present renounciation and discharge at all hands; and I consent to the registration hereof in the Books of Councill and Session, or any other judge's books competent, therin to remain for preservation; and thereto I constitute
my procurators, &c. In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents (written by David Maul, Writer to the Signet), at Edinburgh, the twenty-fourth day of November one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six years, before these witnesses, George Fraser, Deputy Auditor of the Excise in Scotland, Master of the Canongate Lodge; and William Montgomerie, Merchant in Leith, Master of the Leith Lodge.

Sic Subscribitur WM. ST CLAIR.

Geo. Fraser, Canongate Kilwinning, witness.
Wm. Montgomerie, Leith Kilwinning, witness.

Several, at least, and possibly a majority of the representatives present, had been instructed to vote for the Earl of Home, whilst none of the Lodges, with the exception of Canongate Kilwinning—of which St Clair was a member—up till the period of election, appear to have been aware upon what grounds the latter's claims were to be urged. Nevertheless, the brethren were so fascinated with the apparent magnanimity, disinterestedness, and zeal displayed in his "Resignation," that the Deed was accepted with a unanimity that must have been very gratifying to the Lodge at whose instance it had been drawn, and the abdication of an obsolete office in Operative Masonry was made the ground of St Clair being chosen to fill the post of first Grand Master in the Scottish Grand Lodge of Speculative Masons.[1]

William St Clair was initiated in Canongate Kilwinning, May 18, 1736, or nearly eight months *after* the "chusing of a Grand Master" had first been discussed in that Lodge, and was "advanced to the degree of Fellow Craft" in the following month, "paying into the box as usual." John Douglas, a surgeon, and a member of the Lodge of Kirkcaldy, next appears on the scene. This brother was—August 4, 1736—in consideration "of proofs done and to be done," affiliated by Canongate Kilwinning, and on the same occasion appointed "Secretary for the time, with power to appoint his own deputy, in order to his making out a scheme for bringing about a Grand Master for Scotland." Eight days prior to the Grand Election, St Clair was advanced to "the degree of Master Mason," and two days later he signed the document that was to facilitate the election of a Grand Master, which was written and attested by three leading members of his Mother-Lodge.

In the words of the highest authority on the subject of Scottish Masonry—the circumstances connected with the affiliation of Dr Douglas, render it probable that he had been introduced for the purpose of perfecting a previously concocted plan, whereby the election of

[1] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 173.

a Grand Master might be made to contribute to the aggrandisement of the Lodge receiving him. His subsequent advancement and frequent re-election to the chair of Substitute Grand Master would indicate the possession of high Masonic qualifications, and to these the Craft may have been indebted for the resuscitation of the St Clair Charters,[1] and the dramatic effect which their identification with the successful aspirant to the Grand Mastership gave to the institution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Whatever may have been the immediate motive of the originators of the scheme, the setting up a Grand Lodge ostensibly upon the ruins of an institution that had ceased to be of practical benefit, but which in former times had been closely allied to the Guilds of the Mason Craft, gave to the new organisation an air of antiquity as the lineal representative of the ancient courts of Operative Masonry; while the opportune resignation of St Clair was, if not too closely criticised, calculated to give the whole affair a sort of legal aspect which was wanting at the institution of the Grand Lodge of England.[2]

The other Grand Officers elected on November 30, 1736, were Captain John Young, D.G.M.; Sir William Baillie, S.G.W.; Sir Alexander Hope, J.G.W.; Dr John Moncrief, G. Treasurer; John Macdougall, G. Secretary; and Robert Alison, G. Clerk.[3]

The first quarterly communication was held January 12, 1737, when the minutes and proceedings of the Four Associated Lodges, and the minutes of the Grand Election were read and unanimously approved of.[4]

The Lodge of Kilwinning[5] had not only been a consenting party to the electiõn of a Grand Master, but issued its proxy in favour of "Sinclair of Rossland, Esquire." This was sent, together with some objections to the proposed "General Regulations," to Mr George Fraser, the Master of Canongate Kilwinning, who, whilst using the former, delayed presentation of the latter, until the meeting of Grand Lodge last referred to. The Kilwinning Masons chiefly protested against the Grand Lodge being always held at Edinburgh, alleging that the Masters and Wardens of Lodges "in and about" that city might go or send their proxies to other places, as well as the Masters and Wardens of other Lodges might go or send their proxies to Edinburgh. They also represented that the registration fee of half-a-crown, to be paid for each intrant, in order to support the dignity of the Grand Lodge, should be rendered optional in the case of working Masons, who, especially in country places, were generally unable to do more than pay the dues to their respective Lodges. Although the "observations" of the Lodge of Kilwinning, with regard to the inexpediency of establishing a fixed governing body in the metropolis, might have seriously hampered the action of the junto by whom the Grand Election was controlled, if the use of the proxy had been clogged by the proviso, that it was only granted contingently upon the representations of the Kilwinning Masons being acceded to—it is scarcely likely, that under the circumstances of the case, it was even seriously regarded. The appeal on behalf of the working Masons was rejected, and the Grand Lodge

[1] Chaps. VIII., p. 382; XVI., p. 295.

[2] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 174.

[3] The Deputy, J.W., and Secretary were members of "Kilwinning Scots Arms;" the S.W., of "Canongate Kilwinning;" the Treasurer, of "Leith Kilwinning;" and the Clerk, of "Mary's Chapel."

[4] To avoid a multiplicity of references, it will be convenient to state that, in the general narrative, except where other authorities are cited, I follow the annals of the G.L. of Scotland, as given in the two editions of Lawrie's (or Laurie's) History. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., pp. 383, 384.

[5] Further allusions to Lodges, of which sketches are given in Chapter VIII. (*q.v.*), rest on the same sources of authority, supplemented by the additional evidence to which reference will be made as we proceed.

decreed that those who refused or neglected to pay the entry money should receive no aid from the charity fund.

The first Grand Election took place, as we have seen, on St Andrew's Day (November 30); but though the original "General Regulations" provided that future elections should be held—conformably, it may be supposed, with the practice in the South—on the Day of St John the Baptist, it was resolved—April 13, 1737—that the Annual Election should always be celebrated on November 30, the birthday of St Andrew, the tutelar saint of Scotland.

William St Clair of Roslin was succeeded as Grand Master—November 30, 1737—by George, third and last Earl of Cromarty. At this meeting it was resolved, that the Grand Secretary and Grand Clerk should not be annually elected with the other Grand Officers, but continue to hold their offices during good behaviour;[1] also, that all the Lodges holding of the Grand Lodge should be enrolled according to their seniority, which should be determined from the authentic documents they produced—those producing none to be put at the end of the roll, though the Lodges thus postponed were to have their precedency readjusted, on adducing subsequent proof "of their being elder;"[2] and that the four Quarterly Communications of the Grand Lodge should be held in St Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, on the first Wednesday of each of the four Scottish quarterly terms, viz., Candlemas, Whitsunday, Lammas, and Martinmas, when these terms should fall upon a Wednesday, and in other cases on the first Wednesday next following.

The foundation-stone of the New Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh was laid by the Grand Master—August 2, 1738—with Masonic honours.

From this time until the year 1756 a new Grand Master was chosen annually; but as the Deputy (or *Depute*) G.M.—Captain John Young—continued to hold his office uninterruptedly from 1736 to 1752, and the Substitute G.M.—John Douglas[3]—for nearly the same period, little, if any inconvenience, can have resulted from the short terms for which the Grand Master Masons of Scotland were elected. Indeed, it may rather be supposed that from the fact of the virtual government of the Society being left in the hands of a permanent Deputy, and a Substitute Grand Master, the affairs of the Craft were regulated with a due regard both to order and precedent; whilst the brief occupancy of the Masonic throne by more persons of distinction than would have been possible under the later system of election, must have greatly conduced to the general favour with which Masonry was regarded by people of every rank and position in the Scottish kingdom.

Lord Cromarty was succeeded by John, third Earl of Kintore,[4] during whose presidency a Grand Visitation was made—December 27, 1738—to the Lodge of Edinburgh, and a new office, that of Provincial Grand Master, established, by the appointment—February 7, 1739—of Alexander Drummond, Master of "Greenock Kilwinning," to the supervision of the "West Country Lodges." Two months later—April 20—Drummond visited "St John's Old Kilwining Lodge," at Inverness, in the minutes of which body he is described as "the Provincial Grand Master for Scotland," and on being "entreated," took the chair, and "lectured the brethren for their instruction."[5] On November 30, 1739, the Commission was renewed, and

[1] Lyon, p. 216. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

[3] Lawrie, 1804, gives November 30, 1738, as the date of his appointment; but in the later edition of 1859 it is shown as July 14, 1737. Both Young and Douglas held their offices until November 30, 1752.

[4] Chap. XVII., pp. 389, 393. [5] Ross, p. 17.

Drummond styled therein "Provincial Grand Master of the several Lodges in the Western Shires of Scotland," and again in the same terms in 1740, 1741, and 1742. This worthy subsequently went to reside at Alexandretta, in Turkey, where he erected several Lodges; and, having petitioned for another provincial commission, his request was granted—November 30, 1747, and full power given to him, and to any other whom he might nominate, to constitute Lodges in any part of Europe or Asia bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, and to superintend the same, or any others already erected in those parts of the world.

It is probable that a Lodge, long since extinct, but which is described in the official records as "from Greenock, held at Alleppo, in Turkey, [constituted] Feb. 3, 1748," was formed either by, or under the auspices of, Alexander Drummond; and as the first foreign Lodge on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, it takes precedence of the "St Andrews," Boston (U.S.A.), to which, in another Chapter,[1] I have inadvertently assigned that distinction.

From 1739 to 1743 there is little to chronicle. In the former year, the Foundation-stone of the western wing of the Infirmary was laid, with the usual solemnities, by the Earl of Morton, Grand Master. New jewels were purchased for the Grand Officers, and a full set of Mason tools and six copies of "Smith's Constitutions anent Masonry"[2] were ordered for the use of Grand Lodge. Three "examinators" were appointed for trying visitors who were strangers to the Grand Lodge. Also, for the encouragement of Operative Lodges in the country, they were granted the privilege of merely paying the fees of a confirmation for their patents of erection and constitution.

In 1740, under the Earl of Strathmore, it was proposed and unanimously agreed to, that a correspondence should be opened with the Grand Lodge of England; also that no proxy or commission (unless renewed) should remain in force above one year.

The Earl of Leven—Grand Master, 1741—was succeeded by the Earl of Kilmarnock,[3] at the time of his election the Master of the Lodge of Kilwinning. It was at the recommendation of this nobleman that, in 1743, the first Military Lodge (under the Grand Lodge) was erected, the petitioners being "some sergeants and sentinels belonging to Colonel Lees' regiment of foot"[4] (44th). This, however, appears at no time to have had a place accorded it on the Scottish roll, where the "Duke of Norfolk's Lodge," No. 58, in the 12th Foot (1747), is shown as the earliest Military or Regimental Lodge chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The latter, indeed, though placed on the *Scottish* roll in 1747, was of alien descent, having existed in the 12th Foot—though without a warrant—for several years, until the date in question, when it applied to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a charter. The petition averred,[5] that the "Duke of Norfolk's Mason Lodge" had been "erected into a Mason body, bearing the title aforesaid, as far back as 1685,"[6] and, indeed, no higher antiquity could well have been asserted, as the 12th Foot was only raised in that year. The *fact*, however, remains, that at the close of the first half of the eighteenth century, a Lodge in an English Regiment *claimed* to have been in existence more than thirty years before the formation of the earliest of Grand Lodges.

[1] Chap. XXVI., p. 196. [2] *Cf.* Chap. XVII., pp. 389, 390. [3] *Cf. post*, p. 101. [4] Lyon, p. 182.

[5] G.L. Records, August 5, 1747.—The charter empowers the Lodge to "admit and receive Entered Apprentices, and to raise Master Masons."

[6] *Cf. post*, pp. 157, 160. The By-laws of Lodge No. 58 will be found in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. i., p. 372.

The 12th Foot, before proceeding to Scotland in 1746, had been stationed in Germany and Flanders (1743-45), and was present at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. In the autumn of 1747, it returned to England from Scotland, and was in Holland 1748, at Minorca 1749, and back again in England 1752. Serving once more in Germany—1758-63—it was constantly on the move, but it is interesting to find, that both the 8th and 12th Regiments were at Fritzlar in Lower Hesse—with the army under Ferdinand of Brunswick—in 1760; also, that in the following year, the 5th, 12th, 24th, and 37th Regiments formed a Brigade of the Marquess of Granby's Division, and were employed in Hesse, Hanover, and Osnaburg.[1] All these Regiments, with the exception of the 24th Foot—which, however, obtained an English warrant (No. 426) in 1768—are known to have had Lodges attached to them.[2] About the same time (1747) there was also a Lodge in the 2d Dragoons, or "Scots Greys"—the date of whose constitution is uncertain—working under a charter which, through the interest of the Earl of Eglinton, had been procured from Kilwinning.[3] The Earl of Crawford,[4] it may be incidentally observed, was appointed Colonel of the "Scots Greys" on the death of the Earl of Stair in 1747. It is probable that Regimental Lodges, though not of an indigenous character, had penetrated into Scotland before 1743. Warrants of constitution had been granted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland to many regiments prior to that year. Two of these, bearing the Nos. 11 (*or* 12) and 33 (*or* 34), and dated (*circa*) 1732 and 1734, were issued to the 1st[5] and 21st Foot ("Royal Scots" and "Royal North British Fusiliers") respectively—both Scottish regiments, and not unlikely to have been quartered in their native country during the decade immediately following their acquisition of Masonic charters. But however this may be, we hear of other Military Lodges in Scotland besides those already noticed as existing under the Grand Lodge and "Mother Kilwinning," as early as 1744, in which year—December 14—the minutes of the Lodge, "St John's Old Kilwinning," contain the following curious entry:—

"*N.B.*—David Holland, present Master of the Lodge of Free Masons in the Honble. Brigadier Guise's Regt. [6th Foot], now lying at Inverness, Fort-George, visited us this day, and had his proper place assigned him in our procession; he appears to be No. 45, Mrs. of this Lodge."[6]

Regiments were not then distinguished by numerical titles, but the records of the 6th Foot—of which John Guise was the Colonel from 1738 to 1765—show, that returning from Jamaica, December 1742, it shortly after proceeded to Scotland, where in 1745 it was still stationed, with the head-quarters at Aberdeen, and two companies at Inverness. The Lodge possessed no Warrant that I can trace, but as tending to prove that many Regimental Lodges,

[1] Richard Cannon, Historical Records of the British Army—8th and 12th Regiments.

[2] The 5th Foot received an Irish Charter in 1738—No. 86—under which a Lodge was still active in 1773. The 8th and 37th Regiments—in which Lodges were constituted respectively in 1755 and 1756—derived their warrants, the former from the older (or *original*) G.L. of England (No. 255), and the latter from its rival (No. 52). *Cf. post*, pp. 105, 211; and *ante*, Chap. XVII., p. 397.

[3] Lyon, p. 162. The "Scots Greys Kilwinning" shifted its allegiance in 1770 (*post*, p. 62).

[4] *Cf. ante*, p. 48; and Chap. XVII., p. 389.

[5] Said to be the lineal descendants of the Scottish Archers in attendance upon the Kings of France. Military legend, however, supplies a still longer pedigree, the nickname of the "Old Royals" being—in the days when I had the happiness of being brigaded with them—"Pontius Pilate's Body-Guard!"

[6] Ross, Freemasonry in Inverness, 1877, p. 41.

chartered—soon after its formation—by the G.L. of Ireland, must have visited Scotland, it may be observed, that on the occasion of a foundation-stone being laid with Masonic honours at Edinburgh in 1753, a Lodge in the 33d Regiment—No. 12 (*or* 13) on the Irish registry, constituted (*circa*) 1732—took part in the solemnities of the day.

During the administration of the Earl of Wemyss, who was the next Grand Master, the Lodge of Kilwinning first gave official expression to its dissatisfaction with the position assigned to it. Under the regulation of November 30, 1737,[1] the earliest records produced, were those of the Lodge of Edinburgh,[2] and the most ancient minute they contained bore date "Ultimo Julij 1599." This was forty-three years older than any documentary evidence adduced by the Lodge of Kilwinning, which did not extend any farther back than December 20, 1642. In accordance, therefore, with the principle laid down, by which the precedency of Lodges was to be determined, the first place on the roll was assigned to Mary's Chapel, and the second to Kilwinning. However unsatisfactory this decision may have appeared to the Lodge of Kilwinning,[3] its validity was not at first openly challenged by that body, which for several years afterwards continued to be represented (by proxy) at Edinburgh. But the discontent and heart-burning produced at Kilwinning by the preferment of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, led, December 1743, when replying to a "dutyfull and affectionate letter from its daughter of the Canongate," to a deliverance of the parent Lodge, which, in the February ensuing, was brought to the notice of the Grand Lodge, with the following result:—"The Substitute Grand Master produced a letter from the Lodge of Kilwinning, addressed to the .·. .·. Masters, Wardens, and other members of the Lodge of Canongate, .·. .·. complaining that in the Rules of the Grand Lodge they are only called second in order, and another Lodge præferred befor them. The Grand Lodge considering that the Lodge of Kilwinning having never hitherto shown them any document for vouching and instructing them to be the First and Mother-Lodge in Scotland, and that the Lodge of Maries Chapell, from the records and documents showen to the Grand Lodge, appear (for aught yet seen) to be the Oldest Lodge in Scotland.—Therefore, as the letter is only adressed to the Master of the Lodge of Canongate St John, they recomend to the .·. .·. Substitute Grand Master [John Douglas] to return a proper answer thereto, being present Master of that Lodge."[4]

Finding itself thus permanently placed in a secondary rank, the Lodge of Kilwinning, without entering upon any disputation or formal vindication of its claims, resumed its independence, which in the matter of granting Charters it had in reality never renounced, and for well-nigh seventy years continued to exist as an independent Grand Body, dividing with that at Edinburgh, the honour of forming branches in Scotland as well as in the North American Colonies and other British possessions beyond the seas.[5]

The Earl of Moray was elected G.M. in 1744, and in the following year the Associate Synod

[1] *Ante*, p. 52.

[2] See the sketches of these Lodges in Chap. VIII., and compare Lyon's Histories of "Mother Kilwinning" (Freemasons' Magazine, N.S., vol. ix., p. 333), and of the "Lodge of Edinburgh" (p. 245).

[3] In estimating the pretensions of the Lodge of Kilwinning, dates become material, and we must not lose sight of the fact, that in 1743, many influences were at work, *e.g.* Scots degrees, and Ramsay's Oration—which, without any stretch of the imagination, may have afforded the Ayrshire Masons, at least, a reasonable excuse in claiming a pre-eminence for the old court of *Operative* Masonry at Kilwinning, that must have been absent from their thoughts—as being in the womb of futurity—in 1736. *Cf.* Chap. XXIV., *passim*.

[4] Lyon, p. 245 *ut supra*.

[5] *Ibid.*, and Freemasons' Magazine, N.S., vol. ix., p. 333.

attempted to disturb the peace of the Fraternity. On March 7 an overture concerning the MASON OATH was laid before the Synod of Stirling, which they remitted—September 26—to the different kirk sessions, allowing them to act as they thought proper. The practice was condemned, of taking an oath to keep a secret, before it was known what that secret was, but according to Burton, "they easily got over this." "The sessions or ministers dealt with the Masons they were concerned in, few of whom were obstinate in defending the oath in all respects, and so refrained from having a hand in any farther approbation thereof."[1] Ten years later, however—March 6, 1755—the kirk sessions were directed to be more searching in their inquiries, and they apparently discovered for the first time, that men, who were not Masons by trade, were admitted into the Society. This led—August 25, 1757[2]—to the adoption of even stricter measures, and the Synod ordered "all persons in their congregations who are of the Mason Craft, and others they have a particular suspicion of," to be interrogated with regard to the nature of the Mason Oath, and the "superstitious ceremonies" accompanying its administration.[3] Those who refused to answer the questions put to them were debarred from the ordinances of religion, whilst a confession of being involved in the Mason Oath required not only a profession of sorrow for the same, but was to be followed by a sessional rebuke and admonition. The being "involved in the said Oath with special aggravation, as taking or relapsing into the same in opposition to warnings against doing so," was punished by excommunication.[4]

The Grand Lodge of Scotland did not deign to take the smallest notice of these proceedings—in which a Synod of Scotch Dissenters outstripped both the Church of Rome and the Council of Berne in the measures resorted to for the extirpation of Freemasonry. They attempted to compel the Freemasons of their congregations to give them an account of those mysteries and ceremonies which their avarice or fear hindered them from obtaining by regular initiation.[5] "And what, pray," it has been asked, "was to become of those perjured men from whom such information was obtained? They were promised admission into the ordinances of religion, as if they were now purified beings, from whom something worse than a demoniac had been ejected![6] With the passing remark that a repudiation of Freemasonry still retains its place in the creed of the Original Seceders from the Church of Scotland, I shall now return to the annals of the Grand Lodge.

The Earl of Buchan succeeded Lord Moray in 1745, from which date down to 1751 there is little to chronicle except the succession of Grand Masters, of whom it may be said, as of the Roman Consuls in uneventful eras, "They served to mark the year." William Nisbet of Dirleton was placed at the head of the Scottish Craft in 1746, and after him came the honourable Francis Charteris[7]—afterwards sixth Earl of Wemyss—in 1747; Hugh Seton of

[1] History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 323, citing "Memoirs of the Secession, by the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, in MS.," p. 409.

[2] "An Impartial Examination of the Act of the Associate Synod against the FREE MASONS, Aug. 25, 1757"—dated Alloa, October 25, and signed "A Freemason"—appeared in the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1757. The "Act" thus criticised, was published in the *Scots Magazine* for the same year (vol. xix., p. 432), in which will also be found some extracts from the "Impartial Examination" (p. 583).

[3] It is stated in the *Scots Magazine* (vol. xix., 1757, p. 432) that by this inquiry, Mr D. B.'s discovery of the Secrets of Masonry (*Ibid.*, vol. xvii., 1755, p. 133) is fully confirmed. *Cf. ante*, p. 21, note 1; and Chap. XVI., pp. 357, 363.

[4] Lyon, p. 325 *ut supra.* [5] Lawrie, 1804, p. 133. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] Another *Francis* Charteris, son of the above, was elected G.M. November 30, 1786 (*cf. post*, p. 118); and a *third*, then Lord Elcho, and afterwards eighth Earl of Wemyss, filled the same position in 1827.



HONOURABLE JUDGE TOWNSHEND LL.D

PAST DEPUTY GRAND MASTER GRAND LODGE OF CANADA

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh

Touch, in 1748; Lord Erskine—only surviving son of John, eleventh Earl of Marr, attainted 1715—in 1749; Alexander, tenth Earl of Eglinton—a former Master of the Lodge of Kilwinning, whose election has been held to show that the Kilwinning Secession had not yet been viewed with any very strong feeling of jealousy by the Grand Lodge,[1] in 1750; and James, Lord Boyd—eldest son of the last Earl of Kilmarnock,[2] and afterwards thirteenth Earl of Erroll—in 1751.

Hitherto it had been customary for the Grand Master to nominate his successor at the Communication immediately preceding the Grand Election. This duty, however, not having been performed by Lord Boyd, it devolved upon a committee to propose a suitable candidate, by whom a most judicious choice was made in the person of Mr George Drummond.

The new Grand Master—the first brother who was RAISED[3] in Mary's Chapel—received the two earlier degrees on August 28, 1721, in the same Lodge, at one of the meetings, held, apparently, in connection with Dr Desaguliers' visit to Scotland in that year.[4] During his term of office he laid the foundation-stone of the Royal Exchange, September 13, 1753; and as Acting Grand Master—being at the time Lord Provost of Edinburgh—that of the North Bridge, October 13, 1763. A firm supporter of the Government, he did much, by raising volunteers and serving with them, to defeat the designs of the Pretender in 1715, and those of Prince Charles Edward in 1745.[5]

Lord Boyd's omission to nominate his successor, requires, however, a few explanatory words. At the election of this nobleman on November 30, 1751, Major John Young and John Douglas, Deputy and Substitute Grand Masters respectively; John Macdougall, Grand Secretary; and Robert Alison, Grand Clerk, all of whom had held their offices from the original dates at which they were created, were continued in their several positions. But in the following year—November 30, 1752—only *one* of the four, Macdougall, the Grand Secretary, appears in the list of Grand Officers.

Major Young's place was taken by Charles Hamilton Gordon, Advocate, to whom the office of Deputy proved a stepping-stone to the Masonic throne, whilst John Douglas—who died December 1751—was succeeded both as Substitute G.M. and Master of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, by George Fraser, also a member and "Old Master" of that famous Lodge.

James Alison was elected Grand Clerk in the room of his father *Robert*,[6] deceased, whom he also followed as Lodge Clerk in Mary's Chapel, where he had been "admitted and receaved ane entered apprentice in the useuall forme"[7]—December 27, 1737—nearly a year before the introduction of the third degree into that Lodge.

It is not a little remarkable that the Grand Lodge of Scotland should have lost the services of *three* of its most trusted officers in a single year.

The retiring D.G.M.—John Young—held a captain's commission in 1736, and was pro-

[1] Lyon, p. 245.

[2] Both father and son were present at the battle of Culloden, though the former fought on the Stuart side, and the latter held a commission in the 3d Foot Guards.

[3] "At Maries Chapel, the first day of November 1738. The which day Samwell Neilson Master, the Wardens, and severall other brethren belonging to the Lodge, *with severall visiting brethren* belonging to other lodges, being mett in a formed Lodge .·. .·. George Drummond, Esq., one of the Commissioners of His Majesties Board of Excyse in Scotland, after due tryall of his qualifications as ane Entered Apprentice, was past a Fellow Craft, and also raised as a Master Mason in due forme" (Lyon, Hist. of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 212). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 312.

[4] Chap. XVI., p. 285. [5] Lyon, p. 217. [6] Chap. XVI., p. 314. [7] Lyon, p. 43.

bably on the half-pay list throughout the greater part of the twenty-six years during which he retained his high Masonic position. In 1745—October 4—he became a major, and ten years later—December 25, 1755—was posted to the "Loyal American Provincials," or 62d Foot, on the roll of which his name appears as the senior of four majors in the army list of 1756. The Colonel-in-Chief of the regiment was the Earl of Loudoun;[1] Sir John St Clair, Bart., commanded one of the four battalions of which it was composed, and the fourth or junior major was Augustine Prevost. Of Young's earlier military career, I have succeeded in tracing but few particulars. In the Army List of 1755 the words "late Boltons" are placed after his name. The Duke of Bolton raised a battalion in 1745—to resist the Pretender—which was afterwards disbanded, and as, in those days, regiments were distinguished by the names of their colonels, this was probably the one to which Young had belonged, a supposition which is strengthened by the coincidence that he became a major in the same memorable year.

The 62d regiment became the 60th, or "Royal Americans," in 1757. In the same year—April 26—Young got his Lieutenant-Colonelcy, and on January 26, 1758, he was given the rank of full Colonel in America.

As the regiment was raised in America, where for several years all four battalions were stationed, it is probable that Young embarked for that country early in 1756. In the following year, as will be again referred to, he was appointed Provincial Grand Master over all the (Scottish) Lodges in America and the West Indies. Rebold[2] tells us that he was also vested with full authority to introduce the high degrees then known to Scottish Masonry into these countries, an observation I record, not for its historic value, but as affording a good illustration of the uncritical manner in which Masonic history has been written.[3]

In 1757 the 60th regiment was engaged under Lord Loudoun in skirmishes with Indians, and employed at Louisbourg, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Ticonderoga. The 3d battalion was also present with Colonel Munro at the capitulation and massacre at Fort William Henry. In 1758 the 2d and 3d battalions formed a part of the force under General Amherst engaged in the second expedition against Louisbourg, whilst the 1st and 4th were present at the defeat of the English under General Abercrombie and Lord Howe at Ticonderoga. The regiment also took part in the capture of Louisbourg and Prince Edward's Island. In 1759 two battalions were employed under General Wolfe, and the regiment still bears the motto "Celer et Audax," given to it by that commander for its gallantry at the siege of Quebec.[4]

Young doubtless had his fill of fighting during these memorable years, but we are more concerned with his Masonic than his military services, and the latter, therefore—which, as commanding a battalion of the 60th Foot from 1757 to 1761, must have been considerable—are chiefly of interest, as justifying the belief that one of the most prominent Masons in the Old World, must have been much favoured by accidental or fortuitous circumstances in carrying out his mission in the New.

[1] Grand Master of England 1736. Born 1705. Colonel of the 50th Foot, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle, Major-Gen. 1755, Governor of Virginia 1756, and in the same year Commander-in-Chief in America. Recalled at his own request in 1758.

[2] Hist. Gen., *sub anno* 1758.

[3] *Cf. post*, p. 137.

[4] W. W. Wallace, Regimental Chronicle of the 60th Foot; R. Trimen, The Regiments of the British Army.

Young was transferred to the 46th Foot, also in America—March 20, 1761—Major Augustine Prevost taking his place (as Lieut.-Colonel) in the 60th. Now, for reasons to be presently adduced, the connection of the Scottish D.G.M., 1736-52, with the regiment in which Prevost succeeded him as Lieutenant-Colonel, is not a little remarkable; but the appointment of Young to the command of the 46th is also a circumstance that will suggest many reflections.

The 46th Foot, when stationed in Ireland, 1752, received a Lodge Warrant—No. 227—from the Grand Lodge of that country. In 1757 it embarked at Cork for Nova Scotia, and remained in North America until October 1761, when it sailed for Barbadoes, and took part in the capture of Martinique, Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent, and Havannah. Young's name is given in the Army List for the year 1762, as Lieut.-Colonel commanding the regiment, but disappears in that for 1763.

The coincidence is of itself somewhat singular that the military duties of Colonel Young should take him to the West Indies, the Masonic supervision of which had been confided to him by patent; but the most curious feature of his connection with the 46th Foot is suggested by the Masonic associations of that distinguished corps. For a long time it was believed that Washington had been initiated in No. 227, and though this popular error has long since been refuted, it at least passes as history that he frequently visited the Lodge; and the Bible on which he is said to have been obligated—in respect of some degree or regulation that has served as a curious subject for speculation—is still in existence. Twice, whilst engaged in active operations against the enemy, the Lodge lost its Masonic chest, which was on both occasions courteously returned under circumstances to be hereafter related.

Young, as already mentioned, was succeeded as Lieut.-Colonel in the 60th Regiment—March 20, 1761—by Augustine Prevost, who, probably owing to the reduction from a war to a peace establishment, is no longer shown on the roll of that corps in 1763, but resumes his old position, November 9, 1769, and again drops out of the list in 1776.[1] He was subsequently promoted to the rank of Major-General, February 19, 1779,[2] and died in May 1786.

These dates are adduced, because Stephen Morin[3] after his arrival in the West Indies (1761) is stated to have appointed a Bro. Franklin, Deputy Inspector General for Jamaica and the British Leeward Islands, and *a* Colonel Prevost for the Windward Islands and the British Army.[4] Morin, it is said, went first to St Domingo, then to Jamaica, and afterwards to Charleston; whilst the latest account of him is given in the *Handbuch*, which states that he was alive in 1790. But it is, I believe, a point fairly well settled—indeed, so far as I am aware, the contrary has never even been asserted—that all the Inspectors nominated by Morin *himself* were appointed within a few years of his arrival from France.

The Prevosts were a very military family, indeed no less than four of them held commissions in the 60th Regiment in 1779, and again in 1781, besides others dispersed throughout the army. But if the Prevost appointed by Morin was a *colonel*, there is only a choice between *Augustine* and *George*—afterwards *Sir* George—who died a Lieutenant-General in 1816. The latter, however, was a *captain* in the 25th Regiment in 1790, and though pro-

[1] In the Army List for 1779, however, his name appears in the 60th Regiment as "Colonel Commandant" of the 4th battalion, with the date September 18, 1775.

[2] Army Lists. The date, however, is given by Haydn (Book of Dignities) as February 27.

[3] *Post*, p. 125. [4] Dalcho, Masonic Orations, p. 61; Rebold, Hist. des Trois G. L., p. 452.

moted to a majority in the 60th on November 18 of that year, only became a Lieutenant-Colonel August 6, 1794.

But I must here introduce a new element of confusion. In 1776 the 1st battalion of the 60th was employed in quelling a rebellion in Jamaica.[1] In the same year a commission[2] was granted by "Augus*tus* Prevost, Captain 60th *Rifles*,[3] to J. P. Rochat, to establish the Rite of Perfection[4] in Scotland, and which was afterwards to form the basis of its constitution." At the period this occurred, another *Augustine* Prevost was "Captain Lieutenant and Captain"—a singular rank, of which there is now no equivalent—in the 60th Foot. This officer joined the regiment as Adjutant, June 25, 1771, became Captain Lieutenant, September 20, 1775, and Captain, November 12, 1776, retiring in 1784. There was also in 1776 a Lieutenant J. P. Rochat in the 60th, whose commission bore date September 30, 1775.

It is possible that documents may be in existence, which would demonstrate whether the Inspector appointed by Morin was *Colonel* or *Captain* Prevost.

This point, however, I must leave undecided, though it seems to me a reasonable deduction from the evidence, that the elder Prevost received the dignity at the hands of Morin, and afterwards passed it on to the younger Augustine—in all probability his son—in the same way as the "Bro. Franklin of Jamaica" is said to have done in the case of Moses Hayes.[5] But even without the participation in these events of *Captain* Prevost, it is a curious coincidence that Young, Provincial Grand Master under Scotland, should have been succeeded, as Lieut.-Colonel 60th Foot, by a person who was subsequently to hold almost an equivalent position in a Rite of alleged Scottish origin.

Lawrie states that in 1753-54 "a petition was received from the Scottish Lodge in Copenhagen, *Le Petit Nombre*, requesting a charter of confirmation from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and also the liberty of electing a Grand Master." In reply to which the Grand Lodge "resolved to grant a patent of constitution and erection in the usual form, and a *Provincial* commission to a qualified person, empowering him to erect new Lodges in the kingdom of Denmark and Norway, and to superintend those already erected."[6] This passage is omitted in the second edition of the same work,[7] though some statistics given by the earlier compiler (1804),[8] with regard to the progress of the Craft in Scandinavia, are reproduced with all their inaccuracies in the edition of 1859.[9] We are there told that "in 1743 [Freemasonry] was exported from Scotland to Denmark, and the Lodge which was then instituted is now the Grand Lodge of that kingdom. The same prosperity has attended the first Lodge in Sweden, which was erected at Stockholm in 1754, under a patent from Scotland." These loose statements—which rest upon sources of very questionable authority—will be further examined[10] in Chapter XXVI., though in passing from the subject, I may remark, that Lawrie's "History," which is divided into two parts, Historical Essay and Annals, obtained a semi-official stamp from the publication of the latter. But unfortunately we can never be quite sure to what extent the

[1] Wallace, *op. cit.*

[2] "Parchment, with seals, dated Kingston, Jamaica, Jan. 20, 1776." I quote from the catalogue of Messrs Puttick and Simpson, June 4-6, 1884; but Mr John Hogg, 13 Paternoster Row, the *vendor*, has kindly informed me that the names and date are correct.

[3] As the only *Captain* Prevost at that time in the 60th Foot—which by the way was not denominated a "Rifle" Corps until 1824—was named *Augustine*, there appears to have been some mistake in the docketting.

[4] *Post*, p. 97. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 128. [6] Edit. 1804, p. 184.

[7] 1859, p. 116. [8] P. 134. [9] P. 68. [10] *Post*, pp. 196, 200.

writer *combined* his information, and so far as any portion of the Annals is based on the Essay, no further confidence can be reposed in it than is conveyed by the expression, that it may possibly be true.

Mr Gordon, in 1754, made way for the Master of Forbes, after whose election there was a procession by torch-light, in which above four hundred brethren took part, and among them Colonel Oughton[1]—subsequently Grand Master of Scotland—English Provincial G.M. for Minorca.

Traces of the *Ordre de Hérédom de Kilwinning*, or Royal Order of Scotland, in the country from which its name has been derived, are first met with in this year.[2] The subject, however, will be more conveniently treated in connection with some observations I have yet to make on the persistency with which so many forms of the *hauts grades* have been "mothered" on the Lodge of Kilwinning.

In the course of the year it was resolved that the Quarterly Communications should be held for the future on the first Mondays of February, May, August, and November: also, that the precedency of Lodges should be regulated by the dates of their entry on the roll of the Grand Lodge.

Alexander succeeded *John* Macdougall as Grand Secretary, November 30, 1754, and in the following year—December 1—under Lord Aberdour, G.M., George Fraser was advanced from Substitute to Deputy Grand Master, an office he retained until 1761. The new Substitute Grand Master was Richard Tod, Master of the Lodge "Leith Kilwinning," who was continued in the appointment until 1767, and filled it once again in 1773.[3]

In 1756, Sholto, Lord Aberdour—afterwards sixteenth Earl of Morton—was again chosen Grand Master, which is the first instance of a re-election to that high station since the institution of the Grand Lodge. During this nobleman's first term of office, "it was unanimously resolved that the Grand Master for the time being be affiliated and recorded as a member of every Daughter Lodge in Scotland." Also, it having been represented that a further subdivision of Scotland into Masonic districts was expedient, the suggestion was adopted, and five additional Provincial Grand Masters appointed.

This was followed—the next year—by the grant of a similar patent to Colonel Young,[4] whose province comprised America and the West Indies. Under the same Grand Master—Lord Aberdour—two Lodges were warranted within this district, at Blandford, Virginia, No. 82[5] [*or* 83], March 9; and the St Andrew's, Boston, No. 81 [*or* 82], November 30, 1756.

[1] Then Lieut.-Colonel 37th Foot; Major-Gen., Aug. 15, 1761; Lieut.-Gen., April 30, 1770. *Cf. post*, pp. 62, 76; and Chap. XIX., p. 447.

[2] "Of the existence in Scotland of any branch of the Order prior to 1754 there is not a particle of evidence" (Lyon, p. 308).

[3] The constant re-election of Young, Douglas, Fraser, and Tod is fairly conclusive that though the Masons of Edinburgh liked having a noble Grand Master at their head, the ordinary business of the Society was transacted by men of "light and leading" in the metropolitan Lodges.

[4] *Ante*, p. 58.

[5] Although the *earlier* numbers are given in the first Book of Constitutions (1836), and subsequent publications, lists of the last century show the Boston and Blandford Lodges as Nos. 82 and 83 respectively. The practice, however, of distinguishing Lodges by their numbers, did not become a general one, in Scotland, until the beginning of the present century, and was carried out somewhat capriciously, *e.g.*, the Ancient Brazen Lodge, Linlithgow, which was present at the erection of the G.L. of Scotland, and is shown in the *sixteenth place*, on the roll of Lodges given in Lawrie's History (1804), never had a number at all until the precedency of all Lodges was re-adjusted, and new numbers issued—after the healing of the Kilwinning Schism—in 1816. The Warrant of St Andrew's, Boston, was published in *Moore's Freemasons' Magazine*, vol. xvi., 1857, p. 71. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., p. 470.

From this time until the year 1827 it became the custom for the Grand Master to continue in office for a second year. At the end of the first year, however, he nominated his successor, who received the appellation of Grand Master Elect.[1] This usage was only interrupted by the death of the Duke of Atholl, which occurred shortly before St Andrew's Day, 1774. The occupants of the Masonic throne from the Grand Election of 1757 down to that of 1773 were successively the Earls of Galloway, Leven (1759), Elgin (1761), and Kellie (1763); James Stewart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh (1765); the Earl of Dalhousie (1767); Lieut.-General Oughton (1769); and the Earl of Dumfries (1771).

Throughout this period there are few events to chronicle. The Grand Chaplain was made an officer of Grand Lodge in 1758. In the following year, the use, by Lodges, of "Painted Floor Cloths" was forbidden, and in 1760—March 11—The Grand Lodge "having taken into consideration the prevailing practice of giving vails or drink money to servants, did unanimously resolve to do everything in their power to remove the same."[2]

In this year charters were issued to the Union Kilwinning and St Andrew Lodges at Charlestown, South Carolina, and Jamaica respectively.[3]

In 1762 the Grand Lodge declined to grant a charter to some petitioners in London, who were desirous of establishing a Lodge there, under the Scottish Sanction.[4] Two years later—November 21, 1764—a military Lodge—the Union—was erected in General Marjoribank's regiment, at that time in the service of the States-General of the United Provinces.[5]

On November 30, 1765, it was ordered that proper clothing and jewels should be procured for the use of the Grand Officers. I now pass on to the year 1768, when, at the instance of Joseph Gavin, of the Lodge of Edinburgh, the practice of issuing diplomas was adopted by the Grand Lodge.[6] In the same year Governor James Grant was appointed Provincial Grand Master of North America, Southern District, and in 1769 Dr Joseph Warren received a similar commission as Prov. G.M. of "the Lodges in Boston."

In 1770 the Grand Lodge, by advertisement, called upon the different Lodges throughout the country to pay their dues to the Grand Secretary, under threat of calling in their charters.[7]

In this year the Lodge "Scots Greys Kilwinning," in the 2d or Royal North British Dragoons, having lost not only their charter, but their whole records, petitioned for a warrant from the Grand Lodge, which was granted, and the Lodge reconstituted—March 12—as the "St Andrew's Royal Arch," by the G.M. in person.[8]

Major-General James Adolphus Oughton, who, shortly after the occurrence last related, became a Lieutenant-General, and in 1773 a K.B., was a most popular ruler of the Craft.

The constitution of a regimental Lodge by a Grand Master who was also at the time

[1] The first person so nominated was the Earl of Elgin, December 1, 1760.

[2] Lyon, pp. 195, 336.

[3] Lodges were constituted in Virginia, 1763; East Florida, 1768; at St Christopher, 1769; and at Namur, 1770. The last-named (*cf. post*, p. 211) appears as No. 160 in recent, and as No. 161 in early, lists.

[4] Chap. XVIII., p. 422.

[5] The famous "Scots Brigade" was in the Dutch service (except between 1688 and 1691) from 1586 until 1798. It became the 94th regiment of the British army in 1802, and was disbanded in 1818.

[6] Lyon, p. 206.

[7] Ross, Freemasonry in Inverness, p. 92.

[8] Colonel (afterwards Lord) Napier was the W.M.; Captain Baird Heron, Depute Master; and Sir John Nesbit of Dean, S.W. (F.Q. Rev., 1842, p. 35).

Commander-in-Chief in Scotland,[1] points out to us the estimation in which military Masonry was then regarded, and the significance of the event is heightened by the circumstance that the Master[2] of "St Andrew's Royal Arch" was in command of the 2d Dragoons.

General Oughton was entertained by the two Lodges at Inverness in 1770 and 1771, and in the latter year signed the following minute, which is still in existence:—"The Master, Wardens, and Brethren being present, several instructive charges and directions were given with regard to Masonry, and the proper tosses [toasts] drunk, and songs sung."[3] He was "admitted" an honorary member of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1774.[4] During the Seven Years' War he served in Germany under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick,[5] and at the time of his death, held the colonelcy of the 31st Foot.

John, third Duke of Atholl,[6] who became Grand Master on November 30, 1773, but died without completing his year of office, was followed in succession by David Dalrymple, advocate—under whom William Mason was elected Grand Secretary—and Sir William Forbes. The latter—whose Depute was James Boswell of Auchinleck—laid the foundation-stone of the High School of Edinburgh, June 24, 1777; and in the following year presided and delivered the oration, at the Funeral Grand Lodge held—February 14, 1778—in honour of William St Clair of Roslin.[7]

In the same month, a circular was issued to the Lodges, forbidding the practice of offering bounties to military recruits, together "with the freedom of Masonry."[8] In the Lodge of Kelso, the spirit of patriotism thus awakened, reached a great height, and—February 12, 1778—the brethren unanimously resolved to testify their zeal for their Sovereign and their respect for their noble Grand Master by marching with Lieut.-Colonel Brown[9] at the head of his recruiting party, beating up for volunteers for the Atholl Highlanders,[10] and accordingly marched from the Lodge in procession through the town, and at the same time offered a bounty of three guineas "to every man enlisting in that corps."[11]

On August 7, 1786, it was ordained, that no Master should be addressed by the style or

[1] It may be stated that Lord Adam Gordon, in 1759, whilst holding the same high military command, served the office of Master in the Lodge of Aberdeen.

[2] The Hon. Col. Napier was Depute G.M. in 1771-72. [3] Ross, p. 96. [4] Lyon, p. 327.

[5] *Cf. ante*, p. 54. [6] Chap. XIX., p. 446.

[7] As these pages are passing through the press, Mr D. M. Lyon informs me, that among the State records at Edinburgh there is a letter dated February 27, 1635, from Charles I. to the Exchequer. This sets forth, that the king's appointment of Sir Anthonie Alexander, Knight, to the office of Master of Work for Scotland, had been objected to by Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, Knight—who, claiming hereditary charge of the Masons of the kingdom, it had been referred to his Majesty's Advocate and to the Exchequer to inquire into and report upon Sinclair's claim, in which work they were to call for the co-operation and assistance of magistrates of towns and sheriffs of counties throughout the kingdom. If the inquiry took place, the report must have been an unfavourable one, *i.e.*, with regard to St Clair's hereditary title—for, as shown by Lyon (p. 87), and more than once quoted in this history, Sir Anthonie Alexander continued to hold his appointment in 1636 and the following year, and was succeeded by his brother Henrie in 1638 (*ante*, p. 47; Chap. VIII., pp. 382, 407, 408, and 446).

[8] Lyon, p. 83.

[9] Then at Kelso, "levying men for service in the corps raising by the Duke of Athol, G.M. of England, and G.M. elect of Scotland" (Vernon, p. 58). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 447.

[10] 77th Foot, raised 1778, disbanded 1783. The Hon. W. (afterwards Earl) Cathcart, obtaining a company in this corps, vacated the chair of the Alloa Lodge, by which body a bounty was forthwith offered to recruits (Freemasons' Magazine, 1857, p. 1028).

[11] Vernon, *loc. cit.*

title of *Grand*, except the "Grand Master of Scotland," and in the same year a correspondence was opened between the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Berlin.

Lodges under the Scottish Constitution were not distinguished by numbers until about 1790. The custom became an acknowledged one in 1802, and in 1816 a renumbering took place.[1]

In 1794—August 4—the right of the Journeymen Lodge, "to grant dispensations to open a Lodge at any place where a number of their brethren were stationed, particularly if the Master was present," was considered, and—September 1—a power or warrant for the practice having been produced and examined, "the Grand Lodge were clearly of opinion that the Journeymen should be allowed to act as they had formerly done."[2]

A fraternal correspondence was opened with the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1796, and the next event of any consequence was the passing of the "Secret Societies Act" in 1799, which has been referred to in an earlier Chapter.[3] In the same year it was resolved "to *prohibit* and *discharge* all Lodges having charters from the Grand Lodge from holding any other meetings than those of the *Three Great Orders of Masonry*, of APPRENTICE, FELLOW-CRAFT, and MASTER MASON, being the Ancient Order of Saint John."[4] To such an extent, however, had the work of Lodges at this period become associated with that of the Royal Arch and Templar degrees, that in October 1800, a circular was issued by the Grand Lodge, again "prohibiting and discharging its daughters to hold any meetings above the degree of Master Mason."[5]

On October 29, 1804, a form of oath was transmitted by the Grand Secretary to all the Lodges, with directions that the same should be engrossed on a parchment roll, which every visiting stranger was to subscribe in presence of two or more office-bearers, who were also to "subscribe alongst with him as witnesses."[6]

In the following year, at the annual festival, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was elected Grand Master and Patron. This title—for in reality it was nothing more, the Prince being ineligible for election to the Grand Mastership from not being a member of a Scotch Lodge—was conferred upon him annually by Grand Lodge until his succession to the Crown in 1820, when the title was changed to that of "Patron of the Most Ancient Order of St John's Masonry for Scotland."[7] The Earl of Moira, at that time Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, was elected Acting Grand Master Elect at the same meeting. This nobleman was present at the Grand Feast, held at the King's Arms Tavern, on St Andrew's Day 1803, on which occasion he delivered a most impressive address; and from that period may be dated the origin of the fraternal union which has since subsisted between the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland. Lord Moira, who was Acting (or virtual) Grand Master in 1806 and 1807, twice discharged the ceremonial duties incidental to that office in 1809. On October 25 he laid the foundation-stone of George the Third's Bastion at Leith, and—November 21—the FREEMASONS' HALL OF SCOTLAND was consecrated by him, and in the most solemn manner dedicated to MASONRY. On each of these occasions the Earl delivered one of those eloquent addresses for which he was so justly famed.[8]

During Lord Moira's second year of office as Grand Master, a reconciliation was happily

[1] Communicated by D. M. Lyon.
[2] Hunter, p. 73.
[3] Chap. XX., p. 487.
[4] Laurie, 1859, p. 162; Vernon, p. 64.
[5] Lyon, p. 293 *ut supra*.
[6] Ross, p. 140; Vernon, p. 66.
[7] Lyon, p. 388 *ut supra*.
[8] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 489.

effected between the Grand Lodge and the Lodge of Kilwinning.[1] Negotiations for a union had been secretly opened between certain officials of the two bodies in 1806, and after a preliminary correspondence, commissioners appointed by each of the parties held a conference at Glasgow on October 14, 1807. At this meeting the Records of the Lodge of Kilwinning, and a copy of the Charter of the Lodge of Scoon and Perth,[2] were produced in support of the "great antiquity of Kilwinning."[3] Ultimately it was reciprocally agreed:—That the Mother Lodge Kilwinning should renounce all right of granting charters, and come in, along with all the Lodges holding under her, to the bosom of the Grand Lodge; that the Mother Kilwinning should be placed at the head of the roll of the Grand Lodge, and her daughter Lodges at the end of the said roll, but so soon as the roll should be arranged and corrected the Lodges holding of Mother Kilwinning should be ranked according to the dates of their original charters, and of those granted by the Grand Lodge; and that the Master of the Mother Lodge Kilwinning for the time being should be *ipso facto* Provincial Grand Master for the Ayrshire district.

This provisional agreement was approved of by the Grand Lodge, November 2, 1807, and shortly afterwards ratified and confirmed by the Lodge of Kilwinning.

Between, however, the Glasgow Conference of October 14 and the Grand Lodge held November 2, an interview took place—October 26—between Sir John Stuart, Bart., one of the Commissioners for the Grand Lodge, and Alexander Deuchar, Treasurer of the Lodge of Edinburgh. The latter urged the injustice of proceeding so far without allowing Mary's Chapel at least the satisfaction of proving her claims to seniority, or seeing the vouchers upon authority of which her seniority was to be thus forcibly wrested from her; also, that Mary's Chapel had already received various decisions in her favour seventy years back, besides having in her possession a charter from the Grand Lodge, wherein her right to stand *first* on the roll was expressly set forth. The further documentary evidence relating to the subject consists of a minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, October 29; a letter from Sir J. Stuart to Mr Deuchar, October 30; and the reply of the latter, October 31.[4] The Lodge of Edinburgh consented, "if the Kilwining Lodge could produce any additional satisfactory proof of their being the identical Lodge of Kilwining by whom Masonry was originally introduced into Scotland," that their rivals should stand first on the roll without a number; but the members of the metropolitan Lodge urged with great force "that they did not see how Mother Kilwinning could expect Mary's Chapel to resign the exalted position she held upon mere presumptive proof, or act otherwise upon true Masonic principles, than consent to come down a little in her demands as well as Mary's Chapel." But this appeal was unheeded, the Treaty and Settlement between the Grand Lodge and Mother Kilwinning was forthwith approved of, though, it must be recorded, "under protest," by the Acting Master of Mary's Chapel, who threatened "to call a meeting of the Lodge to consider whether they should not secede."[5] The Lodge of Edinburgh followed up its protest by constituting its office-bearers a committee to defend its privileges. A final attempt to regain its original place was made by the Lodge, May 8, 1815, when "it seemed to be the general sense of the Grand Lodge that after the solemn agreement entered into with Mother Kilwinning in 1807, and

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 51, 55. Not to interrupt the general narrative, the history of the Lodge of Kilwinning during its secession from the Grand Lodge will, to the extent necessary, be related at the close of the Chapter.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 411; and Lyon, p. 247. [3] Lyon, p. 247. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 248 *et seq.* [5] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

ratified, approved of, and acted upon by all parties ever since that period, the petition and remonstrance by Mary's Chapel Lodge could not be received and entertained."

Although the summary displacement of the Lodge of Edinburgh from the position which had been assigned to it in 1737 did not actually "lead to the formation of a new Grand Lodge," as had been prophesied by Alexander Deuchar,[1] the bitterness thereby engendered was not without influence in the proceedings I am about to relate, which resulted in the temporary secession of several Lodges, and at one time threatened to afflict the Scottish Craft with a schism of even graver character than that which was still running its course in the South.[2]

On May 4, 1807, Dr John Mitchell, Master of the Lodge "Caledonian," moved in Grand Lodge that "an address be presented to his Majesty" thanking him (*inter alia*) for "supporting the established religion of the country."[3] The motion was negatived by a majority of one vote, the numbers being 28 to 27. A scrutiny was demanded and refused, and at a special Grand Lodge, held June 19, this ruling was upheld, 95 members voting in the majority and 47 in the minority.

In the following year—January 21—Dr Mitchell was arraigned on several charges, and found guilty—by a majority of 159 to 91—of having at one of the Caledonian Lodge meetings proposed that "it should secede from the Grand Lodge." Sentence of Suspension, *sine die*, from his Masonic privileges was forthwith pronounced, and three days later the Doctor was re-installed in the chair of the Caledonian Lodge, by which body it was resolved "to discontinue their connection with the Grand Lodge." These proceedings having been communicated to the Grand Lodge of England, the Earl of Moira, Acting Grand Master—under the Heir-Apparent—of both Grand Lodges, expressed in a letter to the Substitute G.M.—April 25, 1808—his own and the Prince of Wales' opinion, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland "should consider of a sentence of expulsion from Masonry of Dr Mitchell for his contumacy, to be followed by a similar sentence against every individual attending what is called a Lodge under him."

Accordingly—May 2, 1808—Dr Mitchell and some members of his Lodge were expelled, while certain members of Mary's Chapel, and other alleged abettors of the Schism, were suspended. This led—May 24—to an extraordinary meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh, at which nearly one hundred brethren attended. A series of resolutions was passed, expressing "surprise, astonishment, and regret, at the proceedings taken in Dr Mitchell's case," and winding up with the old grievance of the Lodge in reference to its position on the roll. These resolutions having been transmitted to the Grand Lodge, by a unanimous decision of that body, the greater part of the office-bearers of Mary's Chapel and St Andrew—from which Lodge a similar remonstrance had been received—were suspended, the brethren of these two Lodges directed to choose other office-bearers, and it was remitted to certain members of the Grand Lodge to preside at such elections.

The Lodge of Edinburgh—June 21—resolved to discontinue connection with the Grand Lodge, until reinstated in its proper place on the roll, and the sentence on its office-bearers

[1] In his letter of October 31, 1807, to Sir J. Stuart.

[2] The narrative which follows is abridged from the History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 256-281.

[3] "The King's opposition to the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities called forth, from various public bodies throughout the kingdom, addresses, and it was probably with the view of contributing to the aggrandisement of the political party to which he belonged that Dr Mitchell sought to identify the Grand Lodge of Scotland with this agitation" (Lyon, p. 257).

recalled. Other resolutions of a more general character followed, and similar ones were adopted by the Lodges—Canongate Kilwinning, St David, and St Andrew; whilst counter resolutions were passed by those Lodges in Edinburgh which remained firm in their allegiance to the Grand Lodge.

The dispute now took a wider range, and it was alleged that Dr Mitchell and his associates fell under the prohibition of the Act of Parliament (1799) for suppressing societies which administer secret oaths,[1] whilst on the other hand the Seceders, following up the resolutions under which they had left the Grand Lodge, met—July 18—in the Lodge room of Canongate Kilwinning, and organised themselves into a separate body, under the designation of "The Associated Lodges seceding from the present Grand Lodge of Scotland." From this time—during the pendency of the Schism—the Masters of the Seceding Lodges occupied the chair by rotation at the annual festivals, and the minutes of the meeting were engrossed in the books of the Lodge whose Master presided on the occasion.

The litigation which ensued has been narrated by Lyon, and it will suffice in this place to remark that the Grand Lodge was thoroughly worsted in the legal struggle, from which the Associated Lodges emerged victorious. Happily, a conciliatory spirit prevailed, or the result might have been the erection of a multiplicity of Grand Lodges.[2] Overtures for a reunion were made on behalf of the Seceders, February 3, 1812; and by the appointment of a special committee, to consider the proposals for a reconciliation, the Grand Lodge met them more than half way. But although this led to the appointment of a similar committee by the Associated Lodges, the breach was not healed until 1813—on March 31 of which year, the sentences of suspension and expulsion (excepting in the case of Dr Mitchell) were removed, and the Seceding Lodges returned to their former allegiance.

In 1810, "it was unanimously decided that the Master of a Lodge had the right of appointing his own Depute, unless the practice of his particular Lodge, or any by-law thereof, ruled the contrary." In the same year, after consultation with the sister Grand Lodges of England and Ireland, the Grand Lodge declined to grant a Charter for the Naval Kilwinning Lodge, which it was proposed to hold on board H.M.S. "Ardent."[3]

On September 19, 1815, the foundation-stones of the Regent Bridge and the New Jail were laid with the usual Masonic solemnities, and certain "Knights Templars," headed by Alexander Deuchar, not only joined in the procession, but took precedence of the regular Lodges and brethren. The subject was brought before the Grand Lodge in the ensuing November, and after a committee had reported, resolutions were passed—August 4, 1817—that the Grand Lodge only recognised the three degrees of Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason of St John's Masonry; and that any Lodges admitting persons to their meetings or processions belonging to other Orders, with regalia, insignia, badges, or crosses other than those belonging to St John's Masonry, would be proceeded against for infringement of the regulations.[4] A few weeks later—August 28—the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland was instituted by the representatives of thirty-four Chapters, at a General Convocation of the Order, held in St John's Chapel, Edinburgh.

[1] Chap. XX., p. 486 *et seq.*

[2] Some idea of the dimensions of the Schism may be gathered from the fact, that to celebrate one of their legal victories, the Associated Lodges held a General Communication—February 17, 1809—at which upwards of three hundred brethren were present. The R.W.M. of Lodge St David presided as "Grand Master."

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 482.

[4] Laurie, p. 189; Lyon, p. 295.

At the next Grand Lodge, held November 3, it was enacted—by an overwhelming majority of votes—that, from and after December 27 then ensuing, no person holding an official situation in any Masonic body which sanctions higher degrees than those of St John's Masonry, shall be entitled to sit, act, or vote in the Grand Lodge of Scotland. This produced a dignified protest from the Grand Chapter—July 20, 1818—in which the Royal Arch is styled "a real and intrinsic part of Master Masonry," and a union is proposed between the Grand Lodge and the Grand Chapter, on the same principles as those established between the same bodies in England.[1] But although couched in courteous terms, and signed by two Past Grand Masters—the Earls of Moray and Aboyne—the letter, on the motion of the Proxy Master of "Mother Kilwinning," was not even allowed to be read. An attempt was made—August 1820—to rescind the resolution of November 3, 1817; but the motion was negatived by 52 votes to 22. "Though still withholding its recognition of other than Craft Masonry,"[2] observes Lyon, "the Grand Lodge has long since set aside its prohibitory enactments against wearing in Lodge Communications the insignia of, or holding office under, the High Degrees."

The Grand Chapter "did not assume a distinct recognition of several of the degrees which it now superintends, until 1845, when it intimated that its Chapters were entitled to grant the following degrees:—Mark, Past, Excellent, and Royal Arch, as also the Royal Ark Mariners and the Babylonish Pass, which last is commonly but erroneously called the Red Cross, and is composed of three points—Knights of the Sword, Knights of the East, and Knights of the East and West."[3]

Many foundation-stones were laid according to the formalities of the Craft between 1820 and 1830, but no events occurred during that period which are worthy of specific mention. In the latter year King William IV. became the patron of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and in 1831—March 19—William Alexander[4] succeeded his father, *Alexander* Laurie,[5] as Grand Secretary.

On August 3, 1829, a committee was appointed to revise the Laws of the Grand Lodge, which had never previously been embodied into a code.[6] These were sanctioned November 2, 1835, and printed in 1836. Editions were subsequently published in 1848, 1852, 1863, 1874, 1879, and 1881.

The Grand Lodge celebrated the completion of the FIRST CENTENARY of its existence on St Andrew's Day, 1836, under the presidency of Lord Ramsay, afterwards tenth Earl and first Marquis of Dalhousie. Gold medals were struck in honour of the event, and one was presented to each of the sister Grand Lodges of England and Ireland.

A patent bearing the same date—November 30, 1836—was granted to the Chevalier—afterwards Sir James—Burnes, appointing him Provincial Grand Master over Western India and its dependencies, but his jurisdiction was extended—August 24, 1846—over the three Presidencies, with the title of Grand Master of Scottish Freemasons in India. After a brilliant career in the Indian Medical Service, extending over a period of nearly thirty years, Dr Burnes returned to his native country in 1849, and died in 1862.[7]

[1] *Ante*, p. 10. [2] See, however, *post*, p. 75. [3] Laurie, 1859, p. 430. [4] Assist. G. S, 1826-31.

[5] Assist. G. S. 1801; Joint G. S., 1810; Sole G. S., 1812-31.

[6] *I.e.*, with the formal sanction of G.L. (Constit. 1848, p. xxii.), though one was printed with Lawrie's History (1804), and W. A. Laurie (1859) states that the draft was approved in 1801-2 (p. 167).

[7] Lyon, p. 341. See further, Laurie, 1859, p. 396 *et seq.*; and the Masonic Journals, *passim*. Sir James Burnes, it may be briefly added, was the author of "a Sketch of the History of the Knights Templars," 1840; and in 1845 he founded a new Order or Brotherhood "of the Olive-Branch of the East." It consisted of three classes—Novice, Companion, and Officer (F.Q. Rev., 1845, p. 377). The reputation of its founder caused it to be received with much enthusiasm by Indian Freemasons, but it never took root.

In 1838—November 12—an application from the Prov. G.M. of the West Indies, requesting a dispensation to work the Mark Mason degree, was considered, and refused, on the grounds that according to the Constitutions,[1] "the Grand Lodge of Scotland practises and recognises no degrees of Masonry but those of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master Mason, denominated St John's Masonry," and that "All Lodges holding of the G.L. of Scotland are strictly prohibited and discharged from giving any countenance, as a body, to any other Order of Masonry."[2]

Lord Glenlyon—afterwards sixth Duke of Atholl—was elected Grand Master in 1843, and this high office he continued to hold until his death in January 1864.[3]

In 1844 a select committee was appointed to inquire how far Benefit Societies in connection with Lodges were conducive or otherwise to the prosperity of Masonry in Scotland. The facts generally, as ascertained by the committee, may be thus summarised:

"In some Lodges with Benefit Societies it is explained to the candidates that a Benefit Society is connected with the Lodge with which he offers himself for initiation; that the fee for becoming a member of the Lodge is a stated sum, say £1, 10*s*., and for becoming a member both of the Lodge and the Society is so much more, say £2 in whole, besides an annual contribution to the Society funds; and that unless the candidate become a member both of the Lodge and the Society, he can neither elect for, nor be elected to any of the offices of the Lodge, the Office-bearers being generally the Managers *ex officiis* of the Society funds. In other cases, members of the Lodge, but not of the Society, may vote at the election of Office-bearers of the Lodge, but are not eligible for office themselves. And lastly, that the Societies in question are in many instances managed with great care, and are very beneficial to the parties concerned."

The report of the Committee having been duly considered and approved—May 6—it was resolved:

"That all Lodges who may hereafter form Benefit Societies are hereby prohibited from depriving any of the members of their Lodges of the right of voting at the election of Office-bearers, or being chosen Office-bearers; and those Lodges who already have Benefit Societies connected therewith, are instructed to make such alterations upon their bye-laws and practice as will admit every duly constituted Member of the Lodge, not lying under any Masonic disability, to vote, or to be eligible for office, at the election of Office-bearers. The Grand Lodge also recommends all Lodges having Benefit Societies to be very careful in keeping the funds of the Lodge perfectly separate and distinct from those of the Society."

In the same year—August 5—it was ordained by the Grand Lodge that an interval of two weeks should elapse between the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, and Fellow-Craft and Master Mason respectively, but the enactment, though aimed at the custom (which, alas, still prevails) of conferring all three degrees on the same night, became a dead letter, owing to its being qualified by a proviso, that the regulation might be dispensed with "in any particular case of emergency, to be allowed by the Master and Wardens of the

[1] Edit. 1836, Chaps. I., § 4; XIX., § 1.

[2] The present practice under the Grand Lodge of Scotland will be referred to at the close of this Chapter.

[3] Lord Elcho (1827-29) served a *third* term as G.M.; but with this solitary exception, none of Lord Glenlyon's predecessors in the Grand Chair were elected more than *twice*.

The Fund of Scottish Masonic Benevolence was established—at the instance of Mr J. Whyte-Melville—August 2, 1846.

In the following year the Grand Lodge agreed to an interchange of representatives with the Grand Lodge of England; the fees on charters were reduced from £21 to £10, 10*s.*; and on May 3 the Grand Lodge—in relation to the installation of R.W. Masters—pronounced the following deliverance:

"The G.L. of Scotland has never acknowledged, as connected with St John's Masonry, any degree, or secrets of any degree, but those imparted to every Master Mason, Fellow-Craft, and Entered Apprentice. The G.L. farther considers every Master Mason qualified to be elected to, and fill the Chair as R.W. Master, without receiving any additional degree or secrets whatever."

The rare collection of Masonic books and manuscripts amassed by Dr Charles Morison of Greenfield, was, at his death, presented by his widow—August 24, 1849—to the Grand Lodge of Scotland,[1] and this library is now (December 1885) being catalogued by the indefatigable Secretary of that body—D. M. Lyon—who, in disposing of the "Arrears" bequeathed to him by his official predecessors, finds his chief recreation in a change of employment—which in this case, however, must be of a congenial character, to a Grand Secretary, whose administrative talent—great as it is—has not yet eclipsed his earlier fame as an historian of the Craft.

Masonic Clubs were prohibited in 1851, but the Grand Lodge, in order to promote the objects which they professed to have in view, consented to grant temporary warrants, without fee, for holding Lodges of Instruction in any District or Province, when a majority of the Masters therein should petition for them. The privilege conferred by this resolution has not to any appreciable extent been taken advantage of, and the Fraternity are still left to the uncontrolled indulgence of their own fancy in the matter of Lodge instruction.[2]

In the same year, a new class of Members were introduced into the Grand Lodge, and the rank of "Honorary Member" conferred in the first instance upon the King of Sweden, and Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, and subsequently, upon George V., King of Hanover, and William I., King of Prussia (now Emperor of Germany). At a Quarterly Communication, held February 1853, a reduction—from six shillings and sixpence to four shillings and sixpence—in the fees for Grand Lodge Diplomas, was unanimously agreed to.

The want of a suitable Hall for the Grand Lodge having been long felt, a committee was appointed—May 4, 1857—to consider the propriety and practicability of "purchasing or erecting a Building for Grand Lodge purposes, and the means whereby it might be accomplished." Reports were made by the Hall Committee and Grand Architect, and the scheme was sanctioned by Grand Lodge, February 1, 1858. The excavations were commenced April 26, and the Foundation-stone laid with great ceremony, by the Duke of Atholl, G.M., June 24. In the following year, February 24, the New Freemasons' Hall, 98 George Street, Edinburgh, was consecrated and inaugurated.

In January 1864 the Masonic throne became vacant through the death of the Duke of Atholl, who had occupied it since 1843. John Whyte-Melville of Bennochy and Strathkinness was the next Grand Master—under whose administration it was that gross irregularities

[1] May 7, 1855, "The Morison Library was declared to be patent to all Members of the Grand Lodge, and to all other duly qualified Master Masons, recommended by Members thereof" (Laurie, p. 313). *Cf. post*, p. 118.

[2] Lyon, p. 407 *ut supra.*

in the management of the financial and other affairs of Grand Lodge were discovered as having existed for years, though little or no benefit resulted from the investigation which followed.

The Earl of Dalhousie was elected Grand Master in 1867, and retired in November 1870. It was during his tenure of office that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales became Patron of the Scottish Craft and an affiliated member of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1. The Prince appeared in Grand Lodge, and was installed as Patron, October 16, 1870, and on the following day laid the foundation-stone of the New Royal Infirmary.

The Earl of Rosslyn was elected Grand Master, November 1870. This nobleman made an unsuccessful attempt to raise the status of the Craft, in securing from all members of Lodges an annual payment to Grand Lodge as a test of membership. It was during the administration of Lord Rosslyn that Grand Lodge recognised and adopted the Installed Masters Degree.

Sir Michael Robert Shaw-Stewart of Greenock and Blackhall, Baronet, was elected Grand Master in November 1873, and held the post till his retirement in November 1881. It was during this period that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone of the new Post Office at Glasgow, October 17, 1876. In the same year, the Grand Master instituted a searching inquiry into the gigantic mismanagement of Grand Lodge business, by which, for a very long period, the Scottish Craft had been scandalised. He succeeded in having matters placed on a satisfactory footing, and this reformation was inaugurated by the appointment of the present Grand Secretary, and ever since, the career of the Grand Lodge has been one of exceptional prosperity. This is due, in great measure, to the unwearied exertions of Mr David Murray Lyon, who was elected Grand Secretary—on the retirement of Mr John Laurie—in 1877. In Mr David Kinnear, Grand Cashier—I must not, however, forget to add—the present Grand Secretary of Scotland possesses a most efficient coadjutor, and it is to the diligence and ability displayed by these two permanent officials of the Grand Lodge, that the order and regularity which has of late years characterised the administrative proceedings of that body, are mainly attributable.

The Earl of Mar and Kellie succeeded to the Masonic throne in November 1881, and retired in 1884. A scheme for raising £10,000 for the extension of the Fund of Scottish Masonic Benevolence was adopted by Grand Lodge during the presidency of this nobleman.

Colonel Sir Archibald C. Campbell of Blythswood, Baronet, M.P., elected in November 1884, has been again called to the Grand Mastership (1885). It has fallen to Sir Archibald to give the strongest popular expression of disapprobation, to an undisguised attempt to place a semi-official stamp upon a pretended ritual of Freemasonry—manufactured for publication by unauthorised and irresponsible parties connected with the Craft.

The latest Lodge warrant issued down to December 1885 bears the number 726, and the Lodges are arranged in 54 provinces, 24 of which are abroad. In the colonies and foreign parts there are 203 Lodges in active operation.

Between November 30, 1884, and November 30, 1885, dues for 4052 entrants have been paid, and within the same period the Grand Lodge receipts have been £4342, 10s. 7d., against an expenditure of £3548, 7s. 10d., which includes the sum of £662, 8s. voted on account of charity to decayed members and widows.

The Lodge of Kilwinning, as we have seen, resumed its independency in 1745, and from that time until 1808 exercised all the attributes of a Grand Lodge. It was rarely brought

into conflict with the governing body from which it had seceded, and on the few occasions in which this occurred, neither side can be said to have emerged victorious from the dispute. The rivalry existing did not therefore disturb the fraternal relations subsisting between the brethren under the two jurisdictions.

In 1758 we find two Edinburgh Masons seeking to be admitted members of "the Venerable Gray-hair'd Mother Kilwinning," and supporting their application by a promise to present a "set of new ribbons" to the Lodge.[1] The Earl of Eglinton was elected M.W.G.M. of the Mother Lodge *ad vitam* in 1778, and the concluding years of the past century were marked by the admission of many distinguished brethren, *e.g.*, the Earl of Crawford, Sir Walter M. Cunningham, Bart., the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Lyle, and others. Down, indeed, to the close of its separate and independent existence, its roll continued to be graced by the names of many brethren who have been famous in history.

It is, however, a somewhat curious circumstance that the Lodge of Kilwinning, which almost alone amongst Scottish Lodges, has evinced an unconquerable repugnance to either working or recognising more than the three degrees of the Craft, should have been regarded, both at home and abroad, as a centre of the *Hauts Grades*. Yet, as a simple matter of fact, it has never practised, and has always repudiated any connection with the legion of foreign novelties, which, under one name or another, have been *adopted* in many influential quarters as Masonic.

When, at the close of the last century, the Arch and the Templar degrees were practised to such an extent among the Scottish Lodges, as to call forth the censure of the Grand Lodge, they were never introduced into, or even countenanced by Mother Kilwinning. "Of course, as long as she continued to preserve anything of an operative character, the Mark was conferred by the Mother Lodge upon those qualified to receive it, though, even at the present day, the Mark *degree* is unknown to her as a Lodge."[2]

A passage in Ramsay's famous speech doubtless served as the original basis on which so many fanciful conjectures with regard to the mission of the Lodge of Kilwinning have arisen.[3] The belief, indeed, in her connection with Templary was fairly justified, from the grant of a warrant in 1779 to a Lodge with the singular title of "High Knights Templars of Ireland."[4] By this body a correspondence was opened with the Mother Lodge, October 25, 1806, in order to obtain such documents as would establish, beyond doubt, the authority and regularity of their warrant as Knights Templars. The nature of the reply that this must have elicited, may be inferred from the fact that in 1779, "Mother Kilwinning," in a circular to her daughter Lodges, repudiated all connection with any Masonic rites beyond the three degrees of the Craft. The application addressed to the Lodge of Kilwinning in 1813 by some "Sir Knights" in the Shropshire Militia has already been referred to.[5]

In 1817, on the formation of the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter for Scotland, the Grand Recorder fell into the error of supposing that "Mother Kilwinning" was also a R.A. Chapter, and urged the propriety of an immediate union with the newly constituted Grand

[1] Lyon, p. 379.

[2] Lyon, in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, vol. viii., N.S., p. 426. "This conferring of Marks obtained in the Mother Lodge until the middle of the 18th century (although the custom had for a long time previously been declining), after which period no further record is made of Marks being given or paid for" (*Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 234). *Cf. ante*, p. 21.

[3] *Post*, p. 88. [4] *Ante*, p. 44. [5] *Ibid.*

Chapter, which would secure to it that rank to which it was entitled. Indeed, so tenaciously did the high grade Masons cling to the idea, that the Lodge of Kilwinning was at one time in the habit of conferring the Arch and Templar degrees, and even granted warrants for the purpose, that Alexander Deuchar, as G.M. of the Templars of Scotland, is found (1827) putting the following questions to the Master of the "Mother Lodge," viz.: "Has the Lodge of Kilwinning any and how many Lodges holding under her whom she has impowered to make Templars, and how long is it since she granted any such warrant? How far back do your minutes of the Order of Knights Templars go?" To these queries the Mother Lodge replied that "the brethren of Kilwinning have never gone farther in practice than THREE STEP MASONS."[1] The inveteracy of this error becomes apparent if we turn to a publication edited by the Grand Secretary of Scotland in 1859, where it is positively affirmed "that the Ancient Mother Kilwining Lodge *certainly* possessed in former times other degrees of Masonry than those of St John."[2]

The degree of Knight Templar doubtless had its origin in some form of the Scots degrees, whence (in all probability) it penetrated into our British Military Lodges during (or before) the Seven Years' War. Whether derived from the Clermont or the Strict Observance systems[3] is immaterial, though the traditions of both may be referred to as possessing attractions which, at least to Scotsmen, may have been irresistible. Thus, passing over the alleged reception of Von Hund by a former G.M. of Scotland—Lord Kilmarnock[4]—the sixth of the Clermont degrees and the whole fabric of the Strict Observance was based on the legend that Pierre d'Aumont was elected G.M. of the Templars in Scotland, 1313, and that to avoid persecution the knights became Freemasons. In 1361 the G.M. is said to have removed his seat to Old Aberdeen, whither (in the time of Von Hund) a deputation was sent to search its "mysterious caverns" for the sublime doctrine and the treasures of the Templars, and found to their surprise that the worthy and astonished brethren there, were not only unconscious of possessing either secrets or treasures, but that their stock of Masonry did not extend beyond the three ordinary degrees.[5]

A history of the so-called "high degrees" lies outside the scope of this work, but a passing glance at a subject of such interest and complexity may not be out of place. I shall first of all bespeak the attention of my readers to some allusions in previous Chapters. Thus, the "dignity of a Highrodiam,"[6] the "Scots Masters,"[7] the Chapter of Harodim,[8] and the Lodges of "Perfect Observance,"[9] and of "des Amis Réunis,"[10] all point to the existence of foreign novelties, of which more will be seen as we proceed.[11]

In Scotland the additional degrees were in the first instance wrought by the Lodges, and afterwards more often in Encampments. A pamphlet, published at Edinburgh in 1788, informs us, that of the "*real* Higher Degrees, there are two *regular* Chapters in the kingdom of Scotland—one in the north, the other in the west, who hold their convents in *Aberdeen* and

[1] Lyon in Freemasons' Magazine, N.S., vol. ix., p. 354.

[2] W. A. Laurie, "History of Freemasonry and the Grand Lodge of Scotland," 2d edit., p. 93.

[3] *Cf. post*, pp. 94, 99.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[5] Chap. XI., p. 499; *post*, p. 99; Clavel, Hist. Pittoresque, p. 187; Laurie, 1859, p. 84; Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 329; and Findel, p. 215.

[6] Chap. XIX., p. 458.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Chaps. XVII., p. 339; XVIII., p. 428.

[9] Chap. XVIII., p. 417.

[10] Chap. XX., p. 49.

[11] *Post*, Chap. XXIV., *passim*.

Glasgow." When in 1817, the Supreme Grand Chapter was formed, these degrees naturally subdivided themselves into two groups; and Alexander Deuchar, the head of the Grand Conclave—established in 1811—held strongly the opinion that all these degrees (whatever number might be introduced into Scotland) should be arranged thus: the non-Christian degrees under the charge of Chapters, and the Christian degrees under the charge of Encampments. The degrees practised in the St George Aboyne Encampment[1] in 1815, were the following:—

I.	Master past the chair; Excellent and Super-Excellent; Royal Arch,	Fee,	£0	7 6
II.	Ark; Black Mark; Link and Chain,	„	0	2 1½
III.	Knight Templar; Knight of St John of Jerusalem; Mediterranean Pass; Knight of Malta,	„	0	10 6
IV.	Jordan Pass; Babylon Pass,	„	0	2 0
V.	Knight of the Red Cross,	„	0	3 0
VI.	High Priest,	„	0	5 0
VII.	Prussian Blue,	„	0	0 0
			£1	10 1½

Both Master Masons and Royal Arch Masons were received indiscriminately as candidates: if the former, they received first the Group I. of Royal Arch Degrees; if the latter, they began with Group II. When the Royal Arch Degrees were conferred, the meeting was called a Chapter; for all the others an Encampment. When the Supreme Chapter was formed in 1817-18, the Encampment did not cease conferring the R.A. Degrees, although after a year or two the practice seems to have been gradually dropped, apparently more from the circumstance that only R.A. Masons came forward as candidates, than from any idea that the power to do so had been surrendered.

Of Group II., the Ark and Black Mark were uniformly conferred as preliminary to the Templar Degrees proper, down to about the year 1840, when the former at least seems to have become optional. A minute, dated April 28, 1848, informs us:—"The following members of the Encampment, being Black Mark Masons, unanimously resolved that the said degree be conjoined to the Knight Templars, and that the payment for it in the meantime be made voluntary." Of Group III., the Knight Templar, Mediterranean Pass, and Knight of Malta have invariably been conferred, and since 1850 these have been the only degrees communicated openly in the Encampment.

Of Group IV., the last distinct mention is in 1837, after which they seem to have become optional. As in 1851 the Chapters began to practise these as well as the Ark, there arose after that date no further necessity for their being conferred in the Encampment.

No. V. is the same as the Rosy Cross or Rose Croix, and, down to the year 1845, was regularly given with the Templar Degrees. After that date it also became optional, and was seldom conferred.

Nos. VI. and VII. are never mentioned in the minutes, and were not conferred at any of the ordinary meetings of the Encampment, but separately, in presence only of the few to whom they were known.

[1] Chartered in the Aberdeenshire Militia by the Grand Conclave of Scotland, July 6, 1812. The Encampment moved with the regiment, being at Dover 1812, Liverpool 1813, Tower of London 1814, and in Aberdeen—where it has since remained—1815. The Aboyne *Lodge* was formed in the same corps in 1799.

Dr Beveridge, who identifies Prussian Masonry with the Rite of Perfection, pronounces the degree mentioned in the list as No. VII. to have been the 25° of the latter, or the 32° of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

It will be observed that among the degrees enumerated, the Mark Degrees (Mark Man and Mark Master) do not occur. These, when practised, were wrought by the Craft Lodges. This no doubt was in opposition to the Grand Lodge Regulations, but nevertheless in many parts of Scotland, down to the middle of the present century, the old usage was uniformly adhered to. When the Supreme Chapter, in the edition of its laws issued in 1845, made it imperative on Chapters to confer the Mark Degree, the Aberdeen Chapters, regarding this as a violation of the ancient landmarks, absolutely refused to comply.

But in the result an understanding was come to, that the Chapters were not to be interfered with if they chose to continue the old practice. Ten years later, as the old members gradually died out, the Chapters, although with hesitation and reluctance, began to confer the Mark degree; but since the Grand Lodge, in 1860, allowed the degree to be conferred in Craft Lodges,[1] advantage has been taken of this to resort, in part at least, to the old usage.[2]

It is important to note—having regard to the similarity of name—that there is no connection whatever between the ancient *custom* and the modern *degree*. "The taking of a Mark in pre-eighteenth century Lodges was not a *degree*, and the ceremony lay in paying for the Mark and having it booked."[3] The *degree* of the same name is first met with in Scotland in 1778,[4] and was taken up with much earnestness by the Journeymen Lodge in 1789, to whose persistent exertions in later years must be ascribed the qualified recognition of the degree by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.[5]

Before, however, passing away from the consideration of degrees—so-called—which made their first appearance after the "Introduction of Freemasonry Abroad,[6]" it will be essential to refer to a Rite or Order of alleged Scottish origin which the founders were not content to closely associate with "Mother" Kilwinning, but actually labelled with her name. *L'Ordre de Hérédom de Kilwinning*, or Royal Order of Scotland, is composed of two degrees—H.R.D.M. and R.Y.C.S.—or those of *Heredom* and the *Rosy Cross*.[7] The degree of Heredom Kilwinning is declared to have originated in the reign of David I., King of Scotland, and that of Rosy Cross to have been instituted by Robert the Bruce, by whom also the former is supposed to have been revived and incorporated with the latter in 1314. It is further asserted that the "Royal Order" and the Masonic Fraternity of Kilwinning were governed by the same head. Passing, however, from fable to fact, it appears that the oldest records in the possession of the Grand Lodge of the Order at Edinburgh are those of an Anglo-Dutch

[1] Under an anomalous arrangement, whereby, though pronounced by the Grand Lodge "to be a second part of the Fellow-Craft Degree," it is allowed to be conferred on Master Masons only.

[2] Abridged from an article by Dr Beveridge, in the Aberdeenshire "Masonic Reporter," 1879, p. 53 *et seq.* *Cf. post*, pp. 97, 128, 129; and Thory (Acta Lat.), *s.v.* Noachites, ou Chevaliers Prussiens.

[3] Lyon (*MS.*). [4] *Ante*, p. 21.

[5] Hunter, p. 81. It is noteworthy, that in the records of this Lodge, where the Mark *degree* has been worked from 1789, there is no *previous* reference to operative Marks, whilst in those of "Mother Kilwinning," where the *custom* of taking out a Mark lasted until (*circa*) 1750, there is no *subsequent* allusion to the *degree*.

[6] *Cf.* Chap. XXIV., *s.v.*

[7] According, however, to Thory, "Chevalier de Rose-*Croix* is the 48th of the 90 degrees of the Rite of Misraim, and the 4th in the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning" (Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 337).

Provincial Grand Chapter, established, according to the evidence of its own documents, in the middle of the last century.

On July 22, 1750, a patent was granted by the Provincial Grand Master of South Britain —then "in the ninth year of his authority"—to William Mitchell, a Scotsman; Jonas Kluck, and others, at the Hague, who were, on the date aforesaid, "constituted into a regular Chapter, at the sign of the Golden Horseshoe, in Cannon Street, Southwark." The newly-erected body was empowered to act as a Grand Lodge, conditionally upon its making "an acknowledgment once a year to the Grand Lodge from whom it derived its title, at a Quarterly G.L. meeting which is held always at London on the fifth Sunday having so many." Prior to this there appear to have been six Chapters of this Order under the Prov. G.M. of South Britain, viz., five in London and one at Deptford. The seventh was the Chapter then constituted at the Hague, and which is now represented by the Grand Lodge of the Order at Edinburgh. We learn from a "List of the Members of the Royal Chapter at Edinburgh," in the handwriting of William Mitchell, that one was admitted in 1754, two in 1755, one in 1760, and ten in 1763. It is tolerably clear that Mitchell never returned to the Hague after obtaining his patent in 1750, but settled in Scotland, where he continued to act as Grand Master until 1767. He was succeeded by James Kerr, and in the same year William Mason—the brother admitted in 1754—became Deputy (or Depute) G.M. Kerr retired in 1776, and William Baillie, advocate—afterwards Lord Polkemmet—became Grand Master, who in turn was followed by W. C. Little of Liberton in 1778.

Mason was succeeded as Depute G.M. by Lieut.-General Oughton in 1770; and the office was afterwards filled by W. C. Little, 1777—in which year Sir William Forbes was admitted; the Earl of Leven, 1778; and David Dalrymple, Lord Westhall, in 1780.

The Order took root in Scotland in 1763, between which date and 1766, 52 members were admitted. The signatures of William Mason—then Secretary to the Grand Lodge of Scotland —and W. C. Little, appear in the charters under which a Provincial Grand Lodge and Chapter of the Order were in 1786 erected in France.[1]

Between 1819 and 1839 the Order, *i.e.*, the Scottish *branch* (or *trunk*), fell into abeyance, but was revived in the latter year by two members of the Lodge St David, when a number of brethren were admitted, including George Murray and J. B. Douglas—Treasurer and Secretary respectively in 1873—to whose exertions the Order perhaps owes its present existence, and from one of whom, Mr Douglas, Lyon derived much of the information given in the XXXIInd. Chapter of his famous work, upon which, more than any other source of authority, this sketch is based. The *Handbuch* is of opinion that the London Chapter was an offshoot of the Emperors' Rite of Perfection or Heredom,[2] but there can be little, if any, doubt, that it was an echo of *French* Scots Masonry.[3] From London the Rite travelled to Scotland, and thence, as will presently appear,[4] it returned with an added lustre to the country of its birth.[5]

[1] *Post*, p. 161. [2] Chap. XXIV., p. 97. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 92. [4] Chap. XXV., *passim*.

[5] Works consulted:—Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 306 *et seq.*; Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Heredom; Clavel, Histoire Pittoresque, p. 204; Acta Latomorum, vol. i., pp. 163, 169, 174, 179, 215, 229, 231, 246.

CHAPTER XXIV.

INTRODUCTION OF FREEMASONRY ABROAD—ADDITIONAL RITES AND CEREMONIES—THE CHEVALIER RAMSAY—MASONIC ABERRATIONS.

IT has been regarded as a matter for astonishment that, in the short space of from ten to twenty years after the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England, Freemasonry should have obtained a firm footing in the remotest parts of the continent of Europe. I am far from sharing this view, and regard the circumstance as the most natural result possible. England at that time was, without doubt, the centre of all eyes, and any important movement in this country was bound to attract especial attention from the world at large. Marlborough's brilliant achievements abroad had made our weight felt on the Continent; the States of Europe were distracted and impoverished by constant wars, whilst England was at least undisturbed within her own frontiers, and exceedingly wealthy. Her possession of Hanover brought her into close contact with Germany, but her alliance, and, above all, her large subsidies, were desired by each of the contending States in turn, and as a consequence her capital was the *rendezvous* of thousands of foreigners. Under these circumstances the formation of the Grand Lodge could barely have escaped notice; but when noblemen of high position, and men celebrated for their learning, began to frequent our assemblies, to accept our offices, to take part in public processions, proudly wearing our jewels and apron, no foreigner resident in the City of London could fail to be struck with the phenomenon. For in those days London was not a province of vast extent. It was a city of ordinary dimensions, and each citizen might fairly be expected to be acquainted with every part of it, and with the personal appearance of its chief notabilities. A duke or earl was not lost amongst the four or five millions of people who now throng our thoroughfares. His person, equipages, and liveries were familiar to the majority of residents, and his words and actions the talk of every club and coffee-house. The fraternity so suddenly brought into prominence must have attracted every one's attention, and many visitors to the metropolis must have been initiated into its circle. Returning to their own country, what more natural than a wish to enjoy there also those charming meetings where kindliness and charity prevailed, where the strife of parties was unknown, and where the slightest allusion to political or religious controversy was forbidden? What more natural than that those debarred from visiting our shores should desire to benefit by the new whim of "those eccentric islanders," and that given a sufficient number of the initiated

correction, his views—in spite of Findel having done his best to prove their fallacy—are in the main those which merit the adoption of every critical reader. Had Masonic history always been studied in the same spirit of fearless, candid inquiry, we should now have fewer fables and errors to correct.

Andrew Michael Ramsay was born at Ayr, in the neighbourhood of the celebrated Lodge of Kilwinning. The dates ascribed to his birth vary considerably. Rees' "Cyclopædia" states he died in 1743, aged 57, which would place his birth in 1686. Chambers' "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen" gives the date as June 9, 1688. Findel also has 1686, and that date has been accepted by D. Murray Lyon. But according to his own account (if correctly reported), he must have been born in 1680-81, because in 1741 he told Herr von Geusau [1] that he was then 60 years old. This would make him 62 at the time of his death in 1743. He was educated at Ayr and the University of Edinburgh. We next find him in Flanders under Marlborough fighting against the French.[2] Inasmuch as the Pretender, or the Chevalier St George, was under arms on the opposite side, we may safely assert that at that time Ramsay was not a Jacobite. Of a deeply religious (but not bigoted) temperament, Ramsay now became much exercised about matters of faith. He has described his religious studies and researches in his "Life of Fenélon." Need we wonder that he was attracted by the beautiful life, words, and actions of this celebrated prelate, whose all-embracing Christianity never shone more conspicuously than during the Flemish campaigns. He determined to ask his advice, left the army in 1710, obtained a French pass, and sought out Fenélon at Cambray.[3] By that prelate he was converted to the Roman faith, and lived with him till his death in 1715.[4] We may here inquire whether he was such a fervid Ultramontanist as has been stated. There is absolutely no symptom of a proof that he was. The character of his master would almost forbid it. Fenélon was one of the pillars of the Gallican Church, which was by no means in servile submission to that of Rome, although in communion with it; and the liberal breadth of his views was so widely spread as to incur the enmity of the great Bossuet and the open hostility of the Jesuits. Ramsay's printed works breathe a spirit of toleration worthy of his master. To Geusau [5] we are indebted for an anecdote which goes far to prove that he was no bigot. During his short residence at Rome an English lord lived at James' Court who was married to a Protestant lady. A little girl was born to the couple, and the parents being in doubt as to their proceedings, Ramsay advised that she should be christened by one of the two *Protestant* chaplains of the household, and exerted himself to such good effect in the cause as to win the

[1] Herr von Geusau was tutor to the son of the sovereign prince of Reuss, and accompanied him in his travels through Germany, France, and Italy. In Paris they met Ramsay, then tutor to the Prince of Turenne. Geusau kept a careful diary, anecdotical, personal, historical, and geographical of the whole tour. This diary came into the possession of Dr Anton Friedrich Buesching, who made extensive use of it for his geography. He further gave copious extracts from it in Beiträge zu der Lebensgeschichte denkwürdiger Personen, Halle, 1783-89, 5 vols. In vol. iii. some 50 pp. are devoted to Ramsay's conversations with Geusau respecting himself in general and his Masonic proceedings in particular, together with Geusau's reflections thereon. The diary has unfortunately never been published *in extenso*, all allusions therefore by Masonic writers to Geusau's diary are really to this collection of anecdotes of celebrated men. The value of the work consists in the fact that we have here a contemporary account of Ramsay, written with no ulterior object, and (although at second hand) Ramsay's own words concerning his Masonic career. Geusau was not a Freemason—a fact which enhances the value of his testimony—nor, I believe, was Buesching?

[2] Buesching, vol. iii.; and Schiffmann, Andrew Michael Ramsay, p. 25.

[3] Buesching, vol. iii., p. 319. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 323. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 326.



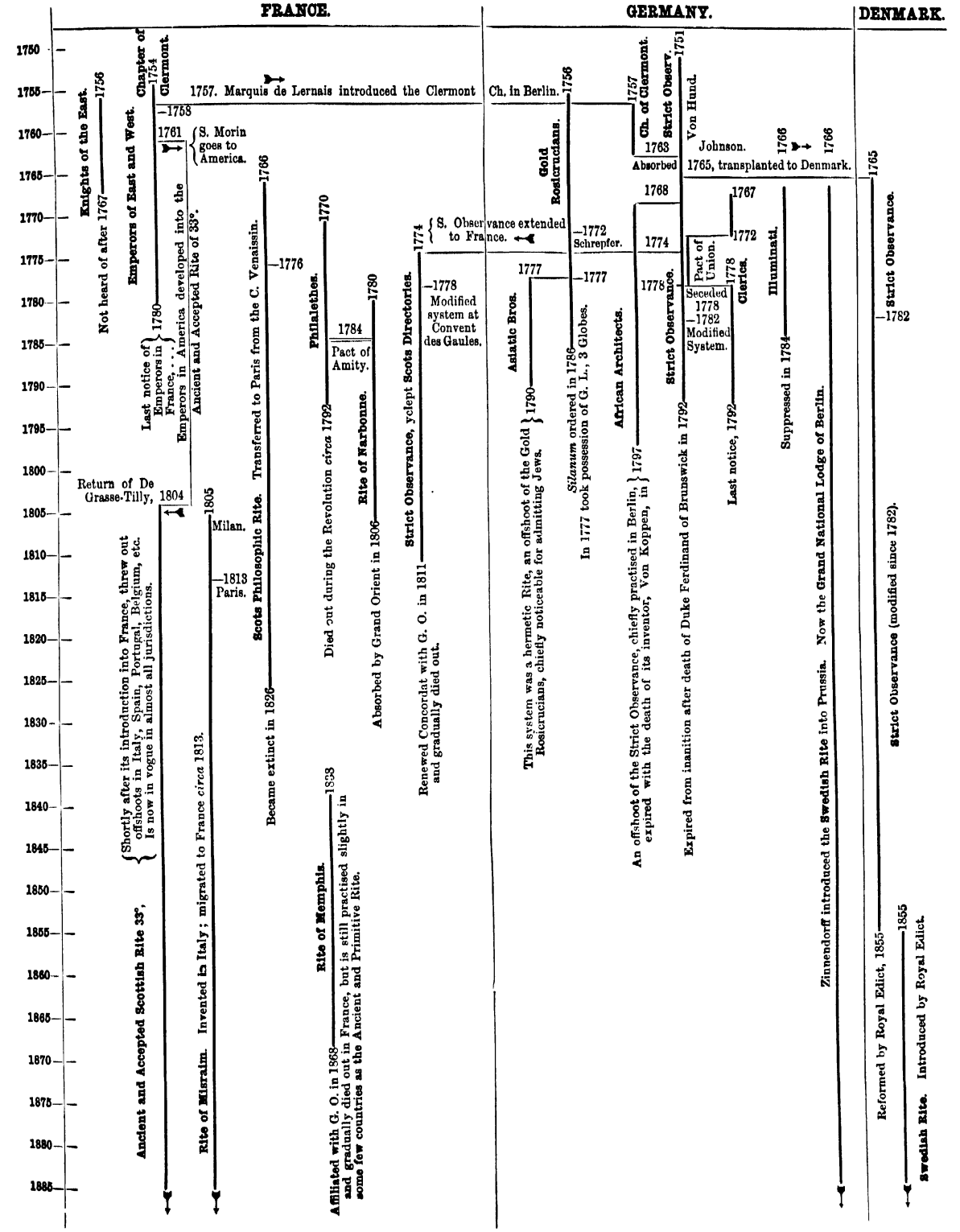
C. Turner Chesh.

SIR GEORGE ELLIOT, BARONET.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF SOUTH WALES.

CHART OF THE CHIEF PERVERSIONS OF FREEMASONRY. No. I.

1740 *circa.* RISE OF SCOTS DEGREES, AND GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF NUMEROUS SCOTS MOTHER LODGES, WHICH EITHER DIED OUT DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, OR SUBSEQUENTLY AMALGAMATED WITH THE GRAND ORIENT OF FRANCE.



consent of the Cardinal Chief of the Inquisition. And Geusau, himself a Protestant, declares that Ramsay was a learned man, especially well informed in both ancient and modern history. He praises his upright and genial nature, his aversion to bigotry and sectarianism of all kinds, and avers that he never once made the least attempt to shake his faith.[1] Was this the kind of man to pervert Freemasonry in the interest and at the bidding of the Jesuits?

From Cambray, Ramsay proceeded to Paris, and became tutor to the young Count Chateâu-Thierry. He won the friendship of the Regent, Philippe d'Orléans, who was Grand Master of the Order of St Lazarus, to which he admitted Ramsay. Hence he is called Chevalier and sometimes Sir Andrew M. Ramsay. He remained in Paris till 1723, editing and publishing his "Life of Fenélon," and, on difficulties being thrown in his way by the "Sorbonne" and the Jesuits, threatened to leave Paris (so he told Geusau) and publish in London. Evidently he was not yet a political intriguer, a noted Jacobite, as so many writers have averred, even insisting that he was obliged to obtain a *Salvum Conductum* from King George before visiting Oxford in 1730. In 1724 he was persuaded by his friends to accept the post of tutor to the two young sons of the Pretender at Rome. He only remained there about fifteen months. Pinkerton[2] says he resigned because the constant intrigues of the deposed family disgusted him. I am unable to find his authority for this statement, but certainly Ramsay's short stay does not argue for the depth of his attachment to the cause. From Rome he returned to Paris, but the length of his sojourn there is uncertain; probably he returned to England in 1727. We know that he was back again in Paris in 1737. The "Biographia Britannica" states he went to Scotland in 1725, and lived there nine or ten years, which agrees pretty well with respect to dates, but scarcely so well as regards locality. Rees' "Cyclopædia" tells us that he lived during that time with the Duke of Argyle and Greenwich. However this may be, he certainly spent some years in the southern half of the island, for on March 29, 1729, he was made a member of the "Gentlemen's Society" of Spalding.[3] In December of the same year, on the 11th, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and on the 18th he was admitted. His name appears in the appendix to Thomson's "History of the Royal Society." His autograph is not on the books of the Society, but this omission was apparently not unusual, because the Assistant Secretary, Mr Walter White, in kindly answering my inquiries, writes, "It is possible that the worthy gentleman was *one of those* admitted into the Society without signing the Charter-book."

On April 10, 1730, Ramsay received the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford. Chambers[4] is under a mistake in stating that the degree was conferred upon him by Dr King, principal of St Mary's Hall. Dr King not being Vice-Chancellor, could not have conferred the degree, though he might have been instrumental in procuring it for him. The only record of members of St Mary's Hall is the buttery-book, and Ramsay's name first appears there as charged for battels on

[1] Buesching, Beiträge, etc., vol. iii., p. 332. Ramsay's posthumous work, "The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion," amply sustains the view advanced in the text. Hume gives a long extract from it, and says of the author:—"Having thus thrown himself out of all received sects of Christianity, he is obliged to advance a system of his own, which is a kind of *Origenism*, and supposes the pre-existence of the souls both of men and beasts, and the eternal salvation and conversion of all men, beasts, and devils!" (Essays, 1777, vol. ii., p. 509).

Notes and Queries, Dec. 18, 1869.

[3] *Ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 284, note 3.

[4] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, 1835, vol. iv., p. 137.

the same date, but although his name is kept on the books for some years afterwards, he is never again charged, so that it is to be presumed he never went into residence. Curiously enough the usual entry of his admission to the Hall cannot be found, and another peculiarity is, that he is always described in the buttery-book as "Chevalier Ramsay, LL.D.," probably in error, this being the Cambridge degree, whereas the Oxford degree was D.C.L.[1] Evidently this man, taking such a prominent position in London life, could not have been a notorious Jacobite *intriguant*, and as a further proof to the contrary, I may quote his own assertion,[2] made to Geusau in 1741, when he was 60 years old and approaching his end, that on his return to Paris from Rome in 1725, he was privately offered the post of tutor to the young Duke of Cumberland, but that he refused the offer on grounds of delicacy, because he had been converted to the Church of Rome. This was the action of an honest man, but unnatural to one who was imbued with the doctrines of the Jesuits. Such a person would not have let slip so good an opportunity for intrigue. On his return to Paris he married an English-woman of property, and became tutor to the Prince of Turenne, son of the Duke of Bouillon, stipulating that he should receive no salary, in order that he might feel under no constraint in his duties.[3] He died at St Germain-en-Laye in 1743.

That he was a Freemason and Grand Chancellor of the Paris Grand Lodge, we know from his conversations with Geusau,[4] but he never stated when and where he was initiated. Inasmuch as he was in Flanders in 1709, and did not return to England till 1725 at the earliest, he could scarcely at that time have been a member of the Craft, unless "entered" at Kilwinning previous to the era of Grand Lodges. Lyon, however, vouches for the fact that he was not a member of Kilwinning.[5] It would appear probable that he was initiated in London *circa* 1728-29. Among his fellow members of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding, were no less than seven very prominent Freemasons, and among his brother Fellows of the Royal Society, from 1730 to 1736 (the probable limit of his stay in England), were Martin Folkes, Rawlinson, Desaguliers, Lord Paisley, Stukeley, the Duke of Montagu, Richard Manningham, the Earl of Dalkeith, Lord Coleraine, the Duke of Lorraine (afterwards Emperor of Germany), the Earls Strathmore, Crawford, and Aberdour, Martin Clare, and Francis Drake. In such a company of distinguished Freemasons, we can scarcely doubt that Ramsay soon became a prey to the fashion of the hour, and solicited admission to the Fraternity, also that the Lodge to which he is most likely to have applied was the "Old Horn," of which Desaguliers and Richard Manningham were members. This supposition cannot be verified, because that lodge (unlike some of the rest) has preserved no list of its members for 1730.[6] If he left the Continent *circa* 1726, he could hardly have been initiated there, except perhaps by individual masons, in an irregular manner, because the first lodge we hear of—out of Britain—was held at Paris in 1725. The facts, however, are by no means as clear as might be desired.

The *Almanack des Cocus* was published in Paris from 1741-43. I have not been able to examine a copy, but as Pinkerton states, it was no doubt a vile and obscene publication. If so, it merely reflected the lascivious tendencies of the age and country, and I see no reason on that account to declare that Ramsay could be the author of no part of its contents. It naturally

[1] Letter from Mr E. L. Hawkins of Oxford.
[2] Buesching, Beiträge, etc., vol. iii., p. 326.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 308.
[6] Chap. XVII., pp. 343, 346.

treated the subjects of the day, and might have published his oration without previously consulting the writer. In the edition for 1741 appeared "Discourse pronounced at the reception of Freemasons by Monsieur de R——, Grand Orator of the Order." The next publication of the same oration was in 1742 by De la Tierce,[1] who describes himself as a former member of the Duke of Lorraine's Lodge, London, and whose book is in substance a translation of the Constitutions of 1721, supplemented by the new articles of 1738, with various introductions by the author. He claims to have produced facts omitted by Anderson, and indeed gives a very detailed account of the Grand Masters, from Noah onwards, reserving a distinguished place to Misraim.[2] The introduction preceding the "Obligations of a Freemason" consists of "the following discourse pronounced by the Grand Master of the Freemasons of France, in the Grand Lodge, assembled solemnly at Paris, in the year of Freemasonry, five thousand seven hundred and forty." It re-appeared in other publications, London, 1757 and 1795 (in French); the Hague, 1773 (also French); in the Appendix to the second (1743) and third (1762) editions of the first translation into German of Anderson's Constitutions (Frankfort, 1741); and elsewhere. It will be observed that the Almanack attributes the speech to a Mr R., and gives no date; Tierce, to the G.M. in 1740; whilst according to Kloss,[3] the German translations merely state that the Grand Orator delivered it. That the speech was Ramsay's we know from his own confession to Geusau, and the only remaining matter of doubt is the exact date of its delivery. Jouast[4] maintains that it was delivered on June 24, 1738, on the occasion of the installation of the Duc D'Antin as G.M., referring to the Duke some expressions therein which probably applied to Cardinal Fleury; and states that the speech was first printed at the Hague in 1738, bound up with some poems attributed to Voltaire, and some licentious tales of Piron. If such a work really existed at that date, it was probably the original of the "*Lettre philosophique par M. de V——, avec plusieurs pièces galantes*," London, 1757, and again in 1795; but Kloss, in his "Bibliographie," knows nothing of it.

Thory dates the appearance of Ramsay as orator, December 24, 1736.[5] But Daruty would appear to have settled the matter almost beyond doubt, by the discovery, in a very rare work,[6] of the two following letters[7] addressed by Ramsay to Cardinal Fleury, the all-powerful prime minister of France.

LETTER OF MARCH 20, 1737.

"Deign, *Monseigneur*, to support the Society of Freemasons[8] in the large views which they entertain, and your Excellency will render your name more illustrious by this protection than Richelieu did his by founding the French Academy. The object of the one is much vaster than that of the other. To encourage a society which tends only to reunite all nations by a

[1] Histoire, Obligations et Statuts de la tr. ven. Confraternité des F. M., etc. Traduit par le Fr. de la Tierce. Francfort, Varrentrapp, 1742. A second edition was published at Paris in 1745.

[2] It would therefore be quite as just to lay the blame of the creation of the rite of Misraim on Tierce, as to hold Ramsay responsible for all the other "Innovations in the Body of Masonry." *Cf.* Chap. XVII., p. 373.

[3] Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 44.

[4] A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient de France, Paris, 1865, p. 63.

[5] Thory, Acta Latomorum, Paris, 1815, vol. i., p. 32.

[6] P. E. Lemontey, Histoire de la Régence et de la Minorité de Louis XV., jusqu'au Ministère du Cardinal de Fleury, Paris, vii., pp. 292 *et seq.* *Cf.* Daruty, p. 287.

[7] J. Emile Daruty, Recherches sur le rite Ecossais, etc., Mauritius and Paris, 1879, pp. 287, 288.

[8] Ramsay uses the English word, not *francsmaçons*.

love of truth, and of the fine arts, is an action worthy of a great minister, of a Father of the Church, and of a holy Pontiff.

"As I am to read my discourse to-morrow in a general assembly of the order, and to hand it on Monday to the examiners of the *Chancellerie*,[1] I pray your Excellency to return it to me to-morrow before mid-day by express messenger. You will infinitely oblige a man whose heart is devoted to you."

Letter of March 22, 1737.

"I learn that the assemblies of Freemasons displease your Excellency. I have never frequented them except with a view of spreading maxims which would render by degrees incredulity ridiculous, vice odious, and ignorance shameful. I am persuaded that if wise men of your Excellency's choice were introduced to head these assemblies, they would become very useful to religion, the state, and literature. Of this I hope to convince your Excellency if you will accord me a short interview at Issy. Awaiting that happy moment, I pray you to inform me whether I should return to these assemblies, and I will conform to your Excellency's wishes with a boundless docility."

Cardinal Fleury wrote on the margin of this letter in pencil, "*Le roi ne le veut pas.*" This probably explains Ramsay's meteor-like appearance in our annals; for the only sign we have of his activity in lodge is connected with this speech. Thory's assertions that he promulgated a new rite, I reject, as unfounded statements made 60 years afterwards without a shadow of proof. His speech may possibly have given rise to new Degrees, but what grounds are there for ascribing their invention and propagation to him? But precisely because Ramsay is only known to us by this one speech, does it appear probable, that in the above letters he is alluding to this one and no other; and if so, it was beyond doubt delivered on March 21, 1737.

The speech itself—in its entirety—is unknown in an English garb, and as the various versions differ slightly, I have chosen for translation that of De la Tierce, which is generally accepted as the most correct.

Ramsay's Oration.

The noble ardour which you, gentlemen, evince to enter into the most noble and very illustrious Order of Freemasons, is a certain proof that you already possess all the qualities necessary to become members, that is, humanity, pure morals, inviolable secrecy, and a taste for the fine arts.

Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, and all political legislators have failed to make their institutions lasting. However wise their laws may have been, they have not been able to spread through all countries and ages. As they only kept in view victories and conquests, military violence, and the elevation of one people at the expense of another, they have not had the power to become universal, nor to make themselves acceptable to the taste, spirit, and interest of all nations. Philanthropy was not their basis. Patriotism badly understood and pushed to excess, often destroyed in these warrior republics love and humanity in general. Mankind

[1] The Censors of the Press—previous to publication.

is not essentially distinguished by the tongues spoken, the clothes worn, the lands occupied, or the dignities with which it is invested. The world is nothing but a huge republic, of which every nation is a family, and every individual a child. Our Society was at the outset established to revive and spread these essential maxims borrowed from the nature of man. We desire to reunite all men of enlightened minds, gentle manners, and agreeable wit, not only by a love for the fine arts, but much more by the grand principles of virtue, science, and religion, where the interests of the Fraternity shall become those of the whole human race, whence all nations shall be enabled to draw useful knowledge, and where the subjects of all kingdoms shall learn to cherish one another without renouncing their own country. Our ancestors, the Crusaders, gathered together from all parts of Christendom in the Holy Land, desired thus to reunite into one sole Fraternity the individuals of all nations. What obligations do we not owe to these superior men who, without gross selfish interests, without even listening to the inborn tendency to dominate, imagined such an institution, the sole aim of which is to unite minds and hearts in order to make them better, and form in the course of ages a spiritual empire where, without derogating from the various duties which different States exact, a new people shall be created, which, composed of many nations, shall in some sort cement them all into one by the tie of virtue and science.

The second requisite of our Society is sound morals. The religious orders were established to make perfect Christians, military orders to inspire a love of true glory, and the Order of Freemasons, to make men lovable men, good citizens, good subjects, inviolable in their promises, faithful adorers of the God of Love, lovers rather of virtue than of reward.

Polliciti servare fidem, sanctumque vereri
Numen amicitiæ, mores, non munera amare.

Nevertheless, we do not confine ourselves to purely civic virtues. We have amongst us three kinds of brothers: Novices or Apprentices, Fellows or Professed Brothers, Masters or Perfected Brothers. To the first are explained the moral virtues; to the second the heroic virtues; to the last the Christian virtues; so that our institution embraces the whole philosophy of sentiment and the complete theology of the heart. This is why one of our worshipful brothers has said—

Freemason, illustrious Grand Master,
Receive my first transports,
In my heart the Order has given them birth,
Happy I, if noble efforts
Cause me to merit your esteem
By elevating me to the sublime,
The primæval Truth,
To the Essence pure and divine,
The celestial Origin of the soul,
The Source of life and love.

Because a sad, savage, and misanthropic philosophy disgusts virtuous men, our ancestors, the Crusaders, wished to render it lovable by the attractions of innocent pleasures, agreeable music, pure joy, and moderate gaiety. Our festivals are not what the profane world and the ignorant vulgar imagine. All the vices of heart and soul are banished there, and irreligion, libertinage, incredulity, and debauch are proscribed. Our banquets resemble those virtuous

symposia of Horace, where the conversation only touched what could enlighten the soul, discipline the heart, and inspire a taste for the true, the good, and the beautiful.

O noctes cœnæque Deum . . .
Sermo oritur, non de regnis domibusve alienis
. . . sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agitamus ; utrumne
Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati ;
Quidve ad amicitias usus rectumve trahat nos,
Et quæ sit natura boni, summumque quid ejus.

Thus the obligations imposed upon you by the Order, are to protect your brothers by your authority, to enlighten them by your knowledge, to edify them by your virtues, to succour them in their necessities, to sacrifice all personal resentment, and to strive after all that may contribute to the peace and unity of society.

We have secrets; they are figurative signs and sacred words, composing a language sometimes mute, sometimes very eloquent, in order to communicate with one another at the greatest distance, and to recognise our brothers of whatsoever tongue. These were words of war which the Crusaders gave each other in order to guarantee them from the surprises of the Saracens, who often crept in amongst them to kill them. These signs and words recall the remembrance either of some part of our science, or of some moral virtue, or of some mystery of the faith. That has happened to us which never befell any former Society. Our Lodges have been established, and are spread in all civilised nations, and, nevertheless, among this numerous multitude of men never has a brother betrayed our secrets. Those natures most trivial, most indiscreet, least schooled to silence, learn this great art on entering our Society. Such is the power over all natures of the idea of a fraternal bond! This inviolable secret contributes powerfully to unite the subjects of all nations, and to render the communication of benefits easy and mutual between us. We have many examples in the annals of our Order. Our brothers, travelling in divers lands, have only needed to make themselves known in our Lodges in order to be there immediately overwhelmed by all kinds of succour, even in time of the most bloody wars, and illustrious prisoners have found brothers where they only expected to meet enemies.

Should any fail in the solemn promises which bind us, you know, gentlemen, that the penalties which we impose upon him are remorse of conscience, shame at his perfidy, and exclusion from our Society, according to those beautiful lines of Horace—

Est et fideli tuta silencio
Merces ; vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanum, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Salvat phaselum. . . .

Yes, sirs, the famous festivals of Ceres at Eleusis, of Isis in Egypt, of Minerva at Athens, of Urania amongst the Phenicians, and of Diana in Scythia were connected with ours. In those places mysteries were celebrated which concealed many vestiges of the ancient religion of Noah and the Patriarchs. They concluded with banquets and libations, and neither that intemperance nor excess were known into which the heathen gradually fell. The source of these infamies was the admission to the nocturnal assemblies of persons of both sexes in

contravention of the primitive usages. It is in order to prevent similar abuses that women are excluded from our Order. We are not so unjust as to regard the fair sex as incapable of keeping a secret. But their presence might insensibly corrupt the purity of our maxims and manners.

The fourth quality required in our Order is the taste for useful sciences and the liberal arts. Thus, the Order exacts of each of you to contribute, by his protection, liberality, or labour, to a vast work for which no academy can suffice, because all these societies being composed of a very small number of men, their work cannot embrace an object so extended. All the Grand Masters in Germany, England, Italy, and elsewhere, exhort all the learned men and all the artisans of the Fraternity to unite to furnish the materials for a Universal Dictionary of the liberal arts and useful sciences, excepting only theology and politics.[1]

The work has already been commenced in London, and by means of the union of our brothers it may be carried to a conclusion in a few years. Not only are technical words and their etymology explained, but the history of each art and science, its principles and operations, are described. By this means the lights of all nations will be united in one single work, which will be a universal library of all that is beautiful, great, luminous, solid, and useful in all the sciences and in all noble arts. This work will augment in each century, according to the increase of knowledge, and it will spread everywhere emulation and the taste for things of beauty and utility.

The word Freemason must therefore not be taken in a literal, gross, and material sense, as if our founders had been simple workers in stone, or merely curious geniuses who wished to perfect the arts. They were not only skilful architects, desirous of consecrating their talents and goods to the construction of material temples; but also religious and warrior princes who designed to enlighten, edify, and protect the living Temples of the Most High. This I will demonstrate by developing the history or rather the renewal of the Order.

Every family, every Republic, every Empire, of which the origin is lost in obscure antiquity, has its fable and its truth, its legend and its history. Some ascribe our institution to Solomon, some to Moses, some to Abraham, some to Noah, and some to Enoch, who built the first city, or even to Adam. Without any pretence of denying these origins, I pass on to matters less ancient. This, then, is a part of what I have gathered in the annals of Great Britain, in the Acts of Parliament, which speak often of our privileges, and in the living traditions of the English people, which has been the centre of our Society since the eleventh century.

At the time of the Crusades in Palestine many princes, lords, and citizens associated themselves, and vowed to restore the Temple of the Christians in the Holy Land, and to employ themselves in bringing back their architecture to its first institution. They agreed upon several ancient signs and symbolic words drawn from the well of religion in order to recognise themselves amongst the heathen and Saracens. These signs and words were only communicated to those who promised solemnly, and even sometimes at the foot of the altar, never to reveal them. This sacred promise was therefore not an execrable oath, as it has been

[1] The proposed Dictionary is a curious *crux*—it is possible that the Royal Society may have formed some such idea? But at least Ramsay's express exclusion of theology and politics should have shielded him from the accusation of wishing to employ Freemasonry for Jesuitical and Jacobite purposes. With the exception of the constant harping on the Crusades, there is so far nothing in the speech to complain of.

called, but a respectable bond to unite Christians of all nationalities in one confraternity. Some time afterwards our Order formed an intimate union with the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. From that time our Lodges took the name of Lodges of St John. This union was made after the example set by the Israelites when they erected the second Temple, who whilst they handled the trowel and mortar with one hand, in the other held the sword and buckler.[1]

Our Order therefore must not be considered a revival of the Bacchanals, but as an order founded in remote antiquity, and renewed in the Holy Land by our ancestors in order to recall the memory of the most sublime truths amidst the pleasures of society. The kings, princes, and lords returned from Palestine to their own lands, and there established divers Lodges. At the time of the last Crusades many Lodges were already erected in Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and from thence in Scotland, because of the close alliance between the French and the Scotch. James, Lord Steward of Scotland, was Grand Master of a Lodge established at Kilwinning, in the West of Scotland, MCCLXXXVI.,[2] shortly after the death of Alexander III., King of Scotland, and one year before John Baliol mounted the throne. This lord received as Freemasons into his Lodge the Earls of Gloucester and Ulster, the one English, the other Irish.

By degrees our Lodges and our rites were neglected in most places. This is why of so many historians only those of Great Britain speak of our Order. Nevertheless it preserved its splendour among those Scotsmen to whom the Kings of France confided during many centuries the safeguard of their royal persons.

After the deplorable mishaps in the Crusades, the perishing of the Christian armies, and the triumph of Bendocdar, Sultan of Egypt, during the eighth and last Crusade, that great Prince Edward, son of Henry III., King of England,[3] seeing there was no longer any safety for his brethren in the Holy Land, from whence the Christian troops were retiring, brought them all back, and this colony of brothers was established in England. As this prince was endowed with all heroic qualities, he loved the fine arts, declared himself protector of our Order, conceded to it new privileges, and then the members of this fraternity took the name of Freemasons, after the example set by their ancestors.

Since that time Great Britain became the seat of our Order, the conservator of our laws, and the depository of our secrets.[4] The fatal religious discords which embarrassed and tore Europe in the sixteenth century caused our Order to degenerate from the nobility of its origin. Many of our rites and usages which were contrary to the prejudices of the times were changed, disguised, suppressed. Thus it was that many of our brothers forgot, like the ancient Jews, the spirit of our laws, and only retained the letter and shell. The beginnings of a remedy have already been made. It is only necessary to continue, and to at last bring everything back to

[1] This idea forms the groundwork of all subsequent Scots grades: Knightly Scotch Masons who in the old Temple rediscovered the Sacred Name, the trowel in one hand, the sword in the other. Ramsay's allusion, it will be observed, is not to any existing degree of his day, but an innocent allegory in illustration of his thesis.

[2] This passage has been seized upon by the inventors of Scots rites, all pretending to hail from Heredom Kilwinning, and asserting the superiority in point of antiquity and pure tenets of the Grand Lodge held there,—which body, it is almost unnecessary to say, never existed.

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XII., p. 19 *et seq.*

[4] Ramsay having previously allowed that the Lodge at Kilwinning, with all the others, neglected the rites, and that they were only preserved by the great efforts of Prince Edward as above, must be acquitted of having desired to elevate Scottish Masonry at the expense of English. He can only be held accountable for his own words—not for the glosses of the subsequent inventors of (so-called) high degrees.

its original institution. This work cannot be difficult in a State where religion and the Government can only be favourable to our laws.[1]

From the British Isles the Royal Art is now repassing into France, under the reign of the most amiable of Kings, whose humanity animates all his virtues, and under the ministry of a Mentor,[2] who has realised all that could be imagined most fabulous. In this happy age when love of peace has become the virtue of heroes, this nation [France] one of the most spiritual of Europe, will become the centre of the Order. She will clothe our work, our statutes, and our customs with grace, delicacy, and good taste, essential qualities of the Order, of which the basis is the wisdom, strength, and beauty of genius. It is in future in our Lodges, as it were in public schools, that Frenchmen shall learn, without travelling, the characters of all nations, and that strangers shall experience that France is the home of all peoples. *Patria gentis humanæ.*

Now what does this speech amount to? a mere embellishment of Anderson! Builders and princes had united in Palestine for a humane purpose; the Society had been introduced into Europe, especially Scotland; had perished and been reintroduced into England by Prince Edward. From that time they had continued a privileged class of builders—Ramsay no longer claims for them knightly attributes—and had lost their moral tenets during the Reformation, becoming mere operative artisans; they had lately recovered or revived their old doctrines; and France was destined to be the centre of the reformed Fraternity. The introduction of the legend of the Crusades I take to be a natural consequence of Ramsay's position in life, and of the high nobility and gentry he was addressing, to whom the purely mechanical ancestry may have wanted toning down. But surely the Oration is not such a very heinous one? More dangerous and absurd speeches are still made in the Craft. That inventive minds, for their own purposes, may have seized upon and falsely interpreted certain passages, is no fault of Ramsay's. It was looked upon with approbation by his contemporaries, and it is simply impossible to find in it any indication of a desire to pervert our ceremonies. One or two points may be further inquired into. The cause of the allusion to Kilwinning, I assume to be simply this—Ramsay was from Ayr, and probably, as an antiquary acquainted with its very ancient history, brought in the lodge merely as an ornament. His choice of the Order of St John of Jerusalem may be easily accounted for. It was not the St John of Malta, nor was he ever known to allude to the Templars. The fact is, he was himself a Knight of St John of Jerusalem, and thus paid a tribute to his own Order. In 1714-19 Helyot's great work on the spiritual and temporal orders was published at Paris.[3] The third volume contains the history of the Order of St Lazarus, of which Ramsay was a knight. Who can doubt that he read it? This states that in the 4th century an Order of St Lazarus was established in

[1] This whole paragraph evidently means that the original broad principles of religious toleration and universal brotherhood had been forgotten in the religious wars, and that Freemasons had degenerated into a mere trade guild, keeping only the letter and not the spirit of their laws; that they had lost the speculative moral aims attributed by Ramsay to their founders in Palestine. "The beginnings of a remedy have already been made," *i.e.*, the revival has taken place; the Craft has once more commenced to be a society of not only operative builders, but also builders of "living temples of the Most High." And yet commentators always assert that Ramsay here avows that "the beginnings have already been made," *i.e.*, that he had already invented and partly introduced new rites; that he had already begun to pervert Freemasonry.

[2] Evidently Cardinal Fleury.

[3] Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires.

Palestine, and erected everywhere hospitals for Lepers, which were called Lazarettes. Later on the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem were established. The two associations united and worked under the same master, called the Master of the Hospital. When the Order of St John added the vow of celibacy, these two separated. One retook the name of St Lazarus, the other changed theirs to St John the Baptist. At the time that the Hospitallers were in the service of the King of Jerusalem, they consisted of three Orders—knights to fight, servitors to nurse, and clerics or chaplains. King Henry of England considerably increased their income, but France did most for the Order, and it ultimately took refuge in that country. The Grand Master of that day was styled G.M. of the Holy Order of Lazarus *cis et transmare*. In 1354 the G.M. empowered Bro. John Halliday, a Scot, to rule over the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Order in Great Britain. In some sort, then, Ramsay was a descendant of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which, however, as such, was extinct, and thus we understand the very natural selection made of that Order on which to found his romance.

Following the Oration we have a copy of "Statutes in usage [at that time] in France." These are a paraphrase, more or less, of Anderson's Old Regulations. One in particular must be quoted, because they are all attributed to Ramsay—though without rhyme or reason—and because this especial one has been used to prove that he intended to employ Freemasonry for the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion.

"Every incredulous brawler who shall have spoken or written against the holy dogmas of the ancient faith of the Crusaders shall be for ever excluded from the Order," etc., etc.

But who would ever think that this was meant to exclude Protestants? The ancient faith of the Crusaders was Christianity. At a time when the Protestants were not thought of, no distinction could possibly be made between them and the then Universal Church. It would be absurd to call the Crusaders Roman Catholics in contradistinction to Protestants. The article simply means that Masons must be Christians; must be of the Catholic Church, whether Roman, Anglican, Greek, or any other variety, was not even thought of. Therefore, even should these articles owe their inspiration to Ramsay, a supposition I neither affirm nor deny—owing to want of evidence,—they are quite powerless to strengthen the odious calumny under which he has so long lain.

One other matter must be referred to, although of no great importance. In 1736, the Lieutenant-General of Police in Paris, Hérault, is said to have obtained, through an opera dancer, Madame Carton, a Masonic examination, mainly a translation of Pritchard's "Masonry Dissected," which he caused to be published as an exposure of Freemasonry. In reply to this appeared "Rélation apologique et historique de la Société des F. M., par J. G. D. M. F. M., Dublin, Chez Patrice Odonoko, 1738, 8°."—second edition, in London, 1749. It was burned at Rome, by order of the Inquisition, by the Public Executioner, on February 1, 1739. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of April 1739, vol. ix., p. 219, thus speaks of the transaction :—"Rome. There was lately burnt here with great solemnity, by order of the Inquisition, a piece in French, wrote by the Chevalier Ramsay, etc., etc." Since then many ingenious attempts have been made to prove the truth of this statement, and to show the community of style and ideas between Ramsay's Oration and the *Rélation*. As long as there was reason to suppose that the Oration was delivered in 1740, it was difficult to decide why Ramsay should have been selected to father this production, and the very audacity of the assertion carried conviction with it. It could only be assumed that the correspondent of the *Gentleman's*

Magazine was possessed of certain private information. But if—as I have shown to be probable—the Oration was delivered in 1737, it is easy to conceive that the *Rélation* might well have been attributed to the same hand in 1738. A mere guess at the hidden authorship. This fact tends to corroborate the Oration's date of 1737, for it may safely be affirmed that Ramsay did not write the *Rélation.* Its style is far less pure than his, and the orthography is totally distinct. Ramsay doubles all his consonants in such words as *apprendre, combattre, difficile;* the author of the *Rélation* writes *aprendre, combatre, dificile,* etc.[1] The initials of the author, J. G. D. M. F. M., might perhaps be read as J. G., Dr Med., Free Mason.

But if Ramsay stands acquitted of wilfully perverting Freemasonry, can he be brought in guilty of unintentionally being the cause of the numerous inventions which so soon followed his discourse? I am even here inclined to think not. Given a nation such as we know the French to be, volatile, imaginative, and decidedly not conservative in their instincts, suddenly introduced to mysterious ceremonies unconnected with their past history,[2]—given a ritual which appeals in no way to their peculiar love of glory and distinction—which fails to harmonise with their bent of mind—and it was almost inevitable that some *improvements* should have been attempted. Add to this a certain number of more or less clever men, ambitious to rise at once to an elevated position in the Craft, or perhaps to replenish their purses by the sale of their own inventions. All these elements existed, as events have proved, and thus France was ready for the crop of high grades which so soon sprang up. Finding in Ramsay's speech indications which they could twist to their own purpose, they cleverly made use of them as a sort of guarantee of the genuineness of their goods. But they soon went far beyond any allusions contained in the Oration, for not a word can there be found pointing to the various degrees of vengeance, *Elus, Kadosch,* etc., or to the Templars. I do not believe that this speech first *suggested* additional degrees, but I think it probable that it aided intending inventors in their previously conceived designs. The distinction is a fine one, and not worth arguing. It will suffice to have proved that Ramsay did write the speech, that his intentions were quite compatible with the most absolute innocence, and that he was neither a Stuart intriguer nor a Jesuit missionary in disguise. As already remarked, he immediately disappeared from the Masonic stage, although he lived for seven years afterwards. His name had not previously been mentioned in connection with Freemasonry, and, therefore, if any persons assert that he was the concoctor of a new rite of seven degrees, the *onus* of proving anything so wildly improbable rests entirely upon themselves.

I shall now give a short sketch of the more important of the systems of degrees that from about 1740 invaded the Craft, which will enable us to proceed with the history of Freemasonry on the continent of Europe without constant breaks to introduce some new rival rite. I have sought to disentangle the truth from conflicting statements, and in each case append a list of the authorities consulted. It has been, however, impossible, in the space at my disposal, to enter into the reasons which have influenced me in preferring one account to another, nor do I wish—if such were indeed possible—to force my personal opinion on my readers. A comparison of the authors referred to, will enable the student to correct my description by his own judgment.

[1] Schiffmann, Andrew Michael Ramsay, p. 18.

[2] See, however, Chap. V., *passim.*

SCOTS MASONRY.[1]

It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that all so-called Scottish Masonry has nothing whatever to do with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, nor, with one possible exception—that of the Royal Order of Scotland—did it ever originate in that country. If we add to this rite that of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of 33°, we may even maintain that none of the Scots degrees were at any time practised in Scotland. As a slight mark of distinction I shall therefore, whenever possible, allude to these degrees as *Scots* and not *Scottish*. In the Scots Masters we have the first of the legion of additions to Freemasonry on the Continent. Thory, it is true, tells us that "Irish Chapters existed in Paris from 1730, and held their constitutions from the Grand Chapter of Dublin. They were divided into Colleges, and their degrees were pretty generally spread throughout France. They fell into disuse since the institution of Scots chapters." This statement is positively all we know of these Chapters, and has been copied "*ad nauseam*" by every subsequent writer. If true, how can the same writers attribute the deterioration of Freemasonry to Ramsay's unlucky speech seven years afterwards? But it is not true. There is not a tittle of evidence to support it, and we may unhesitatingly reject it. All allusions to so-called Irish degrees are of much later date. Neither should these Scots masons be confounded with the *Orient de Bouillon*, as is so often done, this *Orient de Bouillon* being simply a Grand Lodge established in the Duchy of Luxembourg many years later.[2] The Scots degrees seem to have sprung up about 1740 in all parts of France,[3] and at this distance of time it would be impossible to define their precise teaching. This impossibility is not caused by the absence of Rituals, of which any number exist, but by their diversity. One chief idea, however, runs through all—the discovery in a vault by Scottish Crusaders of the long lost and ineffable word—also, that in this search they had to work with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. The epoch referred to is, however, that of the Crusades, not that of Zerubbabel's (or the second) temple. We do not even know whether the title applied in the first instance to one degree only or to a series. The former is probable.[4] But however this may be, the Scots Master claimed to be in every way superior to the Master Mason; to be possessed of the true history, secret, and design of Freemasonry; and to hold various privileges, of which some few may be mentioned. He wore distinctive clothing, remained covered in a Master's Lodge, and in any Lodge, even as a visitor, ranked before the W.M. At any time or place, he could personally impart, either with or without a ceremony, the secrets of the

[1] Authorities consulted:—Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipsic, 1863-79—*s.v.* Schotte, Schottische Grade, Schottische Logen, Schottische Maurerei; C. A. Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., Paris, 1815, pp. 52, 63, 319; C. C. F. W. von Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, Berlin, 1879, pp. 148, 150, 186, 231, 449; J. G. Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, Leipzig, 1878, 4th German Edit., pp. 111, 278, 317, 334, 387, 577; W. Keller, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland, Giessen, 1859, pp. 93, 103; G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Darmstadt, 1852, pp. 68, 71-74, 77-78; and the three Encyclopædias—which will be in future referred to under the names of their compilers, Mackey, Woodford, and Mackenzie,—*s.v.* Ecossais, Scottish.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XXVI., *s.v.* Luxembourg.

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XIX., pp. 457, 458.

[4] Schiffmann considers that the Scots Masters at first formed no degree, and claimed no superiority, being a sort of volunteer inspectors who banded together to reform many abuses which had crept into the Craft; that their name "*maîtres écossois*" is a corruption of their special token, the acacia, whence they were called "*maîtres acassois;*" and that they ultimately developed into a separate degree. Space precludes my dwelling upon this theory, which has much to recommend it. See, however, Schiffmann, Die Freimaurerei in Frankreich, etc, Leipsic, 1881; and G. W. Speth in the *Freemason*, May 2, 1885.

E.A.: F.C.: and M.M. degrees. If he was a member of a Lodge, none but Scots Masons could adjudicate upon his conduct. Later still, when Scots Lodges became more numerous, they were grafted on the ordinary Lodges, and not only asserted but obtained still greater privileges. The W.M. was not chosen by the Lodge, but appointed by the Scots Lodge, and was almost always one of themselves; and the finances of the Mason's Lodge were disposed of by the Scots brethren, who also decided in all matters of doctrine and ritual. The Scots Lodge further usurped the privileges of a Grand Lodge, and issued warrants of constitution. In this way arose throughout France the numerous Scots-Mother-Lodges. One of the most important of these was the *Mère-Loge-Ecossaise* at Marseilles, *said* to have been founded by a travelling Scotsman in 1751, under the title of St John of Scotland. This Lodge warranted a great number of Lodges throughout France, and even in Paris itself, also in the Levant, and the Colonies. The *Mère Loge du Comtat Venaissin* at Avignon,[1] the founder of the Scottish Philosophic Rite, was probably of this class originally. Many of these Mother-Lodges then developed extended systems of degrees of their own, which were worked in Chapters, all independent of each other. From France the earliest form of the Scots degree was carried to Germany, it is believed, by Count von Schmettau. In 1741 we find a Scots Lodge at Berlin erected by members of the "Three Globes;" in 1744 at Hamburg—and shortly afterwards a second; in 1747 at Leipsic; in 1753 at Frankfort, etc., etc. But in Germany their development was arrested because they were very soon absorbed by the Clermont system, becoming the stepping-stone to the lowest Chapter degrees, and shortly after that the Clermont Chapters were annihilated by the Templar system of the Strict Observance. But between 1742 and 1764 no less than 47 such Lodges were erected in Germany, of which, however, 15 may be ascribed to Rosa and the Chapter of Clermont.[2] Even now some of these Scots Lodges form the basis of what is called in some German Grand Lodge systems the "Inner Orient."

In France, however, some of the Scots Lodges would appear to have very early manufactured new degrees, connecting these very distinguished Scots Masons with the Knights Templars, and thus given rise to the subsequent flood of Templarism. The earliest of all are supposed to have been the Masons of Lyons, who invented the Kadosch degree, representing the vengeance of the Templars, in 1741. From that time new rites multiplied in France and Germany, but all those of French origin contain knightly, and almost all, Templar, grades. In every case the connecting link was composed of one or more Scots degrees. The Handbuch enumerates over 68 such degrees forming parts of different rites. Thory and Dr Oliver present us with even more, and, if at all necessary, I myself could extend the list. Besides which, many Rites, or series of degrees, took the name of Scottish to designate the whole system; for instance, the Scottish Philosophic Rite and the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°. The Chapter of Clermont was but a Templar continuation of the Scots degrees. This probably grew into the Emperors of the East and West, and these in turn blossomed into the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°.[3] Foolish and unnecessary as it will always appear to destroy the original beautiful simplicity of the

[1] *Post*, p. 117.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[3] According to a MS. in the possession of Kloss when he wrote his "History of Freemasonry in France," the date of which he fixes at 1751 (latest), the sequence of degrees apparently in most general use in France shortly before the rise of the Chapter of Clermont was as follows:—1°, E.A.; 2°, F.C.; 3°, M.M.; 4°, Perfect Master, or Irish Architect; 5°, Select Master; 6°, Scots Apprentice; 7°, Scots Fellow Craft; 8°, Scots Master; 9°, the Knight of the East.

Craft, the great evil of these innovations lies in their destruction of an important principle. Freemasonry is founded upon the perfect equality of all its members, and its governing body is an elective and representative one. In fact the Craft governs itself. But in almost every one of these new systems, with scarcely an exception, the governing power is autocratic and irresponsible. A Hierarchy is formed, each superior degree directs without appeal those below it, and the highest class rules all the others. Each class is self-elected, that is, it receives into its sacred circle those only whom it pleases, so that those of the lower classes have no voice whatever in the administration of their affairs or in the election of their rulers. This one consideration alone precludes these systems from ever being entitled to call themselves Masonic. They are not and never can be Freemasonry. They are simply separate societies, all of whose members happened to be Freemasons.

Chapter of

Of this system in France, the land of its birth, we know next to nothing. All later statements are merely reproduced from Thory, who informs us—sixty years after the event—that on November 24, 1754, a certain Chevalier de Bonneville founded a chapter of high degrees; that he caused a very fine building to be constructed for its use in a suburb of Paris, *La Nouvelle France;* and that it took the name of *Chapitre de Clermont.* His other statements, in this connection, *e.g.*, that Von Hund took the Templar degrees here, are palpably false; inasmuch as Von Hund left France for the last time in 1743, or eleven years previously, and erected his first Templar Chapter in Unwurde in 1751. According to the same writer, the Chapter was based on the three degrees of Freemasonry, and the Scots or St Andrew's degree, and worked three higher, 5°, the Knight of the Eagle or Select Master; 6°, the Illustrious Knight or Templar; 7°, the Sublime Illustrious Knight.

The first French historian of Freemasonry, Lalande, in his article in the *Encyclopédie,* Yverdon, 1773, vol. iv., has the following passage:—"As late as 1760 there existed in the *Nouvelle France,* to the north of Paris, a celebrated Lodge, which was brilliantly conducted and visited by persons of the first rank; it was founded by the Count of Benouville." Kloss supposes this extract to refer to the "Emperors of the East and West;" I am inclined to think that the Count of Benouville and the Chevalier Bonneville were one and the same person —Lalande wrote in 1773, Thory in 1815—and that the two statements refer to the same fact. This is really all that can be gleaned of the doings of this Chapter in France, and it is highly probable that it soon after developed into the "Emperors of the East and West," of which an account will be given later. Its history, as connected with Germany, is more important.

The Baron von Printzen was in 1750-51 and 1757-61 W.M. of the Mother-Lodge, "Three Globes" of Berlin, *i.e.*, he was *ex officio* Grand Master of all the Lodges constituted by that body. In 1742 the members of the "Three Globes" erected the Scots Lodge "Union" to work the fourth or Scots degree. In 1757 the French Marquis, Gabriel Tilly de Lernais (also written Lerney and Lernet), came to Berlin as a prisoner of war, and in 1758 together with Printzen founded a Chapter of the three Clermont degrees, grafted upon the Mother-Lodge of the

[1] Authorities consulted:—Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Clermont, Lernais, Printzen, Rosa, etc.; Mackey and Woodford, *s.v.* Clermont; Thory, Acta Latomorum, i., pp. 68, 300; Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, p. 140 *et seq.*; Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, i., p. 84 *et seq.*; Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, 4th edit., p. 387 *et seq.*; O'Etzel, Geschichte der Grossen National Mutter-Loge, p. 49 *et seq.*

Three Globes and the Scots Lodge "Union." On June 10, 1760, this Chapter constituted the Chapter "Sun" at Rostock; and on July 19, 1760, took the title of "Premier Grand Chapter of Clermont in Germany." The next step was the appointment of Philipp Samuel Rosa as *legatus capituli hierosolymitani Berolinensis supremi et primi nationis Germanicæ*, to travel over the north of Germany, and bring the Lodges under the supremacy of the "Three Globes,"—also to institute Chapters. A sketch of Rosa's life would lead us too far, but he appears to have been a needy man, not in the best repute. The commission, therefore, suited him, all his expenses being paid. Possessed of an ingratiating address, he was also gifted with a persuasive tongue. He had previously been excluded his Lodge, and a similar fate awaited him later on. It is impossible to state the exact date at which he began his travels, but it is known that the fourth Chapter of Clermont was constituted by him at Stettin in March 1762; that he erected others at Halle, Jene, Königsberg, Brunswick, Rostock, Greifswald, Dresden, and Prague; that in June 1763 his Masonic career was terminated by expulsion from the Craft; and that his successor, Schubart, instituted on November 27, 1763, at Magdeburg, the fifteenth and last German Chapter of Clermont. The greater part of North Germany had thus in a few years submitted to the new system, which, however, speedily effaced itself before the mightier advance of the Strict Observance.

Many writers have contended that the original Chapter in Paris took its name from the Jesuit College of Clermont in the immediate neighbourhood, and attribute the fabrication of these degrees to the followers of Loyola. I am unable to believe that the Jesuits could have consented to glorify the Knights Templars, nor can I see anything new in these degrees, being, as they were, merely amplifications and rearrangements of previous ones. I prefer to consider the title a delicate compliment to the Duke de Clermont, Grand Master of French Masonry from 1743 to 1770.

KNIGHTS OF THE EAST.[1]

The only real attempt to arrive at the true facts concerning this, one of the earliest systems of "improved" Masonry, has been made by Dr Kloss. Thory, Mackey, and Woodford, have almost entirely overlooked the separate existence of these Knights—"Sovereign Princes of Masonry;" either confusing them with certain special degrees of other systems, or treating them as an offshoot of the "Emperors of the East and West." Even the usually diffuse "Handbuch" is excessively meagre in the information which it supplies. Yet if Kloss's extensive and minute researches are to be given their just weight, it is to the rivalry between the Knights and the Emperors that must be attributed the sorrowful picture of discord presented by the Grand Lodge of France, 1760-80.

In 1755 the Grand Lodge of France admitted the superiority of, and the privileges claimed for, the so-called Scots Masons. We shall perhaps not be far wrong in ascribing this concession to the influence in Grand Lodge of the members of the Chapter of Clermont, established the previous year, 1754. From all that is known of this chapter, it was probably composed only of the high nobility, courtiers, military officers, and the *élite* of the professions. Under

[1] Authorities consulted:—G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Dramstadt, 1852, vol. i., p. 86-106; Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipzic, 1863-79—*s.v.* Frankreich, Pirlet, Valois, Tschudy; C. A. Thory, Annales Originis magni Galliarum O., Paris, 1812, pp. 16, 17. *Cf.* the *Freemason*, of Jan. 17, 1885, and later dates, where the subject of early French Masonry is very ably discussed by Woodford and Speth.

Daubertin among the expelled brethren; Daubantin, probably identical with him, being one of the principal members of the Emperors. Again, Labady was also one of the expelled, and yet we find him afterwards working for the Emperors. It is certain, however, that the Emperors retained sufficient influence in 1766 to propose a fusion in the October sitting of Grand Lodge, and that the Knights from that time lose their importance as a body.

In 1772 the Grand Lodge having resumed work under the supreme authority of the Duke de Chartres, at the same time Grand Master of the Emperors, a commission was given to four members of the Council, among them Labady, their Grand Secretary, to again propose a fusion of the two systems in the next general meeting of Grand Lodge, which fusion was finally effected on August 9, 1772. But about this time two Grand Bodies were formed in France out of the members of the Grand Lodge, viz., the Grand Orient and the Grand Lodge. The latter maintained that it was the original authority. The Emperors sided with it, and as far as can be ascertained worked their supplementary degrees under its authority. The last we hear of the Emperors consists of some circulars issued in 1780 inveighing against all degrees not included in their own system. They had meanwhile changed their title to "Sovereign Council Mother-Lodge of Excellent Masons, formerly called Scottish Mother-Lodge of the French Grand Globe." The French Revolution, no doubt, put an end to them, as it practically did to the Grand Lodge itself, of which they formed part—they were, however, soon succeeded by their Americanised offspring, the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°.

THE "ENGLISH" LODGE, No. 204, BORDEAUX.

This Lodge, "l'Anglaise, No. 204," merits a short sketch. Not because it founded a new system, but because, for a long series of years, it remained independent of the Grand Bodies of France—clinging to its English parentage—and usurped the privileges of a Grand Lodge. Another claim to our notice is, that throughout the Masonic revolutions of the last century, it remained true to the three grades of English Freemasonry, a distinction which it probably alone shares with the Lodge "Union" in Frankfort-on-the-Main. It is the only Lodge still active in France which was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England,[1] and retains to this day, as part of its title, the last number granted to it on the roll of that body.

This Lodge first appears on our roll in the list for 1766,[2] where it is shown at the number 363, with the clause, "have met since the year 1732." According to the *Handbuch*,[3] its first meeting was held under the presidency of Martin Kelly, Sunday, April 27, 1732, and we may probably conclude that its original members consisted largely of English merchants. The labours of the Lodge appear to have been several times suspended, but from 1737 they were for many years uninterrupted, although the civil authority ordered it—but in vain—to close its doors in 1742. It constituted in 1740 the Lodge, *La Française*, in Bordeaux; in 1746, two Lodges in Brest; in 1751, one at Limoges; 1754, one at Paris; 1755, one at Cayenne; 1760, one at Cognac; and in 1765, one each at Périgueux and New Orleans. Over these Lodges it exercised the patriarchal sway of a Mother-Lodge—*i.e.*, all the authority of a Grand Lodge without its representative character. In 1749 it threatened to erase the *Loge Française* unless it ceased at once to content itsel with a promise instead of an oath, and

[1] With the exception of the Lodge at Valenciennes, No. 127, constituted 1733.

[2] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, p. 61.

[3] Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipsic, 1863-79, vol. i., p. 121.

from the fact that the latter did not receive a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of France until 1765, we may conclude that it made due submission. In 1782 it showed itself equally active in enforcing pure and ancient Freemasonry, for it threatened the proprietor of the building in which it met, to leave the premises if he continued to allow a Rose Croix Chapter to assemble there. On March 8, 1766, the Lodge obtained a Warrant of Confirmation from the Grand Lodge of England as No. 363, which number was successively altered in 1770 to 298, in 1781 to 240, and in 1792 to 204. The Lodge would appear at one time to have joined the Grand Orient, being included in the list of that body for 1776 as constituted May 11, 1775. The Calendar of the Grand Orient of 1810 gives, however, the date as 1785, and that of 1851 as 1778. In 1790 *l'Anglaise* was once more independent, for on August 31 of that year this Lodge and four others of Bordeaux formed a separate body, and it only joined the Grand Orient definitely in 1803, preserving its number 204 and date of 1732. None of its daughter Lodges received at any time an English number or constitution. During this long period its rivalry was a cause of much uneasiness to the rulers of the Craft in France.[1]

THE STRICT OBSERVANCE.[2]

Of all the wonderful perversions of Freemasonry which owe their origin to the fervid imaginings of our brethren of the last century, none can compare in point of interest with the system of the Strict Observance. For twenty years from its birth it either lay dormant, or made only infinitesimal progress; during the next twenty years it pervaded all continental Europe to the almost entire exclusion of every other system; within the next ten it had practically ceased to exist; and yet a faint survival may even now be traced in France. The whole system was based upon the fiction that at the time of the destruction of the Templars a certain number of Knights took refuge in Scotland, and there preserved the existence of the Order. The sequence of Grand Masters was presumed never to have been broken, and a list of these rulers in regular succession was known to the initiates; but the identity of the actual Grand Master was always kept—during his life-time—a secret from every one except his immediate confidants, hence the term, "Unknown Superiors." In order to ensure their perfect security these Knights are said to have joined the Guilds of Masons in Scotland, and thus to have given rise to the Fraternity of Freemasons. At the time of the origin of the Strict Observance system, the period was assumed to have arrived when it would be advantageous to boldly proclaim the continued existence of the Ancient Order of the Temple, and to endeavour to reinstate it in its former possessions, organisation, and privileges. Their

[1] *Cf.* G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Darmstadt, 1852, vol. i., p. 21.

[2] Authorities consulted:—C. C. F. W. von Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, pp. 231-489—Allgemeines Handbuch der F., *s.v.* Albernia, Burgundia, Braunschweig, Bordeaux, Convente, Conferenzen, Gugumos, Hund, Johnson, Klerikalisches system, Kleriker, Mecklemburg-Strelitz, Matrikel, Marschall, C. G. von, Marschall, A. D. Graf von, Naumburg, Oekonomischer Plan, Occitania, Oxenstierna, Provinzen des Tempelordens, Prangen, Patent, Plommenfeldt, Raven, E. W. von, Rhetz, A. W. von, Sachsen, Schubart, Schmidt, K. J., Schmidt, E. J. G., Systeme, Schwartz, Schweden, Tanner, Baron von, Tempelherren, Wismar, Weiler, Wächter, etc.; J. Georg B. F. Kloss, Annalen der Loge zur Einigkeit, Frankfurt, 1842, pp. 4, 5; Dr G. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 507; Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 116 *et seq.*; W. Keller, Gesch. der Freim., pp. 119-182, 210, 211; W. Keller, Geschichte des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, Giessen, 1857, pp. 60-62, 64-66, 78-87; Findel, Gesch. der Freim., pp. 389-392, 401-418, 458-461; Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., pp. 62, 71, 82, 84, 90, 94, 103, 117, 122, 123, 141, 145, 146, 152, 191; Dr Karl Paul, Annalen des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, Frankfurt, 1883, pp. 2-25; O'Etzel, Geschichte der Grossen National-Mutter-Loge, Berlin, 1875, pp. 46-80; Mackey, Woodford, and Mackenzie, *s.v.* Hund, Starck.

hitherto restricted numbers were to be increased (and in gratitude for past events) from the ranks of the Freemasons only, and at the proper period the Grand Master was to make himself known. All this was supremely ridiculous, but it was firmly believed in by Von Hund and his contemporaries, and their suspicions all pointed at first to the Young Pretender as the veritable Grand Master. There can be no doubt that these general outlines had been instilled into Von Hund's mind, but the ritual and the plan of operations were quite unknown to him, and, therefore, in the absence of instructions from his Superiors, had to be perfected by himself and colleagues. The persistency with which so many forms of the high grades have been ascribed to the political tendencies and conspiracies of the Jacobites, together with a comparison of dates and the confessions of Von Hund himself, might almost justify us in believing that during his stay in Paris, *circa* 1742, he was made acquainted with an ill-defined and half-formed scheme of the Stuarts for recruiting men and money, their political intentions being carefully concealed from him; that this scheme was dropped after the crushing defeat of Culloden in 1746; and that, consequently, when Von Hund set about reviving the Templars in earnest in 1751, he was left to his own devices. This will account for the fact, that although he certainly received his first instructions from Lord Kilmarnock and other partisans of the Stuarts, no trace of Jacobite intrigues ever blended with the teachings of the Strict Observance: and as a passing remark, it may be observed, that Von Hund was not the kind of man to lend himself as a tool to any party. Von Hund may therefore be described as the wet-nurse of the system; but he was not its parent, and those who accuse him of wilful imposition, have done a grievous injustice to the memory of a generous, impulsive, honest, warm-hearted, enthusiastic—but withal, pomp-loving and somewhat weak-minded man. His sincerity seems to me, to be beyond all question, and, I think, fairly merited the sympathy of his contemporaries in the state of embarrassment and uncertainty to which he was so often reduced, by the absence, at important crises, of any directions from the "Unknown Superiors" to whom he looked for instruction. Bearing this in mind, we shall understand why he so easily fell a prey to every new impostor, as he never could be certain that the "latest arrival" was not really an emissary from his chief.

Von Hund was not, however, quite the first link in the chain. His forerunner in Germany was *C. G.* Marschall von Bieberstein, whose identity still remains slightly a matter of doubt, but Keller, Findel, Nettelbladt, and others have with an inexcusable want of circumspection confused him with *H. W.* Marschall, appointed Provincial Grand Master of Upper Saxony by Lord Darnley in 1737. He was a contemporary and relative, but not identical. Von Hund always referred to him as his predecessor in the office of Prov. G.M. of the VIIth. province (of Germany, between the Elbe and the Oder), and states he was directed in Paris to place himself in communication with him, and receive his instructions; he died about 1750. Marschall does not appear to have done much towards preparing the way; but two lodges existed in the first years of the forties, one at Naumberg and the other at Dresden, both of which conferred chivalric titles upon their members, even upon the apprentices, these being first recorded instances of the usage. The Lodge in Dresden existed from 1738, and is *supposed* to have owed its existence to Marschall; the Lodge of the Three Hammers in Naumberg is *known* to have been constituted by him in 1749, and its members afterwards took a prominent part in the institution of the new rite.

Karl Gotthelf, Baron von Hund and Alten-Grotkau, was born September 1, 1722, lost his

father when nine years old, was educated *circa* 1738 at the University of Leipsic, and subsequently visited Strassburg and Paris. In 1742 he was present in Frankfort, as an *attaché* in the suite of the Ambassador of the Elector of Saxony, on the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Charles VII. According to his friend, Von Springseisen, he there received the three degrees of Freemasonry on March 20, 1742, in the "Union" Lodge. Kloss has shown, however, that the "Union" Lodge did not initiate Von Hund; but that as there are some signs of a former, and probably unchartered Lodge, having existed in Frankfort as late as April 21, 1742, he was possibly either made there or by some of the numerous Masons attending the coronation. From Frankfort he returned to Paris, and of his doings there his diary bears witness that on February 20, 1743, he consecrated a new lodge as Worshipful Master, and on August 28 served as Senior Warden in a lodge at Versailles. At the Altenberg Convent of 1764 he declared that "an unknown Bro., the Knight of the Red Feather, in the presence of Lord Kilmarnock,[1] received him into the Order of the Temple, and that Lord Clifford officiated as Prior on the occasion; also that he was subsequently introduced as a distinguished Brother of the Order to Charles Edward Stuart, the young Pretender." He appears to have wavered as to the identity of the Grand Master; sometimes inclining towards Lord Kilmarnock, but more often towards Charles Edward. He further stated that "they gave him a patent signed 'George,' and directed him to apply for further instructions to Marschall, the Prov. G.M. of the VIIth. province, whose successor he was to consider himself. But on application Marschall declared he had burnt all papers except the list of the sequence of Grand Masters, and the Red Book or *Matricula* of the Order."

According to this "Red Book," the VIIth. province, or Germany between the Elbe and the Oder, was to be divided into four Sub-Priories, which were to be further split up (as directed) into some twenty Prefectories, and these again into smaller subdivisions—in reality, Lodges. The Prov. G.M. was to appoint four Grand Commanderies, and the heads of these and of the four Sub-Priories were to form the Chapter. In due course of time every Province of the Order had its "red book" as soon as it became properly constituted.

Von Hund's actions, so far as they are known, certainly bear out his story, for upon his return to his own estates in 1743 he made Marschall's acquaintance, but delayed taking any important steps; nor was it till 1750 *circa*, on Marschall's death, that he assumed the position and authority of Prov. G.M. He then conferred with the Naumburg Lodge, and more especially with those of the brethren who were supposed to be in Marschall's confidence, and he has himself stated that, failing advices from his Superiors, he determined to carry out the restoration of the Templars as best he could. He and the Bros. Schmidt and Von Tanner of the N. Lodge are presumed to have arranged the rituals and all other matters. In or about 1751 Von Hund erected a Lodge and a Provincial Chapter on his estate at Unwurde; and in 1753 issued a new Warrant to the Lodge at Naumburg. It was in this Lodge that the first financial scheme was worked out, for without funds it was of course impossible to restore the Order of the Temple. On it was probably based the second scheme of 1755.[2] Von Hund

[1] G.M. of Scotland from November 1742 to November 1743. Beheaded for high treason August 18, 1746.

[2] All these schemes were so arranged as not only to accumulate a large treasure for the Order, but also to provide the officials, even to the W.M.'s of Lodges, with a stipend. They came out beautifully on paper, but failed in practice. It would be wrong, however, to attribute any mercenary views to Hund and his colleagues, for at this time they were *all*, and afterwards, with very few exceptions, men of large means, proved probity, and high position. Many of them, indeed, made great pecuniary sacrifices for the good of the Order.

also began at this time to make a few Knights of the Order, each of whom assumed a descriptive Latin title, but the number was very slowly increased. Europe was divided as in old times—according to the Red Book—into nine provinces:—I. Arragon, II. Auvergne, III. Occitania, IV. Leon, V. Burgundy, VI. Britain, VII. Elbe and Oder, VIII. Rhine, IX. Archipelago. These provinces were to be revived as opportunity offered of gaining over the various Lodges to the cause, and a special dress or uniform resembling that of the Old Templars was adopted. In the very first or Entered Apprentice degree, an oath of implicit and unquestioning obedience to the superiors was exacted, hence the title of STRICT OBSERVANCE.[1] The 5° was the Noviciate, the 6° and last the actual Knighthood. The W.M. of a Lodge—who was in all cases to be a Knight—was appointed by the Chapter, and not elected by the members. Only noblemen were eligible for the Knighthood; others might, however, be accepted as *Socii*. In after years, and especially in such towns as Hamburg, rich merchants were received into the body of Knights on paying exorbitant fees. The seven years' war—1756-63—prevented, however, any considerable progress. The contending parties more than once committed great havoc on Hund's property, and he himself was often obliged to fly, owing to his sympathy with Austria. The consequence was, that in 1763—so it is maintained—no more than thirty Knights had been elected, and the scheme devised, as is *perhaps* possible, by the partisans of the Stuarts twenty years previously, but almost immediately afterwards given up by them (if indeed it was ever more than half conceived), had made no substantial progress. Perhaps it would have died out altogether had not Hund's hand been forced in a most remarkable manner by Johnson.

Who Johnson was will probably never be ascertained, but there is no doubt he was a consummate rogue and an unmitigated vagabond. He is described as of almost repulsive demeanour and of no education, but gifted with boundless impudence and low cunning. Professedly an Englishman, he was nevertheless unable to speak what he alleged to be his mother tongue, and it is variously stated that his name was either Becker or Leucht. It is surmised that in reality he had been valet to a Mr Johnson, a recipient of some high Templar degrees, whom he robbed of his Masonic papers, and whose name he usurped. Various circumstances give an air of probability to this conjecture. It is also stated, with more or less possibility of truth, that he had been previously concerned as a principal in certain alchemical frauds, for which he had undergone imprisonment. He must have had some slight knowledge of Von Hund's projects, and, as shown by the correspondence which has been preserved, he artfully contrived to learn more from the Prov. G.M. himself.

It will be remembered that in 1762 Rosa established in Jena a Clermont Chapter,[2] and that these Chapters all practised Templar degrees, and were thus more than half prepared to accept Hund's reform as soon as it might be communicated to them. In September 1763, Johnson suddenly appeared at Jena, where he resided till May 1764. Obtaining a footing in the Jena Chapter, he declared himself the emissary of the Order of the Temple, deputed by the Sovereign Chapter in Scotland to organise the Order in Germany. His chief lever wherewith he moved the mass of brethren was a thinly disguised pretension of being able to impart the true secret of Freemasonry, viz., the preparation of the philosopher's stone. The Jena Chapter went over to him with one accord, and on November 6 received at his hands a new warrant, the old one being burned by the Servitor in open Chapter amidst the blare of trumpets and horns. Rosa

[1] For an explanation of the correlative term—Lax Observance—see *post*, p. 118.

[2] *Ante*, p. 95.

was summoned before him, examined, and declared an ignorant cheat, and was so taken aback that he was fain to confess the "soft impeachment." The Berlin Chapter was required to submit to the new order of things, and, refusing, was formally erased, whilst all Chapters, including Hund's, were kept well posted up in these occurrences by circular. Meanwhile Johnson was learning more and more through Hund's letters, who, devoutly believing in "Unknown Superiors," was inclined to credit Johnson's account of his mission. Every hint which fell from Hund was immediately utilised by Johnson to blind and deceive those around him. At length, on January 3, 1764, Hund proposed a conference with Johnson, recognising his position as special envoy; and these admissions were immediately printed and sent to all the Lodges and Chapters of Germany—January 20—in order to strengthen Johnson's position. Thus by degrees the imposture gained strength and plausibility, and deputies arrived at Jena from numerous Chapters and Lodges to receive new instructions and constitutions. Their old warrants were either burnt or forwarded to Von Hund, and the deputies themselves were made Novices or dubbed Knights according to Johnson's pleasure. A regular discipline was maintained, the Knights were summoned by trumpet call at unearthly hours, knightly sentinels were placed at Johnson's door, and he was accompanied by a body guard of Knights Templars. Let it not be forgotten that these Knights were all gentlemen of ancient and honourable lineage. Surely such another triumph of brazen-faced impudence has never been witnessed!

At last, when Johnson thought that he was firmly established in the saddle, he issued a summons to a congress at Altenberg for the beginning of May, announced to the Knights that Von Hund was their future Superior, and employed the interval in raising large sums of money from his dupes. He journeyed to Altenberg surrounded by a numerous company of Knights, and on May 26, 1764, Von Hund appeared there. At first all went well; Hund made due submission, and was confirmed in his post; and Johnson doubtless hoped with Hund's help to continue the deception. Hund, at his orders, knighted all his nominees, and Johnson handed them over to the Prov. G.M. as his future subjects. But Hund was no charlatan, neither was he a fool, and in course of time his conversation with Johnson's dupes opened his eyes. He then boldly attacked him, and exposed the whole fraud. Johnson swore and denied, but Hund persisted, and the end of it was that Johnson fled. He was pursued, and arrested in Alsleben on February 24, 1765, but was never brought to public trial, being, doubtless through the influence of his former victims, confined in the Wartburg on April 18. There, in the room formerly occupied by Luther, he was detained in durance vile at the expense of the Order, and died on May 13, 1775. The matter was hushed up, the papers and other matters relating to his arrest and examination were never published, and unless they are some day brought to light, it is improbable that the mystery of his identity will ever be revealed.

It was only natural that after this experience the brethren should have been somewhat suspicious of Von Hund's own authority, in spite of his acknowledged probity and position. Hund, however, candidly confided to them the history of his admission into the Order (as above related), and showed several of the brethren the "Red Book" and other documents, and the majority of those present at the Convent[1] resolved to acknowledge his authority and receive new instruction from him. From that moment the movement spread till it almost annihilated

[1] Although I do not like this word, which in the sense employed is German and not English, and signifies congress or convention, as it has been generally adopted by English Masonic writers I shall follow (albeit somewhat reluctantly) in their wake.

English Freemasonry in Germany, and threw out branches of the S.O. in Russia, Holland, France, Italy, and Switzerland. A large majority of the princes of Germany from time to time swore fealty to the Order, the Unknown Superiors, and the Prov. G.M., Von Hund, and signed the act of unquestioning obedience. The chief convert at the Altenberg Convent was J. C. Schubart (1734-87)—during the seven years' war in the British, *i.e.*, Hanoverian, service. In 1763 he was made Deputy Master of the Grand Mother Lodge of the Three Globes; and has been already mentioned as succeeding Rosa, and erecting the last of the Clermont Chapters.[1] He was knighted by Von Hund, and made *delegatus* to all Lodges of the "Lax Observance."[2] For five years he was indefatigable in his exertions, and traversed the whole Continent in the interests of the Order, which, however, some slight misunderstanding caused him to leave in 1768, and from that time until his death he devoted himself to scientific agriculture. Through him, Zinnendorff and the whole of the Lodges appendant to the Three Globes were won over; and of his efforts and successes in Hamburg and elsewhere I shall have much to say in my account of the various German Grand Lodges.

Hamburg, with its English Provincial Grand Lodge, and also Denmark, gave in their adhesion in 1765. It was again Schubart who in 1766 worked out a new financial scheme whilst on a visit to Hund at Unwurde, and to his persuasions the Order owed a most influential convert, Bode, of whom more hereafter. On November 16, 1766, Zinnendorff resigned all further participation in the Strict Observance in order to introduce into Berlin the Swedish system, since developed into the "Grand National Lodge." From its very first institution this rite proved a thorn in the side of the Strict Observance, and it very rapidly grew to be a potent rival. On the other hand, the members of the Order were beginning to be anxious for something more definite than Von Hund had yet offered. To be dubbed a Knight and to pay heavy fees was all very well; to receive high sounding titles was something better; and to be a real Knight Templar was no doubt glorious—but what was it all to lead to? If the Superiors still refused to make themselves known, at least they might impart some of that occult knowledge which the eighteenth century so firmly believed was formerly in the possession of the Order of the Temple, and which doubtless had descended as a heritage to the unknown G.M. and his colleagues. Von Hund was himself by no means satisfied; the financial scheme was not a success; money was scarce; and the whole expenses of the Prov. Chapter at Unwurde fell upon his private purse. He complains in a letter that he could not continue for ever keeping open house and laying covers daily for twenty emissaries, officials, etc. As for mystic lore, he probably believed in it himself, but nothing had been revealed to him, and he was too honest to substitute any invention of his own. He must have been waiting for a sign from his Superiors with as much impatience as any of his disciples. Thus in 1767 the ground was well prepared for the appearance of the Clerics and their rite, the leaders of which strove to obtain the control of the Strict Observance. Of what this rite consisted no one exactly knows, as the inventors only allowed a very select few to peruse the rituals, and it was not practised, because the leaders never quite succeeded in their intentions. On February 17, 1767, some Masons, chief amongst whom may be mentioned Von Vegesack, Von Bohnen, and Starck, founded at Wismar the Lodge of the Three Lions; and attached thereto a Scots Lodge, "Gustavus of the Golden Hammer." Shortly afterwards they added a hitherto unknown body, a Clerical Chapter. To these brethren we are indebted

[1] *Ante*, p. 95. [2] *Post*, p. 113.

for the historical fiction that the Knights Templars were divided into military and sacerdotal members; that the latter possessed all the secrets and mystic learning of the Order; and that they had preserved a continuous existence down to the eighteenth century. Starck claimed to be the emissary of these Clerical Templars, asserted their and his superiority over the secular Knights, and offered, on his claims being acknowledged, to impart their valuable secrets to Von Hund and his disciples. Starck (1741-1816) was a student of Göttingen, and a very learned man, an oriental linguist of great attainments, and had held scientific appointments in St Petersburg, Paris, Wismar, and elsewhere. Starck and Hund entered into a mutual correspondence, the latter evidently believing that in the former he had at last found the right clue, and being still more convinced of the truth of this supposition from the report furnished to him by his ambassador Von Raven, who had easily fallen a dupe to Starck's charlatanry. Starck pretended that the secrets had been conveyed by Natter from Florence to St Petersburg, and were preserved there in a Lodge of which he was a member, and as the price of his assistance, claimed that his Lodges should be independent of and superior to the Strict Observance Lodges, and hold from the Prov. G.M. only. As a result the three Clerics swore fealty to Hund, and were knighted by him. Baron von Prangen was sent to Wismar in 1768 to arrange all subsequent matters, and was made a "Cleric," sending home enthusiastic reports. Then Starck wished to journey to St Petersburg to complete his instructions, and in April 1768 asked for 200 thalers from the Provincial Funds for the purpose. Hund refused because the treasury was bare, and Prangen's mission had already cost him 500 thalers without any result. Starck answered with such insolence, that from that moment all communications were broken off, and he left for St Petersburg. Hund's first ambassador then became the mainspring of the movement in Germany, and erected a Clerical Priory in Wismar towards the end of 1771,—ritual, patent, etc., being sent to him from St Petersburg by Starck. On his side Starck erected Templar bodies (secular) in St Petersburg, which acknowledged Hund as their Prov. G.M. At last Starck came back, and on February 29, 1772, Von Hund was formally summoned to accept or reject an alliance with the Clerics. But the Prov. G.M. was no longer in a position to decide such important matters for himself. The brethren had to be consulted through the Provincial Council, and as many other matters were pressing for a solution at the same time, a general Convent was summoned to meet at Kohlo. Prominent among these other subjects were the widely spread dissatisfaction with the financial scheme, the refusal of many districts to fulfil its terms, and the necessity of some more perfect governing body than the very informal Provincial Chapter at Unwurde. But during the period which I have briefly sketched, some highly influential personages had cast in their lot with the upholders of the Strict Observance. First of all, may be mentioned Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, the victor at Minden, who wos born in 1721, and died in 1792. During a part of the seven years' war, he was appointed General of the allied forces, and in 1760 the Grand Lodge of England voted £50 to the Masons in the army under his command.[1] He was initiated on December 21, 1740, in the Lodge of the "Three Globes," and in 1770 was appointed English Prov. G.M. for the Duchy of Brunswick. In January 1771, however, he forsook English Freemasonry, and was admitted into the Strict Observance.

Karl, Duke, and afterwards Grand Duke, of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (born 1741; died 1816), until his accession Governor of Hanover and a Lieutenant-General in the British service, was

[1] Chap. XVII., p. 397.

also admitted to the Knighthood in 1767. Karl, Prince of Courland, joined the Order in 1772.[1] Many other Princes had already joined, but space forbids my referring to them. No less than twelve were actually regnant in 1774.

In the Convent at Kohlo (June 4 to 24, 1772) the whole system was rearranged. The seats and limits of the various Prefectories were settled; the financial plan (Schubart's) replaced by other arrangements; the representation of the different bodies in the capitular government organised, and Dresden chosen as its seat; Von Hund's Prov. Chapter at Unwurde abolished; and *inter alia*, the following appointments made:—Duke Ferdinand to be *Magnus Superior Ordinis* and Grand Master of all the Scots Lodges of the system; Prince Karl of Courland to be *Sup. Ord.* and Protector in Saxony; Duke Karl of Mecklenburg, *Sup. Ord.* and Protector in Mecklenburg and Hanover; Prince Frederick August of Brunswick (nephew of Duke Ferdinand), *Sup. Ord.* and Protector in Prussia. The basis of the system was the usual Lodges, with their various Grand or Mother Lodges; above these stood the Scots Lodges, all united under the G.M. Ferdinand. As these returned the greater part of the members to the Grand Chapter at Dresden, the President of which was Ferdinand himself, that Prince virtually became the Prime Minister of the whole system, Von Hund, as Prov. G.M., thenceforth assuming more the *rôle* of a Constitutional Monarch. A Concordat was then arrived at with the Clerics. Their Chapter at Wismar was recognised, but future Chapters were to be regarded as emanating from the authority of Von Hund only, and not from that of the Grand Chapter. The Clerics were to institute their own government; to be taken into council at elections of future Prov. G. Masters; to elect their own Prior, with the sanction of the Prov. G.M.; they were not to be judged by the Temporal Knights; they were to have no vote in financial matters, but only a consultative voice, and to be free from all imposts and taxes; the Grand Prior to have a seat in the Grand Chapter at Dresden, and his signature was to be attached to all future Warrants of Constitution, etc. In return, the Knights previously made were acknowledged as such, but with the proviso that whenever they came to a Clerical Chapter they were to obtain the sacerdotal investiture, and no future Knights were to be made without priestly assistance; the Clerics also promised to make their knowledge useful to the Order, and so on. But unfortunately for the equity of this compact, the Clerics were, as events afterwards proved, most chary of extending their circle of members, and only dropped very vague and delusive hints respecting their peculiar secrets, so that the Order benefited very little by the arrangement. Von Hund, as a last act of the Congress, was requested to legitimate himself, and did so in the same manner as previously. He also showed to a deputation of the Knights his patent as Prov. G.M. It has been vaguely stated that about the year 1751 the Bros. Schmidt brought this from England. It was written in a peculiar cypher, which has not been solved to this day, but the deputation expressed themselves quite satisfied, and the Convent broke up.

About the time of the Kohlo Convent, and shortly afterwards, four of the supposed nine provinces of the Order were constituted and organised. The first to lead the way was the VIIIth. Province—South Germany and Italy. It was divided into two great Priories, and elected Von Hund as Prov. G.M. Chapters were erected in Vienna, Munich, Stuttgart, Meiningen, and Turin. After Von Hund's death they elected in 1777 Count Bernez in Turin as Prov. G.M., and erected further Chapters in Naples and Padua. The chief instrument in

[1] For Karl and his connection with Schrepfer, see "The New or Gold Rosicrucians," *post*, p. 115.

organising the three French Provinces was the Baron von Weiler (born 1726; died 1775). He professed to have been received into the Order of the Temple by Lord Raleigh (?), at Rome, in 1743 or the following year; became personally acquainted with Von Hund in 1769; was *rectified* by him, that is, received anew, and with proper formalities, into the Strict Observance system; employed in various delicate negotiations; and finally appointed by the Prov. G.M. *Commissarius et Visitator specialis.* He was a man of means, and made it his sole object in life to spread the Strict Observance. In his official capacity he went to France, and visited the Lodges working Templar degrees, some of which were veiled under the name of Knights of the Dragon. Weiler consented to leave these rites unchanged, and to consider them equivalent to the S. O. degrees, and superadded Hund's newest and highest degree, "*Equus professus.*" The result was that in 1772 the Vth. Province—Burgundy—was organised. This included Burgundy, Switzerland, Alsace, Lorraine, Artois, Flanders, Brabant, Luxemburg, and a part of Zeeland. Strassburg was the seat of government, and the French brethren chose Von Hund as their Prov. G.M. The Grand Prior and real director was Baron Landberg, Postmaster-General, Master of the Lodge Candour in Strassburg. After 1773 the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen became protector of the Province, and on April 8, 1777, Baron von Durckheim was elected Prov. G.M.

In 1774 the IInd. Province—Albernia (Auvergne)—was constituted also by Von Weiler This included Provence, Dauphiné, Auvergne, Piedmont, Beaujolais, Bourbonnais, Nivernais, Berri, Touraine, Blaisois, Anjou, Vendome, Orleans, Maine, Normandy, Picardy, Isle de France, and Champaign. The seat of government should have been Paris, but as no Chapter existed in that city the Directory was transferred to Lyons. Baron von Hund was elected Prov. G.M., and the directing Grand Prior was De Royer, Lieut. of Police.

The same year Von Weiler organised the IIIrd. Province—Occitania—the chief seat of which was at Bordeaux. Here again Von Hund was elected Prov. G.M., so that he was now the nominal head of five Provinces, viz., VII., Germany; VIII., South Germany; V., Burgundy; II., Auvergne; III., Occitania. By slightly anticipating, we may here close the history of the French Provinces. For many reasons their open existence might have led to trouble. The unconcealed claim to revive the Order of the Temple was not without political danger in the land of its former persecution; their dependence upon a foreign potentate, Ferdinand of Brunswick, could not be viewed with equanimity by the State, nor their obedience to a foreign jurisdiction by the Grand Orient; they therefore entitled themselves simply Scots Directories, and after 1775 only gave the Templar degrees *historically*, that is, explained without conferring them. In 1776 they further managed to form a compact with the Grand Orient, which flattered the *amour propre* of the latter without materially increasing its power over their Lodges. To this, reference will again be made in the history of Freemasonry in France. In 1778 a congress of these three Provinces was held at Lyons, usually denominated the *Convent des Gaules*, at which it was decided, out of consideration for their French fellow subjects, to drop the name of Templars altogether, to alter the ritual and its whole significance, and in future to make the last degree a purely moral one under the title of Beneficent Knights of the Holy City. During the Revolution the order disappeared for a time, but revived in the early years of this century as the *système rectifié.* In 1808 and 1809 Burgundy and Auvergne elected the G.M. of the Grand Orient, Prince Cambacères, as their Prov. G.M.; and on June 2, 1811, the Concordat of 1776 with the Grand Orient was

renewed. During the succeeding twelve or fifteen years the rite died out almost entirely in France.

But these French Provinces had been organised on Von Hund's responsibility, and without the co-operation, nay, rather in spite of the hesitation of the Dresden Directory. A feeling of uncertainty with regard to the legality of Von Hund's authority was also abroad, and strong symptoms of dissatisfaction were evoked by the failure of the Clerics to confer the great benefits they had promised. A Convent was therefore held at Brunswick in 1775, which met on May 23, and lasted till July 6. Hund went through the old proceedings relative to his warrant of authority. Pressed to declare the name of the Knight of the Red Feather, he affirmed with tears in his eyes that he had sworn on his sword and his honour not to divulge it. He further volunteered the information that as the Stuarts had evidently for some time ceased to exert their power as head of the Order, or to take any interest in it, it would not be unadvisable to elect a new Grand Master. The Clerics persisted that the Order was more indebted to them than it believed, and refused to be hurried, and the new Provinces were formally admitted. The Directory was moved to Brunswick to suit the convenience of Ferdinand, its president; and officers were appointed to assist him. This really amounted to an autocracy of five brethren, because it was obviously impossible to continually summon the delegates from the end of Europe. The Convent dissolved with a general feeling of dissatisfaction, and with an evident desire to probe the Templar descent, the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Albany (Charles Edward, the young Pretender) and other matters to the bottom. This very determination paved the way for a fresh impostor—Gugumos—who was perhaps even more audacious than Johnson. The Brunswick Directory deputed Von Wächter to search out the truth. Wächter was born in 1746, practised the law at Stuttgart, held several court appointments in Saxe-Meiningen and Gotha, in 1779 was ennobled by the King of Denmark on the recommendation of the Landgrave Karl of Hesse Cassel, and at the time of the Revolution was Ambassador at Paris. On June 10, 1810, he was punished at Paris for dishonourable proceedings, degraded at Copenhagen, and deprived of the Danebrog-Order. After this he disappears from our view. According to one account he died in England; whilst another informs us that his death occurred at Stuttgart in 1825. Initiated—in all probability—during his university career at Tübingen, he joined the Strict Observance at Frankfort in 1774, and was present as a deputy from Stuttgart at the Brunswick Convent in 1775. He was at first a devoted believer in Gugumos, the new false prophet, of whom mention is about to be made, but in later years became one of his most energetic adversaries. Subsequently he was Chancellor of the VIIIth. Province, and on his return from Italy in 1778 became a leading light of the New or Gold Rosicrucians,[1]—his chief pupils in alchemy being, according to his own statements, which have every air of probability, Ferdinand of Brunswick, Landgrave Karl of Hesse Cassel, and the Crown Prince, afterwards King Frederick William II. of Prussia. He formally resigned the Strict Observance at the Wilhelmsbad Convent in 1782.

The Princes George and Ludwig of Hesse Darmstadt had also determined to make strict and extended inquiries on their own account, and undertook a long journey for that purpose. In France they made the acquaintance of Gugumos, who accompanied them to Italy, and became a companion in their researches.

[1] *Post*, p. 115.

Of this adventurer's early life very little can be ascertained beyond what is disclosed by his own statement—about the very worst authority to which we could appeal! It is, however, almost demonstrable that he was not made a Mason until after 1773, and it is known that in 1746 he was in the service of the Margrave of Baden. He appeared at the Brunswick Convent, where he dropped mysterious hints of special knowledge, and awoke the curiosity of Von Raven and Von Wächter, both predisposed to alchemical studies. He immediately left for France, and travelled to Italy with the young princes, where he met Von Weiler, and where, according to Prince George, his demeanour curiously changed, and he became most preoccupied and mysterious: he also appeared to have suddenly become possessed of a well-lined purse, although formerly of very narrow means. He gradually disclosed to his intimates that the Strict Observance was an illusion; that the members were a *branch* only of the old Order, and that the founders had been taught the symbols merely—not the full knowledge; that the real head of the fully instructed branch lived at Cyprus as Patriarch of the Greek Church; that he himself was an important member of the body; and that its special knowledge comprised all the long-sought-for secrets of the alchemists. The rituals, clothing, jewels, etc., of the S. O. were incorrect and must be reformed; he was willing to instruct the brethren and to admit a few into the higher class; and would endeavour to obtain the permission of the Master of the Temple to disclose the secrets to those worthy of that confidence. The two princes and Wächter were initiated by him into the new rite.

On his return to Germany he issued an invitation on April 19, 1776, to a Convent at Wiesbaden. The Prince of Nassau-Usingen, himself a member of the S. O., gave his consent to the meeting because he foresaw no harm, and was not unwilling that his subjects should profit by the influx of strangers. A great deal of preliminary cross-examination of Gugumos was previously carried on by correspondence, and his letters are masterpieces of impudent self-assertion. Eventually the conference was formally inhibited by Ferdinand, but privately he deputed Schwartz to attend on his behalf. The Convent opened on August 15, 1776, and among others there were present the Prince of Nassau, sovereign of the country; the Duke of Gotha, the Landgraves Ludwig and George, and Wächter—the three last being already supporters of Gugumos—Bischoffswerder, Hymnen, Wöllner, Raven, Ropert, Gemmingen, all subsequently shining lights of the later or Gold Rosicrucians; and Von Lestwitz, who in 1764 had been appointed English Prov. G.M. of Brunswick, but joined the S. O. before organising his Provincial Grand Lodge. With so many members tending towards the practice of the occult sciences it is not to be wondered at that Gugumos for some time had things his own way. He produced a wonderful patent of authority (too lengthy for insertion), and made a long and obscure speech. The Duke of Gotha was soon surfeited, and retired; many of the others submitted to be *rectified, i.e.*, re-initiated, paying dearly for their jewels and clothing—the jewels ultimately proved to be of pinchbeck; and others, although inclined to believe, had doubts, and insisted on an immediate trial of Gugumos' skill. Among these Rosskampf of Heilbronn deserves special mention. Gugumos at last declared that if the brethren would build the necessary *Adytum sacrum* he would meanwhile travel to Cyprus and fetch the essential altars and sacred implements, and on that understanding the Convent broke up on September 4, 1776. Gugumos retired to Frankfort, where, in spite of his philosopher's stone, he was unable to pay the hotel bill; and meanwhile, his servant was closely interrogated by Rosskampf, who induced him to reveal the whole truth, and swear an

affidavit naming the very student who had prepared Gugumos' papers, and the "armour-smith" who had manufactured his harness. Gugumos fled for a time to Holland, where he is said to have taken part in the Bavarian war of succession; and in 1780 published a circular stating that he had been deceived by false teachers (it is supposed he was persuaded to take this step by the Rosicrucians); and died at Munich in 1818 as Colonel on the Bavarian general staff.

On October 28, 1776, Von Hund died after an illness of twelve days at Meiningen. His estate, which had suffered largely during the seven years' war, had been still further reduced by his personal sacrifices for the welfare of the Order. This fact alone should suffice to bid us pause, before we follow the example so often set us, and stamp him as a charlatan and knave.

After his death a period of confusion ensued. According to the statutes in that case made and provided, certain high dignitaries in the Order should have ruled pending the appointment of a new Master, but their great distance from each other's residences made this difficult. Duke Ferdinand and his council, on their side, appear to have thought that the moment had arrived when they could gather up all the reins into their own hands. Even respecting Von Hund's official papers quarrels arose. These, Ferdinand wished to place in the Brunswick archives unopened, but others insisted on searching them in order to find some trace of the veritable Grand Master of the Order. This was done, but no sign of his existence was discovered, except that Von Hund evidently believed Charles Edward Stuart to be the man. In 1777 Von Wächter sought him out in Italy, when the Prince, to his dismay, declared he not only was not G.M. and knew nothing about it, but that he was not even a Freemason.[1] At this moment of suspense the brother of the King of Sweden presented himself as a candidate for Von Hund's office. The proposal at first held out many advantages. A Swedish Freemason, Von Plommenfeldt, had visited Ferdinand at Brunswick in 1776, and made the acquaintance of the chiefs of the S. O. Sweden, then as now, worked a peculiar system of its own, based upon the Templar descent theory, and a branch of it had been introduced into Germany by Zinnendorff, and constituted the most formidable, indeed almost the only rival of the Strict Observance. Mutual explanations were, of course, exchanged; and Plommenfeldt assured the Germans that not only were the Swedes aware of and in communication with the veritable G.M., but also that in their higher degrees they preserved the true long-sought-for mysteries of the Order. Through Plommenfeldt the Directory hoped to make arrangements of a profitable character with Sweden, and to benefit at the expense of their rivals of the Grand National Lodge. But whilst these negotiations were in progress Von Hund died, and the Duke of Sudermania, Karl, brother of Gustavus III. of Sweden, seized the opportunity of acquiring control over the German brethren, and offered to accept the vacant office. He was already G.M. of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, and it appears probable that political motives were not unconnected with the proposal. Indeed the Landgrave Karl of Hesse Cassel did not scruple to oppose his candidature on those very grounds. Although therefore many brethren anticipated great results from the proposal, others advanced very strong arguments against it, and the Brunswick Directory acted entirely on its own responsibility in the subsequent stages of the proceedings. The Directory agreed to further the Duke's candidature provided Karl would cancel the warrant formerly granted to Zinnendorff, and thus render illegal the Grand National Lodge of Berlin—but with regard to this I shall enter into fuller detail in Chapter XXVI.

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Stuart, Karl Eduard.

However, the Grand Lodge of Sweden declared—April 28 and July 29, 1777—that it had never constituted Lodges out of the kingdom nor granted Zinnendorff a patent, and therefore if he possessed such an authority it was of no value. A meeting of deputies was then arranged to take place at Hamburg: Sweden appointed Count Oxenstierna and Von Plommenfeldt, and the Directory deputed General Major Von Rhetz and Count Marschall; Schwartz attending on behalf of Prince Ferdinand.

The Hamburg Conference lasted from the 4th to the 16th July 1777, the deputies exchanged rituals of the two systems, arranged a *modus vivendi*, and the Swedes produced the above Grand Lodge decree of April 28, 1777.

On July 26 the Directory informed the Order in general by a circular of the upshot of the negotiations. The information was by no means well received in all quarters, and a state of mutual recrimination followed, which I have not space to depict, and can only glance at the results.[1] After the Swedish deputies had paid a visit to Berlin, the Chapter there convoked a Convent—though of course not empowered to do so of its own authority—which was held at Leipsic, October 16 to 22, 1777. Only twelve Chapters attended, and all, with the exception of that of Dresden, agreed to ratify the Hamburg resolutions, and work for Karl's election.

At last a circular appeared on January 15, 1778, from the Vicars-general and the Directory, summoning a Convent of the Order.

This met at Wolfenbüttel, the country residence of Ferdinand, on July 15, 1778, but was not formally opened by him till the 28th, and closed on August 27. The proceedings at Leipsic were legalised; the statute forbidding the appointment of a prince of a reigning family to the office of Prov. G.M. was suspended; the Duke of Sudermania was elected; the act of union confirmed; and the ratification on the part of Sweden was to be forwarded before October 1. The act conferring protection on the Clerics was allowed to lapse, because they were desirous of withdrawing from the system. In all these years this branch had made no progress, had established no more Chapters, and had fulfilled none of its promises. The Clerics, Starck, Von Raven, and others, thus disappear from the scene, and little more is known of them. In Darmstadt they still possessed a Chapter in 1792, of which the Landgrave Christian was Prior; but it must have died out shortly afterwards. In fact the Clerics, in spite of the noise they made in the world, never had any real consistency. But this Convent also marked the turning point of the whole system, for the Chapters in Silesia and Berlin, *i.e.*, all the Lodges under the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes, declared their intention of retiring from the Strict Observance, and in future, of working only the Craft and the Scots degrees, still acknowledging, however, Duke Ferdinand as their Scots Grand Master; his nephew being at that time their Craft Grand Master. Another heavy blow was the solemn protest of the Danish Lodges against the election; those bodies having the most to fear from the political influence of Sweden. Other Chapters also protested on one ground or another, and even in Sweden the action of their own deputies was not fully ratified; the act of union especially being objected to, and another one proposed to be substituted. This led to another meeting at Brunswick, August 24 to December 9, 1779, at which only deputies were present, and not *all* who were entitled to attend a Convent. The meeting is therefore known by the

[1] The materials exist for a tolerably complete history of the Strict Observance, and in the absence of any detailed work on the subject in English, fully deserve to be taken in hand by a competent writer.

name of the Brunswick *Dict.* After interminable wrangles the Act of Union was replaced by a pact of amity and reciprocity; the Danish Lodges exempted from subservience to the Prov. G.M.; the Duke of Sudermania finally elected and installed by proxy; and the Landgrave Karl of Hesse elected as his coadjutor and eventual successor. In spite of all this the end of the Strict Observance was approaching. Its most enthusiastic supporters commenced to be wearied of its uselessness; the grand secrets had not yet been revealed; the G.M. persisted in preserving his *incognito;* the members asked, did he exist? were they Templars? etc. Sweden had not helped them as expected. The Rosicrucians were seducing their Lodges on one side; Bode on the other was scenting Jesuit intrigues in every phase of Freemasonry. Wächter came back rich (!) from Italy, and stated that the German Fraternity knew nothing, but that he had approached the true light; and even the Duke of Sudermania was disappointed because he found he could not rule the German Fraternity like his own Swedes.

On September 19, 1780, Ferdinand issued a summons for a new Convent, proposing the following questions for deliberation:—Is the Order only *conventionally,* or is it *actually* derived from some older Society, and if so, which? Are there really Unknown Superiors in existence, and if so, who are they? What are the aims and purpose of the Order? Can the restoration of the Order of the Temple be considered as such? How may the ritual and ceremonies be best arranged? Does the Order conceal any scientific knowledge? etc., etc. The crushing effects of such a blow delivered at such hands may be easily understood, and need no description! The Duke of Sudermania, on February 20, 1781, issued a decree forbidding this Congress:—he had not even been consulted on the project—and on April 20, 1781, he resigned his office. Ferdinand issued several other circulars preparatory to the Convent, which was more than once postponed. However, on July 16, 1782, it was at length opened at Wilhelmsbad, and lasted till September 1 following.

Several princes were present at this Convent—thirty-five deputies in all—and each of the five restored Provinces of the Order was represented. The IXth. Province—Sweden—was not, and in fact was looked upon as non-existent. Besides the actual members, emissaries from various contemporary systems introduced themselves. Some were merely heard as visitors; others claimed a voice in their capacity as Knights Templars. Thus the Eclectic Union of Frankfort, then springing into existence, appeared in the person of Ditfurth; the Illuminati in that of Knigge; the Rosicrucians in the delegates of the Berlin Scots Grand Lodge; and the Zinnendorff system in the deputies from Austria. The results of the Conference were a complete revolution. It was resolved and declared that the Freemasons were not the successors of the Templars, although connected with them; the playing at Knight Templars was to be discontinued, and a merely historical instruction substituted; the rituals were to be amended, and the last degree was to be called Knights of Beneficence—in fact the French system and rite—established at the *Convent des Gaules,* 1778, was adopted—but the Lodges were not to be forced to work the higher degrees in opposition to their own wishes. Ferdinand was elected Grand Master General of the allied Lodges. The rite was reformed in ritual and ceremonial, and consisted of the three degrees of the Craft, together with those of Scots Master, Novice, and Knight. The order of the Provinces was changed, and became as follows:—I. Lower Germany; II. Auvergne; III. Occitania; IV. Italy and Greece; V. Burgundy; VI. Upper Germany; VII. Austrian possessions; VIII. and IX. were reserved for Russia and Sweden should they care to join. The Directory was removed to

Weimar, because the reigning Duke of Brunswick was not a Mason, which might perhaps place the archives in danger.

The upshot of the whole affair was, that the system practically ceased to exist. The Grand Lodge of the Three Globes announced its intention of working the three English grades (of course with a superstructure of hermeticism); many other Lodges returned in practice to English Masonry; Italy in great part followed suit; the newly established Eclectic Union gained in strength; the Zinnendorff system seduced numbers of Lodges; and eventually only the three French Provinces and the Lodges in Denmark remained true to the new arrangement. Even Prince Karl of Hesse Cassel failed to assume (in Ferdinand's life-time) the position of Prov. G.M. of the Ist. Province, which belonged to him as coadjutor of the Duke of Sudermania on the resignation of the latter. On January 30, 1784, the Three Globes system formally declared its independence, and on December 31 notice was given of the re-establishment in Hamburg of the former English Prov. Grand Lodge, and the consequent refusal of all Lodges in that constitution to work anything else in future but English Craft Masonry. The Strict Observance was moribund; Ferdinand gradually withdrew himself more and more from its direction; soon there was nothing left to direct; and on July 3, 1792, the Prince died. His rich Masonic library and collections, and the entire archives of the Ist. (formerly VIIth.) Province, came into the possession of the Landgrave Karl of Hesse in Schleswig. They are now in the Grand Lodge of Denmark at Copenhagen. According to a Cabinet decree of the King of Denmark, November 2, 1792, Karl became Grand Master of all Danish Lodges, and no others were recognised in the kingdom. There the system and rite established at Wilhelmsbad preserved a footing, but only in the first three degrees, and in the Scots degree, as the others gradually fell into disuse. Karl still considered himself Prov. G.M. of Germany, and in that capacity founded Lodges at Frankfort and Mayence, which, however, were not recognised by the other Lodges in those cities, and became the source of much bitterness. Karl died in 1836, and the Crown Prince of Denmark became Protector. The rite was not changed, so that in a mutilated form—the very name of Strict Observance or Knight Templar being almost forgotten—it *may* be said to have existed till 1855; but it would be more correct to say that it had been gradually supplanted by pure English Freemasonry, with an additional Scots degree. In 1855, however, the Protector, King Frederick VII., ordered the Swedish rite to be adopted. Thus perished the last lingering trace of this wonderful system—the French Directories, to all intents and purposes, having long since gradually disappeared—the description of which has occupied much more space than I desired to devote to it. In extenuation I must plead that for nearly a generation the history of the Strict Observance is also that of Freemasonry over a great part of the continent of Europe, and that fewer details would have left a very blurred image of the subject.

The term "Observata Lata"—variously translated *Laxe Observanz, Observance Relachée,* and *Lax Observance*—was used by the disciples of Von Hund, to distinguish the other systems of Masonry from their own. Thus, the members of the English and Zinnendorff systems were regarded as of the *Lax,* and those of the Templar (their own) as of the *Strict,* Observance. Many writers, however, have fallen into the unaccountable error of calling the Lax Observance a *schism* established at Vienna in 1767—evidently confounding it with the Spiritual Branch of the Templars, or Clerical Chapter (*Clerici Ordinis Templarii*), founded by Starck in that year.

Chronology of the Strict Observance.

1749.	C. G. Marschall constituted the Lodge of the Three Hammers in Naumburg.
1742. March 20.	K. G. Von Hund initiated at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.
1743.	Von Hund, according to his own account, received the Templar degree in Paris.
1750 *circa.*	Marschall died. Succeeded as P.G.M. VIIth. Province by Von Hund.
1751 *circa.*	Von Hund erected the first Templar Chapter on his estate at Unwurde.
1753.	Von Hund reconstituted the Naumburg Lodge.
1763.	Johnson commenced his proceedings at Jena.
1764. May 26.	Convent at Altenburg; meeting of Johnson and Von Hund; exposure of Johnson and his flight; organisation of the Strict Observance; and commencement of Schubart's missionary efforts.
1765. Feb. 24.	Arrest and imprisonment of Johnson.
1766.	Promulgation of the financial plan.
Nov. 16.	Zinnendorff left the S. O. and founded the Swedish system in Germany.
1767. Feb. 17.	Starck and his colleagues instituted the Lodge of the Three Lions at Wismar, and on it founded the Clerical Chapter of the Order.
1768.	Schubart retired from the S. O.
1771. Jan. 15.	Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, joined the Strict Observance.
1772. Feb. 29.	Ultimatum of the Clerics.
June 4 to 24.	Convent at Kohlo. Reorganisation of Order; Directory of Dresden established; financial plan renounced; pact with the Clerics; Ferdinand elected *Magnus Superior Ordinis.*
1772.	VIIIth. Province—South Germany and Italy—constituted; Von Hund Prov. G.M. Von Weiler undertook a mission to France and Switzerland.
1772.	Vth. Province—Burgundy—organised; Von Hund Prov. G.M.
1774.	IInd. Province—Albernia—organised; Von Hund Prov. G.M. IIIrd. Province—Occitania—organised; Von Hund Prov. G.M. The IInd., IIIrd., and Vth. Provinces assume the title of Scots Directories.
1775. May 13.	Death of Johnson.
May 23 to July 6.	Convent at Brunswick. Directory removed to Brunswick; first mysterious appearance and hints of Gugumos; Wächter started on his mission.
1776.	French Directories entered into a Concordat with the G. O. of France.
1776.	Von Plommenfeldt's visit to Duke Ferdinand at Brunswick.
1776. April 19.	Gugumos issued an invitation to a Convent at Wiesbaden.
Aug. 15 to Sept. 4.	Convent at Wiesbaden. Gugumos' pretensions and exposure.
Oct. 28.	Death of Von Hund at Meiningen.
1777.	Charles Edward Stuart repudiated any connection with Freemasonry.
1777.	Candidature of Prince Karl of Sweden, Duke of Sudermania, for the vacant post of Prov. G.M.
April 8.	Baron von Durckheim elected Prov. G.M. of Vth. Province—Burgundy.
April 28.	Grand Lodge of Sweden repudiates Zinnendorff and his doings.
July 4 to 16.	Conference at Hamburg. Karl's candidature accepted.
Oct. 16 to 22.	Convent at Leipsic (informal). Karl's candidature approved.
1778.	Convent of the Gauls at Lyons; French Directories modified the system.
July 15 to Aug. 27.	Convent at Wolfenbüttel. Prince Karl of Sweden elected Prov. G.M.; departure of the Clerics; dissent of the "Three Globes" and Daughter Lodges.
1779. Aug. 24 to Dec. 9.	Diet of Brunswick. Prince Karl of Sweden installed per proxy, and Landgrave Karl of Hesse Cassel elected coadjutor.
1780. Sept. 19.	Ferdinand issued his celebrated circular and summoned a Convent.
1781. Feb. 20.	Prince Karl of Sweden forbade the Convent to meet.
April 20.	Prince Karl of Sweden abdicated.
1782. July 16 to Sept. 1.	Convent at Wilhelmsbad. The system and rite reorganised and the French modification adopted; Ferdinand elected Grand Master General; numeration of Provinces altered; Directory removed to Weimar.
1784. Jan. 30.	The system of the "Three Globes" severed all further connection with S. O.
Dec. 31.	The Hamburg Lodges followed suit.
1792.	Last traces of the Clerics.
July 3.	Prince Ferdinand expired, and the system lapsed except in Denmark and France.
Nov. 2.	Prince Karl of Hesse appointed G.M. of Denmark by Royal decree.
1803-9.	French Directories elected Cambacères, G.M. of the Grand Orient of France, as their Prov. G.M.
1811.	French Directories renewed Concordat with Grand Orient, gradually almost dying out. A small remnant still professed to work the "Rite Rectifié" under the control of the Grand Orient.
1836.	Prince Karl of Hesse died.
1855.	Danish Lodges adopted the Swedish rite, and thus extinguished the last feeble spark of the Strict Observance.

The New or Gold Rosicrucians.[1]

This association, which invaded, and for some twenty years perverted Freemasonry—(1770-1790 *circa*)—must not be confounded with the *Rose Croix* grade found in so many systems of *Ineffable* (?) Masonry, neither is there any strong reason to connect its first beginnings with the isolated adepts or small coteries of alchemists who existed (especially in South Germany) both before and after that time. It is more probable that at first some few dabblers in hermeticism, failing to transmute the metals into gold according to the rules of the art, decided to procure in a still less legitimate, but more practical manner, a transfer of the latter into their own pockets from those of their victims. The movement arose in South Germany about the year 1756. Mysterious hints were thrown out, and unfortunately among the first to be deluded were some enthusiastic and well-meaning Freemasons. Gradually the plan grew more detailed. Grades were manufactured, initiatory ceremonies invented, fees established, and a widely reaching system developed. Each new Brother knew only his "Master;" in return for his hard cash he received foolish chemical formulæ. If his own knowledge led him to hint at their worthlessness, he was told to be less forward and behave himself properly, and like a good child, ask no questions. Occasionally he was advanced a degree, perhaps became the head of a circle, and if of no further use, was never raised any higher, so that he could not say that the pretended knowledge of the "Unknown Fathers" was a fraud. If too importunate, his superiors ceased to answer his letters. In the slang of the system "he lost his Father." If he showed himself unscrupulous as well as importunate, he was admitted behind the scenes, and helped to swindle others. Absolute obedience in all things was enjoined. There is much reason to believe that at a very early stage the Jesuits joined in the scheme. Certain it is, that the whole plan of operations was directed to foster superstition and the subjection of the human intelligence. Hence the enmity of these Rosicrucians towards the Illuminati of Bavaria—the sworn foes, the conscious imitators, of the school of Loyola.

The Rosicrucians of course gave out that they had been the originators of Freemasonry; that the Craft was designed as a nursery for adepts; that in the higher degrees the symbols would receive their true interpretation, and so on; that ultimately the true adept would not only be able to make gold, brew the elixir of life, command spirits white, black, and grey, but would absolutely incorporate himself with God, and partake of the knowledge, prescience, and power of the Deity. Every ten years the Fathers were supposed to meet and decide what was to be revealed during the following decade. Unfortunately the times were propitious, alchemy was still believed in, mesmerism was at its height, and the Templar descent theory was commencing to prove unsatisfactory. Hundreds of the best men in Germany were deluded into joining, and scores of the worst. Some of each class were disappointed, but some were buoyed up even unto the end. Those of the first class retired in grief or disgust; those of the second —from being pigeons became rooks. Yet a third class, without actually sharing the pecuniary

[1] Authorities consulted:—C. C. F. W. von Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, Berlin, 1879, pp. 505-553; Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Rosenkreuz, Schlegel, Ecker, Raven, Röpert, Schröder, F. J. W.; Schroeder, C. N. von; Schrepfer, Bischofswerder, Brenckendorf, Frohlich, Kurland, Herzog, Karl von; Bosc, F. du; Braunschweig (Brunswick), Prinz Fried. August; Wurmb, Lestwitz, Friedrich Wilhelm II. (of Prussia) [these and other princes, as also many highly placed officials and statesmen, some few of whom are mentioned above, belonged to this absurd system]; J. G. Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, 4th German edit., pp. 123-128, 392-399.

spoils, worked the system to secure influence with the princes of Europe, and thus provide good posts for themselves and friends. Wöllner, of whom more anon, was apparently one of this class, although most writers give him a still worse reputation.

The first active apostle of this system was J. G. Schrepfer, an ex-hussar, of good manners and boundless impudence, but without education, and possessed of a violent temper. In 1768 he opened a coffee-house in Leipsic; in 1772 held a Scots Lodge at his house, and based on it the Rosicrucian degrees. His *forte* was "calling spirits from the vasty deep," and they came. Their appearance was most realistic, so much so, that shortly previous to Mrs Schrepfer becoming a mother, the materialised spirit was observed to be in a decidedly interesting condition. Schrepfer and his doings were treated with contumely by the Minerva Lodge of Leipsic, and Schrepfer, in his arrogance, insulted the Lodge. Now Prince Karl, Duke of Courland, was a member of the Lodge, and a highly placed military officer withal. He caused Schrepfer to be conducted to the guard-house and soundly cudgelled, taking a stamped receipt for the punishment—which was printed in the newspapers. But in 1773 both the Duke and his friend Bischofswerder became converts, and the Duke and the Seer were in the habit of promenading the open places arm in arm. In spite of his successes, however, Schrepfer spent his money too freely to become rich; he quarrelled once more with the Lodge; a judicial inquiry by the members threatened exposure; and on October 8, 1774, he gave his last *séance;* invited the brethren to dinner; took a walk with them in the woods in the cool of the day stepped aside and blew out his brains.

C. N. von Schröder (not to be confounded with F. L. Schroeder) joined in 1773, and through him the Lodges in Russia and Poland were corrupted. As he was never advanced to the highest degrees, we must regard him as having been more dupe than knave.

In 1777 the system obtained a footing in Prussia. Bischofswerder was a companion in arms of the Crown Prince Frederick William, and obtained for Wöllner in 1782 the position of political teacher to the Prince. At the same time he made a Rosicrucian of him. Wöllner, who was "Scots Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes," became the head of the movement in North Germany, and through his exertions the whole system of the Three Globes was won over to the new cause. He even induced the Crown Prince to become a Rosicrucian, to the immense delight of the sect.

But the end was not to be avoided. From 1785 complaints of bad faith grew louder, and invaded the public prints. Schröder rode post from St Petersburg to Wöllner in Berlin, in order to procure some elixir for the Rosicrucian Schwarz, who was "sick unto death." After much delay he obtained a precious bottle and posted back. Schwarz was dead without the medicine, but some animals to which it was administered died from its effects, and an analysis proved that the smallest dose must inevitably be fatal to human life. The results were published by the indignant Schröder, and helped to swell the storm of general dissatisfaction. The leaders published a circular, advising all brothers to wait for the next general meeting in 1787—but that never took place—for the "Unknown Fathers," seeing "*le commencement de la fin,*" ordered a general *silanum* or cession of work, which immediately took effect in South Germany. Frederick William II.—who had meanwhile ascended the throne—and Wöllner contrived to prop up the decaying edifice for a time in the Prussian States, but it gradually succumbed to destiny, and disappeared entirely after the king's death in 1797.

The Scots Philosophic Rite.[1]

From 1740 onwards there existed at Avignon, capital of the department Vaucluse, a school or rather many schools of Hermeticism, working in some cases under Masonic forms on the basis of the Craft degrees, with an intermediate structure of so-called Scots degrees. The head of the movement was apparently Dom. Ant. Jos. de Pernety (1716-1801), a Benedictine monk, alchemist, and mystic. Later on—1787—the Polish Starost Gabrianca, founder of the Illuminati of Avignon, added Martinist and Swedenborgian philosophy. Among the many rites which originated here may be mentioned the *Elus Coens, Illuminés du Zodiaque, Frères noirs,* etc. Of most importance to French Freemasonry was the "Mother-Lodge du Comtat Venaissin," the date of constitution of which I have been unable to ascertain. About the year 1766 this Mother-Lodge worked the following extra degrees:—4°, True Mason; 5°, True Mason on the Right Road; 6°, Knight of the Golden Key; 7°, Knight of Iris; 8°, Knight Argonaut; 9°, Knight of the Golden Fleece. On July 22, 1757, the Archbishop issued a mandate against the whole system; and on February 3, 1775, the Inquisitor P. Mabille, himself a Freemason (so it is said), surprised the Mother-Lodge with an armed following and forced its dissolution.

A Lodge existed in Paris under the name of Saint Lazarus, which had been constituted by the Grand Lodge of France on May 30, 1766, and founded by Lazare Phil. Bruneteau. On April 2, 1776, this Lodge constituted itself the "Mother-Lodge of the Scots Philosophic Rite in France," changing its title to "Social Contract." On May 5, 1776, it was installed as such by commissioners from the "Scots Mother-Lodge du Comtat Venaissin," which on August 18 amalgamated with the *Contrat Social;* thus the Mother-Lodge, broken up at Avignon, revived in the bosom of a Paris Lodge, founded by the Grand Lodge of France, and since 1772 owing allegiance to the Grand Orient.

The "Social Contract" apprised the Grand Orient of its new departure, but for years the latter refused to recognise it as a Mother-Lodge, *i.e.,* a Lodge with power to constitute others, and erased it from the roll. The history of the negotiations belongs to that of the Grand Orient, and it will be sufficient to state here, that in 1781 a Concordat was agreed to, which reinstated the Social Contract as a daughter of the G. O. in regard to the three degrees proper of Freemasonry, but which left it sole control over the Scots Hermetic grades. It was prohibited from warranting Lodges within the jurisdiction of the G. O., but permitted to do so elsewhere, and to affiliate to itself French Lodges already in existence, and to endow them with Chapters, Tribunals, etc., etc. This was practically a victory for the Philosophic Rite.

I shall now give a short summary of its subsequent history.

1776. December 27.—It elected as G.M. the Marquis de la Rochefoucault-Bayers, Baron Bromer being chosen Dep. G.M.

1777. February 20.—Its Grand Chapter prohibited all affiliated Lodges from working the Templar degrees.

[1] Authorities consulted:—Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipsic, 1863-79, *s.v.* Avignon, Boileau, Contrat social, Hermetisches System, Pernety, Schottisch-Philosophischer Ritus; C. A. Thory, Annales originis magni Galliarum O., Paris, 1812, pp. 163-171; C. A. Thory, Acta Latomorum, Paris, 1815, vol. i., pp. 120, 128, 135, 139, 143, 149, 151, 156, 159, 165, 171, 175, 180, 187, 208, 220, 226, 230, 233, 237, 241, 245, 248, 252, 256, 259; Georg Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Darmstadt, 1852, vol. i., pp. 207, 229-233, 274, 275, 278, 317, 362-368; A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient de France, Paris and Rennes, 1865, pp. 163, 221-228.

1777. December 26.—It convened the first Philosophic Convent. At these assemblies, Masons of all rites were allowed to be present, and to take part in the discussions. The subjects ranged through the whole field of Masonic and archæological research—art, science, alchemy, and social economy, etc.,—and are acknowledged by all writers to have done very much to raise the tone of Freemasonry in France. Papers were read and discussed by the first men of the age, and many of the most celebrated names in the literature of the Craft may be recognised amongst those of the contributors to the proceedings. For example, and quoting almost at random, Court de Gebelin, Dr Boileau, C. A. Thory, and Alex. Lenoir—not to mention other eminent literary characters—were members of this rite. Convents were held in 1778, 1779, 1780, 1782, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1788, 1789, and 1812.

1779. June 19.—A building and plot of land in the Rue Coquéron was purchased by the rite—and on August 16, it affiliated the notorious Paul Jones.

1780. October 4.—M. de Montausier was granted a patent to establish the Philosophic Rite in St Domingo and the French islands.

1783. March 12.—There was a "meeting in the symbolical degrees to initiate François Frist, military veteran, age 103 years (?)."

October 17.—Dr Boileau, claiming to be National Grand Superior of the Lodges and Chapters of the Scots Philosophic Rite in France, instituted the Supreme Tribunal and various suffragan Tribunals. The members bore the title of Grand Inspector Commander, and their duty was to supervise the dogma and supreme administration of the Rite. There is much doubt about the validity of Boileau's patent, as it is impossible to conceive who possessed the right to grant it, but inasmuch as he transferred all his rights of National Grand Superior to the Dep. G.M. of the system, I am inclined to believe that it was manufactured for the occasion. During the existence of this rite seven Tribunals were erected, but after 1814 those of Antwerp and Brussels of course ceased to be French.

December 27.—M. Dubuissonnais presented the Grand Metropolitan Chapter with the sword used by the Count de Clermont when presiding over the Grand Lodge.

1785. July 20.—It refused to recognise Cagliostro's Egyptian Rite.

1786. December 24.—The Viscount de Gand was elected G.M.

1788. March 10.—C. A. Thory (born 1759; died 1827) was appointed Grand Librarian. The library of this Grand Lodge was at that time one of the finest in existence. In 1789 it was partly pillaged, but the missing documents were subsequently recovered. In 1806 Thory enriched it with the most valuable of the works formerly belonging to the library of the *Philalethes*, Lodge of the *Amis Réunis*, dispersed during the Revolution. On the extinction of the Philosophic Rite this grand collection remained in Thory's custody, and at his death passed to Dr Charles Morrison of Greenfield, whose widow presented it—upwards of 2000 volumes—to the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1849.[1] It is, however, possible that even these 2000 volumes do not comprise the whole collection; as in 1860 and 1863 sales were advertised in Paris purporting to be from the library of the *Contrat Social*?

December 13.—Francis, Lord Elcho—Grand Master of Scotland, Nov. 30, 1786, to Dec. 1, 1788—received the Philosophic degrees in the Grand Metropolitan Chapter.

1791. July 31.—Outbreak of the Revolution. The Mother-Lodge resolved to suspend work,

[1] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 403. *Cf.* Freemason, November 22, 1884.

and invited her daughters to follow her example. From subsequent statements it appears that the Grand Chapter did not dissolve.

1801. June 28.—The members of the Social Contract having been dispersed by the Revolution, the position of Mother-Lodge devolved by the statutes on the next oldest Lodge of the system in the capital, and failing this on the senior Lodge of the provinces. It will be perceived that this rule acted as a preventive of any possible fusion of the Rite with any other system, because the creative power remained unimpaired so long as a single Lodge withheld its adhesion. The Senior Lodge in Paris belonging to this system was constituted by the Grand Lodge of France May 19, 1777, under the title "St Charles of Triumph and Perfect Harmony of St Alexander of Scotland;" and the warrant was made out to the Chevalier Delamacque, Perpetual Master—a proprietary Lodge. At the time of affiliating with the Philosophic Rite—1782—it changed its name to St Alexander of Scotland simply. In 1801 it became the Mother-Lodge, and in 1805 the remnant of the Social Contract united with it. The Grand Chapter and Grand Tribunal of course attached themselves to the new Mother.

1807. March 4.—Prince Cambacères, G.M. of the Grand Orient, was also elected G.M. of the Philosophic Rite.

1808. November 24.—C. A. Thory in the chair. Askeri-Khan, ambassador of the Shah of Persia, was initiated, and presented the Lodge with a sword which had served him in twenty-seven battles.

1809. November 23.—The Mother-Lodge acquired a curious collection of Indian idols formerly belonging to the Baron de Horn, then lately deceased.

In 1815 Thory gives the following list of its degrees:—4°, Perfect Master; 5°, Select Philosophic Knight; 7°, Grand Scots Mason; 8°, Knight of the Sun; 9°, Knight of the Luminous Ring; 10°, Knight of the Black and White Eagle; 11°, Grand Inspector Commander. Clavel in 1843 gives a yet more extended list, but inasmuch as the Rite had ceased to exist at that time, we must accept Thory as the more competent authority.

Its calendar of 1818 (the last) shows 76 Lodges warranted or affiliated to the system between 1776 and the last in 1814, besides the Chapters and Tribunals. But at this time and in spite of the exertions of Thory the rivalry of the 33 degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite appears to have overwhelmed it. Its last Lodge was warranted in 1814. In the same year the Grand Chapter met for the last time. Its last public act appears to have been the issuing of a Calendar in 1818, and in 1826 it had ceased to exist. In spite of its theosophic and hermetic degrees, the Philosophic Rite merits our admiration for the high tone of its literary labours and the quality of its membership.

The Philalethes, or Searchers for Truth, and the Philadelphians, or Primitive Rite of Narbonne.[1]

The multiplicity and confusion of rites and systems in France and throughout the continent of Europe gave rise *circa* 1770 to a curious effort to probe their value, the outcome of

[1] Authorities consulted:—Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Narbonne, Philadelphen, Philalethen, Convente der P.; C. A. Thory, Annales Originis, etc., pp., 191-196; G. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 263-265, 270, 271, 312-315; Em. Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 74, 79; Mackey, Woodford, Mackenzie, *s.v.* Philadelphes, Philalethes; J. G. Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, 4th German edit., Leipsic, 1878, pp. 307, 308.

which was an apparently new combination of degrees under the above titles. The Paris Lodge of the "*Amis Réunis*" was constituted April 23, 1771, and shortly afterwards directed a commission of its members to draw up a plan of operations to assist them in ascertaining the truth. This plan was ready in 1775, from which date the Lodge took the title of Philalethes or Searchers for Truth. Their system comprised twelve classes, to each of which a ceremony of admission was attached. The first three classes consisted of the three degrees of Freemasonry; the 12th and last was called Master of all Grades. But the brethren refused to recognise the last nine classes as degrees; they were merely societies for the study of all known Masonic degrees, and their object was to establish Freemasonry on a clear and sound basis. That the higher classes became ultimately tinged with a pronounced touch of alchemy, theosophy, Martinism, and Swedenborgianism, must be ascribed to the tendencies of the times, not to the intentions of the founders. Among the prominent members may be mentioned Court de Gebelin, the Landgrave Frederick Louis of Hesse Darmstadt, Baron Gleichen, Count Stroganoff, Tassen de l'Etang, Willermoz, and above all Savalette de Langes, Keeper of the Royal Treasure, the life and soul of the whole movement. In the course of a few years the Lodge affiliated upwards of twenty Lodges and Chapters to its system, and formed a remarkable library of works especially rich in rituals and hermetic writings.

In 1780 a somewhat similar society was formed at Narbonne, which took the name of Philadelphians, Lodge and Chapter of the Primitive Rite. It was established by a Chevalier Pen, "Grand Officier de l'Orient des *free and accepted Masons*," in the name of the "Supérieurs généraux majeurs et mineurs de l'ordre des *free and accepted Masons*." Who Pen was, whence he obtained his wonderful title and authority, are unknown; but from the use of English words in the above designation, it is reasonable to conclude that he represented his authority as derived from some supposed English body. The Narbonne brethren divided their system into three classes, comprising all the known degrees. They were unattached to any Grand Orient, and founded no subordinate or daughter Lodges. In 1784 they concluded a Concordat with the Philalethes of Paris, which declared that the two systems followed the same object under similar although not identical forms.

In 1784 the Philalethes issued invitations to a Masonic Convent in Paris. One hundred and twenty-eight prominent Masons—of whom only 28 belonged to their own system—were invited to appear and return answers to ten questions of Masonic interest. The Convent lasted from February 15 to May 26, under the presidency of Savalette de Langes, without, however, much furthering the object in view. From March 8 to May 26, 1787, a second and equally fruitless Convent to answer thirteen questions was held. From this time the system appears to have become contaminated with tendencies towards magic, etc., and to have lost its pristine vigour. We hear of it again in 1792, at which date De Langes was still alive. After his death Roëttiers de Montaleau, one of the foremost Masons of France, vainly endeavoured to galvanise it into fresh life. The French Revolution utterly dispersed its members, and their splendid library was destroyed. In 1806 a large number of its more valuable books and manuscripts were discovered by Thory, and purchased for the Mother-Lodge of the Scots Philosophic Rite.

The Narbonne Philadelphians survived the Revolution, and in 1806 affiliated with the Grand Orient. From that date the Rite ceased to be worked. The Lodge itself was still in existence in 1810, but is now extinct.

THE ILLUMINATI.[1]

The secret society of the Illuminati of Bavaria is connected with the Masonic Brotherhood by the feeblest thread imaginable. Nevertheless I am forced to devote valuable space to the consideration of its history, because its suppression entailed the extinction of Freemasonry throughout Bavaria and a great part of Southern Germany, a blow from which, after the lapse of a century, the Fraternity has not yet recovered.

Professor Adam Weishaupt was born at the university town of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, February 6, 1748. He attended the schools there, which were directed by the Jesuits—expelled in 1773—but instead of becoming their disciple acquired a bitter hatred of the Order and of its aims. In 1772 and 1775 he was appointed to important chairs in the university in place of his former teachers, and this fact, together with his well-known disapproval of their doctrines, earned him the implacable enmity of the followers of Loyola, to whose intrigues he was incessantly exposed. He then conceived the idea of combating his foes with their own weapons, and forming a society of young men, enthusiastic in the cause of humanity, who should gradually be trained to work as one man to one end—the destruction of evil and the enhancement of good in this world. Unfortunately he had unconsciously imbibed that most pernicious doctrine that the end justifies the means, and his whole plan reveals the effects of his youthful teaching. His disciples were to be gradually prepared for the great work, and those who were deemed fit to be admitted. Each novice knew none of his companions, but only his immediate teacher. After the proper schooling he was advanced a step, and learned to know others, till he himself became a teacher. Throughout the whole system a course of *espionage* prevailed,—each member reported on the others to his immediate superior, who reported again higher up; oral and written confession to one's superior was inculcated; and finally all the threads converged in Weishaupt's own hands. He subsequently confessed that he had determined to use the weapons of his enemies, but which, unlike them, he meant to employ for good purposes only; and does not appear to have foreseen that he was creating an *imperium in imperio*—a most dangerous secret society—which, had it increased, might have been as great a foe to all good government as the Jesuits themselves, an engine which he was not personally strong enough to direct, whereas if the control fell into the hands of unscrupulous leaders, its effects were bound to be inexpressibly mischievous. The man himself was without guile, ignorant of men, knowing them only by books, a learned professor, an enthusiast who took a wrong course in all innocence, and the faults of his head have been heavily visited upon his memory in spite of the rare qualities of his heart.

The first members of the new society were enrolled May 1, 1766, and at that time none of

[1] Authorities consulted:—Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Bronner, Bode, Costanzo, Ditfurth, Illuminaten, Knigge, Kustner, Weishaupt, Zwackh, etc., etc.; Mackey, Woodford, Mackenzie—*s.v.* Illuminati [Woodford's article—under the above title (Kenning's Cyclo.), is a model of its kind, though in the conclusions at which he arrives I am unable to concur]; C. C. F. W. von Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, Berlin, 1879, p. 733 *et seq.*; J. G. Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, 4th German edit., Leipsic, 1878, p. 443 *et seq.* [a most concise and clear exposition of the subject, the best summary with which I am acquainted]; Karl Paul, Annalen des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1883, pp. 7, 226; C. A. Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., pp. 122, 130, 173; Professor Robison, Proofs of a Conspiracy, etc., 1797, pp. 100-271; W. Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 12th edit., 1812, p. 334 *et seq.*; W. Keller, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland, 2d edit., Giessen, 1859, p. 187 *et seq.*

them were Freemasons, although Weishaupt confesses that he had conceived a very high estimate of the Craft. In the early part of 1777, however, he was initiated in a Strict Observance Lodge in Munich—Lodge of Caution—and it is therefore not surprising to find that he afterwards destined the Craft to play a very subordinate *rôle* in his system. One of his followers, Franz Xaver von Zwackh—initiated November 27, 1788—is said to have proposed to utilise Freemasonry, to which Weishaupt agreed, arranging that all the Areopagites or leaders of divisions in the first series should pass through the degrees of the Craft, and if capable, be further initiated in the so-called Scots degree. For those who proved unworthy of further trust this was to be the end. They were not to be allowed to suspect any further development. The elect, however, were to pass on into the directing degrees. So far, the operations had been confined to Southern and Roman Catholic Germany; but in 1780 the Marquis Costanzo von Costanzo, a Privy Councillor of Karl Theodore, Elector of Bavaria, was deputed to carry the propaganda into North Germany. In Frankfort he made the acquaintance of the Baron von Knigge—a Saxe-Weimar Privy Councillor, a celebrated novelist and a lovable enthusiast, who was gifted with a most ingratiating address (born 1752; died 1796). Knigge was initiated at Cassel in 1772, and received the high Templar degrees in 1779, which he found disappointing. Costanzo revealed the existence of the Illuminati to him, and he entered heart and soul into the spirit of the project. It is remarkable that all the prominent members of this association were estimable men, both in public and private life. Knigge was under the impression that the society was of some standing, and not the creation of yesterday. His enthusiasm made converts in every direction of the better class of Masons, who were rapidly becoming tired of the Strict Observance and its aimless pursuits. These converts, after some time, naturally demanded of Knigge the rituals, etc., of the new Freemasonry, and he then found, to his consternation, that Weishaupt had so far only perfected the Minerval degrees, or those preparatory to the Craft which, as above said, was to act as a filter and reservoir for the advanced degrees. Weishaupt had, however, made a large collection of materials which he unreservedly placed in Knigge's hands for elaboration. Knigge worked at these, and meanwhile at the Wilhelmsbad Congress made another important convert of Bode, of whom I shall have something to say in another connection. The rituals completed, Weishaupt and Knigge quarrelled over the details, and the consequent retirement of the latter in 1784 was the first deadly blow to the organisation. At this time the system was arranged as follows:—

A. Nursery.—1°, Preparatory Literary Essay; 2°, Novitiate; 3°, Minerval Degree; 4°, Minor Illuminatus; 5°, Magistratus.

B. Symbolic Masonry.—1°, Apprentice; 2°, Fellow Craft; 3°, Master; 4°, Scot—divided into Major Illuminatus and Directing Illuminatus.

C. Mysteries.—1°, Lesser; *a.*, Priest; *b.*, Prince; 2°, Greater; *a.*, Magus; *b.*, Rex (these latter were never completed).

By this time the association had created a great stir. The Masonic Rosicrucians and the suppressed Jesuits made open war upon it in public print, and by private intrigue. The good intentions of the leaders were skilfully repressed; the dangerous organisation of the society was as skilfully revealed. The first mutterings of the ominous thundercloud of Revolution were already making themselves heard across the French frontier, and statesmen were fully justified in dispersing the society of the Illuminati, although all its enemies' accusations of

revolutionary tendencies may be confidently and absolutely disbelieved. A rejected candidate, Strobl, a publisher, printed a pamphlet in 1783 denouncing the society; the Lodge of the Three Globes issued a circular warning Masons against it in the same year; and several professors and men of learning, who had seen the impracticability and danger of the scheme, publicly recanted about the same time. On June 22, 1784, an Electoral edict suppressed not only the Illuminati, but likewise all Freemasonry throughout Bavaria. Both Masons and Illuminati obeyed, and even offered to produce all their papers as a proof of innocence. They were not afforded the opportunity of clearing themselves. A second edict followed, March 2, 1785, although it is a historical fact that both societies had scrupulously obeyed the first. Then followed an era of persecution; the unfortunate accused were denied the privilege of trial, and, with the exception of those very highly placed, languished for years in prison. Weishaupt was forced to fly, leaving his wife in childbed, and took refuge with Duke Ernest II. of Saxe-Gotha, a Freemason, to whom he became Councillor, dying in 1830. Costanzo was cashiered and exiled to Italy; Zwackh fled. The Illuminati ceased to exist, and with them Freemasonry in the South of Germany. This is the only reason which renders them of interest to us. Their influence, such as it was, came to an end, and no trace of it ever reappeared. But this influence must not be too highly appraised. No writer claims a larger membership than 2000 for the society. On its roll, however, there were some of the greatest names of the age, though its whole existence extended over less than ten years.

The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°.[1]

In dealing with this, the most important rival of the Craft, except in Anglo-Saxon countries, where it perforce contents itself with the modified position of a supplement to Freemasonry, it will be necessary to devote more space to the consideration of its history than I have thought requisite to a due comprehension of most of the other systems. I purpose in this section to enter at full length into those matters only which are pertinent to the Rite itself, and merely to glance at those other circumstances which bring it into close connection with the governing body of the Craft in France. The latter, however, will be detailed with some fulness in the ensuing chapter.

Its first appearance in Europe was in 1804, and the scene of its early struggles and rise into notice was Paris. At that time Paris—and France—literally swarmed with systems[2] of so-called Scots Masonry, all differing from one another—some claiming and exercising the right of warranting Lodges, others affiliating with Lodges under the Grand Orient and merely governing the supplementary degrees—with widely diverging rites, rituals, and dogmas, but all at one in arrogating for their members a superiority over the simple Master Mason.

[1] Authorities consulted:—Handbuch, *s.v.* Schottischer Ritus; Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 443-545; G. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 408-476, 547-576; vol. ii., pp. 6-10, 14, 39, 57-122, 133-144, 156-160, 179-182, 226-244, 325-330, 385-390; J. G. Findel, Gesch. der Freim., pp. 321-328, 331-348, 366; Thory, Annales Originis, pp. 121-127, 140-162; Jouast, Hist. du G. Orient, pp. 261-328, 354-368, 386-409, 453-464; Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, pp. 169 *et seq.*; Pyron, Abregé historique, etc., des 33 degrés du rit, etc., etc., Paris, 1814 [published anonymously].

[2] I use the word "system" throughout, to indicate a union under a governing body, of separate Lodges or Chapters, and never, as is too often done, to imply a rite or series of ceremonies. We may have a Grand Lodge system and a Grand Lodge rite, and these two may cover the same ground, as in England; or one system may include several rites, as in the Grand Orient of France; or one rite may pervade many systems, as again in France, where the A. and A.S.R. (Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite) 33° is worked both under the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council.

Curiously enough, the high officials of one system frequently held posts of equal dignity in the other and rival systems, as well as in the Grand Orient itself. At this propitious moment appeared the Count De Grasse-Tilly, claiming to be the sovereign of a new Scots rite, founded upon one of the oldest and most important rites of the preceding century. Arrogating to himself an unlimited power and authority over every person and thing connected with Masonry, offering an imposing series of thirty-three degrees, and boldly attacking the Grand Orient or common enemy, he at once succeeded in rallying to his support every class of Scots Dissenters, who proceeded without delay and without renouncing their previous rites to acquire fresh light at the new source. This will sufficiently explain the cause of Tilly's wonderful success.

De Grasse-Tilly—son of the celebrated Admiral de Grasse—was a landed proprietor (or planter) in St Domingo, and had long resided in North America, where he received the high degrees. On the eve of returning to St Domingo with the intention of propagating these ceremonies in that island, it cast off the French yoke, and his project had to be abandoned. He therefore went to Paris instead, armed with all the authority of the 33°, where he found some other high and mighty Masons from the West who had arrived there before him, and among others Hacquet—appointed a Grand Inspector-General of the 25°, or Princes of the Royal Secret, by a New York Grand Body—*i.e.*, Hacquet still worked the original rite of 25 degrees of the Emperors, which in Charlestown had grown to the 33 degrees of the A. and A.S.R. Hacquet had founded on the Paris Lodge of the "Triple Union and Phœnix," a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret 25°. He supported Tilly, but refused to enter into any union with him, alleging that the two rites were not identical. His scruples were probably overcome in course of time, as this Lodge ultimately became the seat of the Grand Consistory of the 32° —Sovereign Princes of the Royal Secret (the 25th and last degree of the old rite had been pushed up seven places by the insertion of intermediary degrees in the new). By virtue of his inherent authority, and with the aid of the other refugees from the Antilles, De Grasse-Tilly raised a sufficient number of Masons to the 33°, and on September 22, 1804, constituted a new Masonic power in France with the pompous title of "Supreme Council for France of Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General of the 33rd and last degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite." He chose for his proceedings the premises of the Lodge St Alexander, Mother-Lodge of the Philosophic Scots Rite; and on October 12, 1804, convoked the Grand Officers of *his* Rite, and they resolved themselves into a Grand Consistory. They then determined to form a Grand Scots Lodge on October 22, and to summon thereto all such members of any rite as might be entitled to participate. Now most, if not all, of the Scots systems had Rose Croix Chapters, and even the Grand Orient itself possessed one in the so-called French rite. This was accounted equal to, and must have been virtually identical with, the 18th degree of the A. and A.S.R.—Sovereign Prince Rose Croix—and all Masons elevated to that degree were summoned. Accordingly on October 22, 1804, the meeting was held, and the Grand Scots Lodge duly instituted with full power over the first 18 degrees. A Grand Master was proclaimed in the person of Prince Louis Buonaparte—who, by the way, never accepted the office—and 49 Grand Officers were appointed. De Grasse-Tilly was made the representative of the Grand Master.

It is now time to retrace our steps, examine De Grasse-Tilly's warrant of authority, and thereby gain an insight into the genesis of this new rite. We obtain some idea of Tilly's

Masonic pedigree from the roll of the Lodge "Seven United Brethren"—June 24, 1803—in Cap-Français of St Domingo, of which he was an honorary member. He is there described as "Alexandre François August de Grasse, born at Versailles, age 37, an inhabitant, Captain of Horse, late president of all Sublime Lodges, Councils, Chapter of Charlestown in South Carolina, initiated in the Scots Mother-Lodge of the Social Contract, Paris, past Master of the Lodge of Candour No. 12, and Reunion No. 45, Rose Croix, Kadosch, Prince of the Royal Secret, Grand Inspector-General 33°." As an authority for his proceedings Tilly produced the so-called Golden Book. This book was held in great veneration by his disciples, but there is no mystery attached to it, neither is it really golden. It is in fact a small MS. volume bound in dark brown leather. In 1818 there were already at least 40 copies of it in existence, and every Grand Inspector-General was presumed to possess one, and to enter minutes of all his Masonic acts into it. It contained, first, a copy of Stephen Morin's patent of 1761, which is in French, and the use of the word *Stephen* instead of *Etienne* might at the outset suggest doubts as to its authenticity, as showing it to have been copied or translated from an English original, whereas Morin's patent, if it ever existed, must have been in French. But this scruple is at once overcome by the attestation that follows it in the Golden Book, and which reads:

"I, the undersigned Heyman-Isaac Long, P.M. [Prince Mason, *not* Past Master], Deputy Gr. Inspector-Gen., etc., declare that the above written patent, formerly granted to the very worshipful Br. Stephen Morin by etc., etc., and of which he presented a copy to P.M. Moses Cohen, Dep. Gr. Ins.-Gen. for the island of Jamaica, who himself gave me a copy, is truly translated and extracted from my protocol. In witness whereof I have signed in the presence of the Illustrious Brothers Delahogue, De Grasse, Saint Paul, Croze Magnan, and Robin, as witness their signatures."

The use of the word Stephen is thus accounted for; and although it must be distinctly understood that Morin's original patent has never been produced, I am by no means prepared to deny that it was really granted in 1761. The *existing* patent—or, to use words of greater precision, the *alleged* copy—is of itself a most remarkable document, and although desirous of passing as lightly as possible over all matters only indirectly connected with the Craft, its insertion is absolutely essential to a due comprehension of the subject in hand.

MORIN'S PATENT.

To the glory of the G.A.O.T.U., etc., and by the good will of H.S.H. the very illustrious Brother Louis de Bourbon, Count de Clermont, Prince of the Blood Royal, Grand Master and Protector of all Lodges.

At the Orient of a most enlightened place where reign Peace, Silence, and Concord, *Anno Lucis* 5761, and according to the common style, 27th August 1761.

Lux ex tenebris. Unitas, concordia fratrum.

We, the undersigned, Substitutes General of the Royal Art, Grand Wardens and Officers of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge of St John of Jerusalem, established at the Orient of Paris; and we, Sovereign Grand Masters of the Grand Council of the Lodges of France, under the sacred and mysterious numbers, declare, certify and decree to all the very dear Bros., Knights, and Princes scattered throughout the two hemispheres, that being assembled by order of the Substitute General, President of the Grand Council, a request was communicated to us by the

worshipful Bro. Lacorne, Substitute of our very illustrious G.M., Knight and Prince Mason, and was read in due form.

Whereas our dear Bro. Stephen Morin, Grand Perfect Elect (*G. élu parfait*) and Past Sublime Master, Prince Mason, Knight and Sublime Prince of all Orders of the Masonry of Perfection, member of the Royal Lodge of the "Trinity," etc., being about to depart for America, desires to be able to work with regularity for the advantage and aggrandisement of the Royal Art in all its perfection, may it please the Sovereign Grand Council and Grand Lodge to grant him letters of constitution. On the report which has been made to us, and knowing the eminent qualifications of Bro. S. Morin, we have, without hesitation, accorded him this slight gratification in return for the services which he has always rendered this Order, and the continuation of which is guaranteed to us by his zeal.

For this cause and for other good reasons, whilst approving and confirming the very dear Brother Morin in his designs, and wishing to confer on him some mark of our gratitude, we have, by general consent, constituted and invested him, and do by these presents constitute and invest him, and give full and entire power to the said Bro. Stephen Morin, whose signature is in the margin of these presents, to form and establish a Lodge in order to admit to and multiply the Royal Order of Masons in all the perfect and sublime degrees; to take measures that the statutes and regulations of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge, general or special, be kept and observed, and to never admit therein any but true and legitimate brothers of sublime Masonry:

To rule and govern all the members who shall compose his said Lodge, which he may establish in the four quarters of the world wherever he may arrive or shall sojourn, under the title of Lodge of St John, and surnamed "Perfect Harmony;" we give him power to choose such officers as he may please to aid him in ruling his Lodge, whom we command and enjoin to obey and respect him; do ordain and command all Masters of regular Lodges of whatsoever dignity, scattered over the surface of land and sea, do pray and enjoin them in the name of the Royal Order, and in the presence of our very illustrious G.M., to acknowledge in like manner as we recognise our very dear Bro. Stephen Morin as Worshipful Master of the Lodge of Perfect Harmony, and we depute him in his quality of our Grand Inspector in all parts of the New World *to reform the observance of our laws in general*, etc.; and by these presents do constitute our very dear Bro. Stephen Morin our G.M. Inspector, authorising and empowering him to establish perfect and sublime Masonry in all parts of the world, etc., etc.

We pray, consequently, all brothers in general to render to the said Stephen Morin such assistance and succour as may be in their power, requiring them to do the same to all the brothers who shall be members of his Lodge, and whom he has admitted and constituted, shall admit or constitute in future to the sublime degree of perfection which we grant him, with full and entire power to create Inspectors in all places where the sublime degrees shall not already be established, knowing well his great acquirements and capacity.

In witness whereof we have given him these presents, signed by the Substitute-General of the Order, Grand Commander of the Black and White Eagle, Sovereign Sublime Prince or the Royal Secret, and Chief of the Eminent Degree or the Royal Art, and by us, Grand Inspectors, Sublime Officers of the Grand Council and of the Grand Lodge established in this capital, and have sealed them with the Grand Seal of our illustrious G.M., His Serene Highness, and with that of our Grand Lodge and Sovereign Grand Council. Given at the G. O. of Paris, in the

year of Light, 5761, or according to the Vulgar Era, 27th Augt. 1761. (Signed) Chaillon de Jonville, Substitute-General of the Order, W.M. of the first Lodge in France called "St Thomas," Chief of the Eminent Degrees, Commander and Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret. Bro. the Prince de Rohan, Master of the Grand Lodge "Intelligence," Sovereign Prince of Masonry. Lacorne, Substitute of the Grand Master, W. Dep. M. of Lodge "Trinity," Grand Perfect Elect, Knight and Prince Mason. Savalette de Bucheley, Grand Keeper of the Seals, Grand Elect, Grand Knight and Prince Mason. Taupin, etc., Prince Mason. Brest-de-la-Chaussée, etc., W.M. of the Lodge "Exactitude," Grand Elect Perfect Master, Knight Prince Mason. Count de Choiseul, etc., Prince Mason. Boucher de Lenoncourt, etc., W.M. of the Lodge "Virtue," Prince Mason.

By order of the Grand Lodge. Daubertin, Grand Elect Perfect Master and Knight Prince Mason, W.M. of the Lodge "Saint Alphonse," Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge and of the Sublime Council of Prince Masons in France, etc.

Before proceeding with the contents of the Golden Book, some consideration must be given to this curious Charter. What is the Grand Lodge therein spoken of? We may at once refuse to attach the least importance to the use made of the name of the Count de Clermont, because it has at all times—with very rare exceptions—been usual in France, to claim the National Grand Master as supreme head of all the rival systems, with or without his express consent. Some writers believe the Grand Lodge to have been one peculiar to this system, and ruling over those degrees inferior to the most illustrious but superior to the Craft—say, for instance, the 4th to the 8th degrees—Secret Master, Perfect Master, Intimate Secretary, Master of the Works, and Judge,—all of which occupy themselves with temple allegory, and do not yet come within the purview of the knightly Chapters. But if such be the case, why do we find titles used which refer undoubtedly to the Grand Lodge of the Craft? Yet if the proposition be admitted, it becomes evident that Morin could not have obtained any authority to erect Craft Lodges, and the claims therefore of the Supreme Councils of to-day would be usurped. There is much in the wording of the document, which, isolated, and without the context, might warrant the conclusion that Morin was only empowered to constitute Lodges *of Perfection;* but looked at as a whole, the Charter evidently intends him to constitute an ordinary Lodge, of which he was to be the W.M.

But it may be maintained that the Emperors claimed the right to warrant Craft Lodges. Of this, however, there is no sign anywhere, and were it so, we could not expect officers of the National Grand Lodge to sanction such proceedings by their name and presence. Puzzled by these opposing considerations, some writers have been driven to conclude that the warrant was granted conjointly by the National Grand Lodge, and the Sovereign Council of the Emperors. But this theory is untenable, because in such a case we might—with far greater probability—expect to meet with *two* distinct warrants. Moreover, the whole document speaks of the two bodies as practically one, and most convincing of all, it is sealed with *the seal*, not the *separate seals* of one G. L. and S. G. C. The two bodies are therefore one, and yet we have the titles of the National Grand Lodge. There is but one possible solution to the problem—that arrived at by Kloss. The Grand Lodge at this time was distracted by dissensions, which have been generally attributed to the sinister conduct of the special deputy of the G.M.—the dancing master Lacorne. I hope to show that Thory has maligned Lacorne,

and that later writers have merely copied from him; but these quarrels—just before the date of the Charter—resulted in a split in the Grand Lodge, and the formation of two rival bodies. It did not last long, and the parties were reconciled June 24, 1762, Lacorne failing to obtain Grand office, which has given rise to the assertion that he was made the scapegoat. But during this interval it now becomes clear that Lacorne's party made common cause with the Emperors, to which rite they individually belonged, and of course retained any titles they had borne in the undivided Grand Lodge. We may thus reconcile all the expressions of the patent with the known historical facts, and, moreover, *possibly* understand the allusion, "depute him *to reform* the observance of our laws in general."

One more point also calls for a few words. It is quite evident that the last and highest degree at the time of the patent was the 25°—Sovereign Prince Mason—and that no *degree* of Inspector-General existed. Morin was an Inspector and a Prince Mason; the Inspectorship was an office created *ad hoc*, not a degree. He was empowered to nominate other Inspectors; but the high functionaries who signed his patent do not call themselves Inspectors. When the rite returned to Europe in 1804, the Prince Masons had been promoted to the 32°; and a 33rd and last degree, consisting of Sovereign Inspectors-General, had been created. The purely administrative office had, in other words, been converted into a degree, and the office holders had usurped authority over the very body which appointed them. Excepting the usurpation of authority, an analogy may be found in the position of an English Past Master.

The second document in the Golden Book summarises the genealogy of De Grasse-Tilly's Inspectorship. Morin conferred it on Br. Franklin of Jamaica, and the latter on Br. Moses Hayes, at that time Gd. Commander at Boston, whilst Hayes in turn conferred it on Br. Spitzer of Charlestown. All these Inspectors met at Philadelphia, gave it to Moses Cohen of Jamaica, and he in his turn passed it on to Isaac Long, who at Charlestown created Delahogue, De Grasse, Croze Magnan, Saint Paul, Robin, Petit, and Marie. Attested by J. Long, D.G.I.G., at Charlestown May 3, 1797, and countersigned by Delahogue, D.G.I., Prince Mason, Sov. Gd. Commander.

The third item is the patent granted to De Grasse-Tilly by the Sov. G. Council of the 33° of Charlestown, dated February 21, 1802, which recites that he had been tested in all the degrees, and appointed lifelong Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the French Antilles. It authorises him to constitute, erect, and inspect Lodges, Chapters, Councils, and Consistories in both hemispheres, and is signed by Dalcho, Bowen, Dieben, Alexander, and Delahogue, who all describe themselves as Kadosch, Prince of the Royal Secret, Sov. G. Inspector, 33°.

No. 4 is the Constitutions of 1762 in thirty-five articles. These are supposed to have been forwarded to Morin subsequently to his departure. In the text they are stated to have been the conjoint production of the Sov. Council of Paris and the Sov. Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at B——. For years B—— was supposed to mean Berlin, though later it was declared to signify Bordeaux. Unfortunately for the earlier theory, it is quite certain that the Emperors never existed in Berlin, and it is nearly as capable of proof that there never was a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at Bordeaux. These constitutions were never heard of in France until De Grasse produced them, neither has the original ever been seen. Their authenticity, therefore, is in the highest degree suspicious.

Following these we have the Grand Constitutions in eighteen articles. According to the legend, the Young Pretender transferred his supreme authority in Masonry to Frederick the

Great, who, on his deathbed in 1786, revised the regulations, transformed the 25 degrees into 33, and vested his personal authority in the Supreme Council of the 33°. Previous writers have spared me the pains of proving that all this is pure fiction; that the Pretender was not the head of the Emperors—indeed, not even a Freemason at all—that Frederick never inherited his authority; that the Emperors were unknown in Germany; and that the 33 degrees were not heard of in France until De Grasse-Tilly introduced them. The Constitutions of 1786 were undoubtedly fabricated in America, and probably those of 1762. The intercalation of the 8 additional degrees also took place there. Of this there can be no moral doubt, and though the details of these occurrences cannot be given without encroaching upon the space already apportioned to other subjects, fortunately they are not required for the purposes of this sketch.[1]

It must be confessed that the Golden Book was eminently calculated to impose on the Masons of four score years ago, who did not enjoy our present opportunities for intelligent criticism. Nevertheless the A. and A.S.R. 33° can boast of a very respectable antiquity, being descended in direct line from the Emperors of 1758, and possibly from the Chapter of Clermont of 1754. We may also ungrudgingly confess that the compilers of their *Historia Ordinis* have displayed more moderation, and greater respect for the unities, than are generally found in the histories of high degree rites. De Grasse-Tilly's rapid success is thus fully accounted for.

Without entering into many particulars concerning the ritual of this Rite, it may interest some readers to acquire a slight idea of the arrangement. The 33 degrees are divided into seven classes: the first three are pure Freemasonry, and in the others full play is allowed to the fancy, which is permitted to roam backwards and forwards throughout the domain of history without being fettered by chronological sequence. In the 4° the Master represents Solomon; in the 5°, Adonhiram; in the 7°, Titus; in the 8°, Solomon again; in the 15°, Cyrus; in the 16°, Zerubbabel; in the 20°, Cyrus Artaxerxes; in the 21°, Frederick the Great; in the 25°, Moses; in the 28°, Adam; and in the 31°, 32°, and 33°, Frederick once more.[2]

Let us now return to the new Grand Lodge, founded October 22, 1804.[3] The Supreme Council and the Grand Lodge being thus established, the new Rite issued on November 1 a circular addressed to the "Masons of the world," announcing its formation, and offering to dispense its superior light to all regular Masons, etc. The Grand Orient, alarmed for its position, opened communications with the Supreme Council, which resulted in a fusion of the two systems on December 3, 1804. The Scots Grand Lodge had therefore enjoyed an existence of precisely forty-two days. Quarrels, however, arose between the contracting parties, which eventuated in a rupture, followed by a tacit understanding on September 6, 1805. By the new arrangement the Grand Orient, whose 7th and highest degree had previously been conferred in a Rose Croix Chapter, retained sole control of the A. and A.S.R. up to and including the 18°—Sovereign Prince Rose Croix—and the further degrees were under the direction of the Supreme Council, with De Grasse-Tilly at its head. There is little doubt that matters would not have been so amicably arranged but for the authority exerted by Cambacères, second Consul—and afterwards Arch-Chancellor—of France, Dep. G.M. o. the G.O. The history of all these transactions will, however, be detailed in the next Chapter.

[1] Rebold (Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 452-455) gives full details of the transformation and of the persons concerned therein. *Cf.* also Ragon, Orthodoxie Maconnique, p. 181. Rebold and Kloss (p. 418) concur in assigning the year 1801 as that of the creation of the 33°; Jouast, however (p. 296), carries it back to 1797.

[2] Handbuch, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 124; and *post*, p. 164.

The Supreme Council having thus resumed the direction of affairs, instituted on September 24, 1805, a Grand Consistory of the 32°, in order to confer all degrees from the 19th to the 32nd inclusive. On July 1, 1806, De Grasse-Tilly resigned the office of Sovereign Grand Commander in favour of Cambacères, under whose influence a forced peace was maintained. The former, however, retained his office of Sov. G. Com. *ad vitam* of the Supreme Council for the French Antilles, and—in common with the other refugees—was always cited as a member of that body in the *ctâts* of the Supreme Council for France. It was supposed to be dormant, awaiting the moment of return to San Domingo. Meanwhile, the Rite made rapid progress, in spite of Tilly's absence in the wars, and his eventual confinement as an English prisoner of war. The Grand Consistory 32° was abolished September 29, 1810, as it appeared to be growing too powerful for the Supreme Council, and Councils were established in 1805 at Milan for Italy, in 1806 at Naples for the Two Sicilies, and in 1811 at Madrid for Spain. The dormant Council for America resident in Paris began, however, in 1813 to make members, and grant diplomas in France, which led to a quarrel with the Supreme Council for France; and the Council for America, at whose head in Tilly's absence was placed his father-in-law, Delahogue, as Lieut. G. Com., addressed itself in revenge to the Grand Orient demanding recognition and a fusion, proclaiming that the Grand Orient ought to be the sole and only constitutive power in France. The petition was dated October 7, 1813, but the events of 1814 precluded any action being taken upon it.

The Supreme Council for France, with Cambacères as Sov. G. Com., was composed almost exclusively of high dignitaries under the Empire, so that the Restoration found its members dispersed and scattered, and of those still remaining many were also members of the Grand Orient. The Grand Orient took advantage of this favourable state of affairs to attempt an absorption of the Rite. On August 26, 1814, an invitation was issued to the Supreme Council to effect a fusion of the two rites. This was rejected by the Supreme Council on October 21, 1814. But many of its members nevertheless cast in their lot with the G.O., of which they were already officers, and transferred to it all their rights. On November 18, 1814, the G.O. passed a resolution that it therefore resumed the rights conferred upon it by the first fusion of 1804, and from that date has ever since conferred all the degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°. This action naturally abrogated the understanding of 1805, and the A. and A.S.R. immediately reasserted its right to constitute Craft Lodges and other bodies up to the 18°, which had previously been relinquished to the Grand Orient. The Supreme Council for France was, however, too weak to take action, and we hear no more of it till May 4, 1821.

At the beginning of 1815 De Grasse-Tilly returned from England, and found his whole system in confusion, the Supreme Council for France practically lifeless, and that for America trying to awake and occupy the vacant ground. He therefore suddenly remembered that the Grand Constitutions gave him no right to resign his post of Grand Commander in favour of Cambacères, that consequently his action of 1806 must be accounted void, and all the acts of the extinct Supreme Council of no effect. For his partisans this declaration of course annulled the recent fusion of the Supreme Council with the G.O. Before, however, he could arrange matters to his satisfaction he had to leave Paris in 1816, it is said, to avoid being arrested for debt. The efforts of his father-in-law, left in command as Lieut. G. Com. of the Supreme Council for America, were sufficient to arouse the enmity of the G.O., which, on October 17, 1817, inhibited the Lodges, etc., under its jurisdiction from assembling at the "Prado," a

restaurant where the Supreme Council met. In the beginning of 1818 De Grasse-Tilly returned to Paris, and on February 23, his Supreme Council began to evince renewed activity. Delahogue resigned on account of his advanced age, and the Count de Fernig was appointed Lieut. G. Com. Vice-Admiral Allemand, and Count, afterwards Duc de Cazes, Minister of Police, were among those raised to high administrative office. On August 7, 1818, Pyron, former Grand Secretary of the "Holy Empire," *i.e.*, A. and A.S.R., attempted to revive the old dormant Supreme Council for France, but did not live long enough to see his efforts crowned with success, as he died on September 23 following.

De Grasse-Tilly appointed a commission to revise the statutes and arrangements of his Council—with the singular result that the tables were completely turned upon him. A new list of officials was promulgated, which appeared without any G. Commander at all, but in his place three Grand Conservators, one of whom, and the future leader of the movement, was his own former nominee, Admiral Allemand. De Grasse-Tilly immediately issued a counter-circular on the 18th of the same month, rallied his friends around him, and retired to the "Pompei" Tavern. After this, the *two* Supreme Councils for America are best known under the names of their respective houses of call, Prado and Pompei. The Pompei met on September 10, 1818, and De Grasse-Tilly, after defending his actions, resigned in favour of the Count de Cazes. The Prado met on September 17, and declared De Grasse-Tilly degraded and deprived of all his Masonic rights; but although a bitter warfare between the rivals ensued and lasted for some years—much to the amusement of the Grand Orient—it would appear that the Pompei Supreme Council waxed daily stronger and the Prado gradually lost ground. After a lingering agony it flickered once more into momentary activity on June 28, 1821, but expired shortly afterwards, most of its members joining the Rite of Misraim. De Grasse-Tilly, after his resignation in 1818, also mysteriously disappears from the scene. Count de Cazes appointed as his lieutenant-general, the Count de Fernig. The Pompei Supreme Council, on October 8, 1818, decreed the erection of the Grand Scots Lodge, "Propagators of Tolerance," which was regularly instituted on October 24. In 1819 an attempt at fusion was made, by the Grand Orient offering to renew the *modus vivendi* of 1805, but this proposal was rejected. On May 4, 1821, the original Supreme Council of France awoke from its slumber, so that at that period there were no less than *four* Supreme Councils quarrelling for the supremacy of the A. and A.S.R., viz., the Supreme Council of the Grand Orient, the Supreme Councils for America of the Prado and the Pompei, and the revived Supreme Council for France. The Prado S. C. died shortly afterwards; and on May 7, 1821, the Council for France and that of the Pompei amalgamated, thus reducing the rivals to two. At this fusion the Count de Valence was elected Sov. G. Com., and the Count de Ségur Lieut. G. Com. On July 12, 1822, a new *Grande Loge Centrale*, or *Loge de la Commanderie*, was formed, and opened December 28. At the beginning of 1822 the Count de Valence died, and on February 12, 1822, the Count de Ségur was appointed in his stead, with the Duke de Choiseul as Lieut. G. Com. In 1825 Ségur resigned on account of old age, and on December 21 the Duke de Choiseul-Stainville was appointed Sov. G. Com., with Count Muraire as Lieut. G. Com. All this time the G.O. and the Supreme Council had been at daggers drawn, each forbidding its own members to visit the Lodges of its rival; but the Duke de Choiseul inaugurated his reign by preaching tolerance and reciprocity. The G.O., however, did not follow the example till 1862. On November 30, 1826, new efforts at a fusion were opened, but broken off on April 8, 1827;

and similar proceedings took place in 1835. In 1838 the Duc de Cazes was appointed Sov. G. Com., and installed June 24; General Guilleminot was made Lieut. G. Com., but dying in 1840, was succeeded by General the Count de Fernig, who died in 1848, and was replaced by Viennet.

Fresh overtures from the G.O. to return to the original understanding were made in 1841, and although these failed, an act of mutual tolerance and amity was promulgated, which was speedily broken by the G.O. In 1846 the Supreme Council published its new statutes, and the Revolution of 1848 for a time seriously affected it, robbing it of some of its highly-placed supporters and of a few Lodges. From this blow it soon recovered. On October 24, 1860, the Duc de Cazes died, and Viennet—Lieut. G. Com.—forthwith, by virtue of the Grand Constitutions, assumed the highest dignity, appointing Guiffrey as his Lieutenant. In consequence of dissensions in the G.O., Napoleon III. in 1862 appointed Marshal Magnan Grand Master, holding him personally responsible for the good behaviour of the brethren. Marshal Magnan thought the shortest way to secure peace would be to suppress the Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R., and issued an edict to that effect in his capacity of G.M., to which the Supreme Council simply turned a deaf ear. But the Marshal, through threats of dire consequences, imposed peace and toleration, which have since reigned between the rival but no longer inimical jurisdictions. In 1864 the Supreme Council issued new Statutes, and on July 11, 1868, Viennet died, who was succeeded by Allegri, and shortly afterwards by the renowned statesman Crémieux. The present Sovereign and Lieutenant Grand Commanders are MM. Proal and Emmanuel Arago.

The above is a short sketch of the rise of the A. and A.S.R. 33°, and its development in France. The Rite has obtained a firm footing in almost all other countries, where it either rivals the Grand Authority of the Craft, or is comprised in it. To the extent that may be requisite, its history will be incorporated with that of Freemasonry in those countries, and it will be impossible to avoid giving it considerable space in the next Chapter, which deals with the Masonry of France. In Great Britain and Ireland, the United States, and all English colonies,[1] it occupies a subordinate place, having ceded its pretensions to overrule the Craft or to establish Lodges. In England and Scotland, Master Masons may become members of the Rite, but it is ignored by the Grand Lodges of these countries, and its marks of distinction are not allowed to be worn in their Lodges. The practice under the Grand Lodge of Ireland has already been referred to. In Germany it has failed to gain an entrance, thanks to the sound common sense of our German brothers; and in Sweden and Denmark it is debarred admission by the laws of either country, Freemasonry in both those kingdoms partaking much of the nature of a State institution. To judge by the success of the "Grand National Lodge" of Berlin, it might perhaps have stood some chance of acceptance in Prussia, but here again State laws interpose and exclude it even from a trial.

THE RITE OF

As regards the institution of this Rite there is some difference of opinion among its historians. The discrepancies, however, extend over a few years only, and there is virtual

[1] Excepting the Mauritius.

[2] Authorities consulted:—Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Bedarride, Begue-Clavel, Joly, Misraim; Mackey and Mackenzie, *s.v.* Mizraim; Woodford, *s.v.* Misraim; G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, vol. ii., pp. 32-38, 53-55, 150-154; Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 573 *et seq.*; Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 327; A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient, pp. 369-381; F. T. B. Clavel, Histoire Pittoresque de la Francmaçonnerie, 1843, p. 214.

unanimity in dating its introduction *into France* at about the year 1814. Some attribute it to Bédarride; others maintain he was merely the chief propagator. The exact date of origin being of minor importance, it will be sufficient if we follow the account of Bégue-Clavel, himself a member as early as 1810 of the 89°.

In 1805 a Grand Orient was founded at Milan, and shortly afterwards a Supreme Council, A. and A.S.R. 33°. A certain Lechangeur was admitted to the so-called high degrees, but being refused any share in the control of the highest, in revenge manufactured the Rite of Misraim, a system of 90 degrees, of which he of course became the head. Three brothers Bédarride of Avignon, the home of Hermeticism, were amongst others admitted by him or his substitutes. Michel Bédarride on December 3, 1810, received the 73°, and on June 25, 1811, the 77°. Marc Bédarride the 77° on January 3, 1810. Lechangeur would not give them the 90°, but a rival camp had already been formed under a certain Polacq at Venice, who conferred the 90° on Michel September 1, 1812. Lechangeur dying, appointed as his successor Theodore Gerber of Milan, who gave Michel a warrant of propaganda October 12, 1812. Joseph Bédarride now joined his two brothers, and the scene was transferred to Paris in 1813, where several members were enlisted. Here they found rivals in Garcia and Decollet, who had arrived some time previously. The Bédarrides, however, gained the protection of Count Muraire, and conferred the degrees (honorary) on a great many members of the A. and A.S.R. By these means they crushed their rivals. Fernig, one of the chief men of the A. and A.S.R., received the 90° in 1818; Thory, of the Grand Orient, the Supreme Council 33°, and the Scots Philosophic Rite, in 1815; Count de Cazes, Minister of Police, and Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, in 1817. In the list of 1821-1822 we find the Duke of Sussex, G.M. of England, the Duke of Leinster, and the Duke of Athol.

In 1816 the Grand Lodge of the Rainbow was founded in Paris, and as a fresh convert I may mention Ragon, founder of the Parisian Lodge "Trinosophes," a celebrated Masonic author. Joly and Bégue-Clavel, equally (and more deservedly) celebrated as authors, had been enlisted much earlier. Morrison of Greenfield was also for a time a member. It is unnecessary to follow the history of this Rite in detail. From the very first, all the money went into the pockets of the three brothers, and accounts were never rendered, because they declared that the receipts were not sufficient to pay the interest on the original outlay. At the time of Marc Bédarride's death in 1846 this debt was supposed, according to his statement, to have swollen with compound interest to 131,793 francs; but no deductions had apparently ever been made for fees received. Of course the brothers were continually at strife with their disciples. In 1816 Joly headed a rival Grand Body of the Rite, and vainly tried to induce the Grand Orient to acknowledge and incorporate it. De Grasse-Tilly, however, the head of the A. and A.S.R., and others supported the Bédarrides, who ultimately vanquished Joly's party. Lodges were established in Holland, but suppressed by Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, the G.M. In France, however, they succeeded in establishing quite a number of Lodges. In 1820, 1821, and 1822 the three brothers travelled all over Europe to introduce their Rite—they had meanwhile become bankrupt, and this commerce constituted their whole source of income—and established a dozen and more Lodges in France and Switzerland, besides innumerable Councils. In 1822, for having inadvertently contravened an unimportant police regulation, they were, at the instance of the Grand Orient, refused permission to assemble, and the Rite became dormant throughout France. After the revolution of 1830 the

brothers Marc and Michel obtained leave to reopen their Lodges; but although they succeeded in their efforts, there was then little life in the system. The greater part of the prominent Masons —some few of whom have been mentioned—had long previously retired from the Rite; most of them had only had the certificate of the 90° conferred on them without ever assisting at a meeting of the members; and the character of the Bros. Bédarride was by this time tolerably well known. At length Michel, the last surviving brother, feeling his end approaching, appointed Dr Hayère as his successor on January 24, 1856, and bequeathed to him the claim against the Rite, by this time reduced to 77,000 francs, on condition of his paying his debts. Hayère on March 29, 1856, cancelled the bond in favour of the association, which, on its part, paid off Bédarride's debts, amounting to some 5000 francs. Relieved of this incubus, and under the honourable rule of its new Grand Master, the Rite once more lifted up its head; the quality of its members improved; and although not wielding much influence, is still an independent body in France, and a rival of the Grand Orient and of the Supreme Council 33°. It has also obtained a more or less precarious footing in some other countries.

THE RITE OF MEMPHIS.[1]

Jacques Etienne Marconis was initiated in the Rite of Misraim at Paris April 21, 1833, being then 27 years of age, and was expelled therefrom June 27, 1833. Removing to Lyons, he founded in 1836 a Lodge of this same rite—"Benevolence"—under the name of Le Nègre, a nickname which had been conferred on his father on account of his dark complexion. Concealing his identity under this pseudonym, he was advanced to the 66th degree of Misraim; but being ultimately discovered, was once more expelled May 27, 1838. There is, however, no reason (says Rebold) to assume that the cause of these exclusions reflects upon his moral character.

He then applied himself to fabricate the Rite of Memphis, and as that of Misraim counted 90 degrees, he resolved to give *his* 95, which number was afterwards increased to 97, if we include the office of Grand Hierophant, which he appropriated to himself. This title, however, he declared had been held by his father—Gabriel Matheu Marconis (de Nègre)—whom he claimed to have succeeded—one of the items of the legendary history which he constructed at this time to endow the Rite with a slight flavour of antiquity. His first efforts to establish the rite in Belgium were fruitless, but in 1838 he founded a Lodge at Paris—"Disciples of Memphis"—and a Grand Lodge—"Osiris"—in 1839, a Chapter—"Philadelphians"—and a Lodge—"Sages of Heliopolis." In 1839 he published the statutes, and founded two Lodges at Brussels. On the persistent demands of his rivals of Misraim the police closed his Lodges May 17, 1840. In 1848, the political situation being more favourable, he set himself once

[1] Authorities consulted:—Mackey, *s.v.* Memphis; Mackenzie, *s.v.* Mizraim; Woodford, *s.v.* Memphis, [from the pen of Mr John Yarker, who *should* be the best authority. I cannot, however—for the reasons given above —accept his statements with regard to the foundation of the rite in 1814, and the participation therein of G.M. Marconis, *senior*. It seems to me impossible to pass over the testimony of Rebold, who was an actor in some of the occurrences related, and also personally acquainted with Marconis, jun.—even trying in 1852 to obtain the recognition of the rite by the Grand Orient of France. To the objection that Marconis protested against Rebold's version and promised a refutation, I reply, did he ever attempt to keep his promise? and if so, where can the "refutation" be consulted?]; Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Memphis, Marconis de Nègre, etc.; Em. Rebold, Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges, Paris, 1864, p. 411 *et seq.*, and p. 592 *et seq.*; A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient de France, Rennes and Paris, 1865, p. 464 *et seq*; J. How, Freemason's Manual, 1881, pp. 359, 360 Sketch of the History of the Antient and Primitive Rite, *passim*.

more to work, and in 1849 founded and revived three Lodges, a Council, and a Chapter, in Paris; but the Belgian Lodges could not be galvanised into life. He removed to London in 1850, and after much trouble succeeded in founding a Lodge in 1851, naming F. J. Berjeau G.M. for Great Britain. In 1851—December 23—the French police once more forced him to close his Lodges. In consequence, the seat of government was transferred to London in 1853, many celebrated French refugees joining the rite for a time; among others M. Louis Blanc. The membership, however, deteriorating in quality, Berjeau dissolved the association, and Marconis thought it prudent to decline responsibility for its past acts. In 1850 and 1854 a Chapter and a Council had been established in New York. In 1852 Marconis induced Rebold to attempt to persuade the French Grand Orient to recognise the Rite; but the negotiations failed. In 1860 Marconis proceeded to New York to supervise matters there, and on July 14 established a Grand Lodge at Troy, in the State of New York, under the style of "Disciples of Memphis." So far Rebold, but according to How—J. F. Marconis, Grand Hierophant, inaugurated the Rite in person, at New York, in 1857, and afterwards, in 1862, chartered it as a Sovereign Sanctuary—by which body a charter was granted on January 3, 1872, for another Sovereign Sanctuary in and for the British Islands, whose officers were duly installed October 8 in the same year. The degrees of the Rite, we learn from the "Kneph," were nominally and temporarily reduced from 95 degrees to 33 ceremonies, by omitting the rest of those conferred only in name. Rebold tells us, that some members of the Lodge, established at London in 1851, formed themselves into an independent Grand Lodge of the Rite—"the Grand Lodge of Philadelphians"—also that the members were refused recognition as Masons by the Grand Lodge of England October 24, 1859. In 1862 Marshal Magnan, G.M. of France, issued a circular to all Masons—dissenters from Grand Orient. Marconis, on the part of one of his dormant Lodges, demanded recognition and affiliation; it was granted December 30, 1862, from which date his symbolic Lodges formed part of the Grand Orient, and the whole system was supposed to come under the supervision of that Grand Body. As, however, the G.O. never made any arrangements for granting warrants for Chapters, Councils, etc., of this Rite, it became practically extinct from that day, although some few Lodges professed to adhere to the system till, in 1868, the last two remaining Lodges gave up the pretence and frankly embraced the French rite. The Rite, under the designation of "Ancient and Primitive," is still worked in America, England, Roumania, Italy, and Egypt;[1] but to judge from the "Kneph," the official organ in this country, the various nationalities do not appear to work together very harmoniously. In that publication Mr John Yarker is described as M. Ill. G. Master-Gen., 33-96°, and I have only to add, that in 1875 the Sovereign Sanctuary of which he is the head, sanctioned the communication of the degrees of Misraim to members of the Rite of Memphis, the former having no separate governing body in this country.

[1] According to an official statement, repeated in every number of the *Kneph*—"France [having] abandoned the Rite, and the Ill. Gd. Hierophant, J. E. Marconis, 33-97°, having died in 1868, Egypt took full possession. The Craft Gd. Lodge, our Antient and Primitive Rite, and the Antient and Accepted Rite, executed a Tripartite Treaty to render mutual aid, and restored the Sov. Gd. Mystic Temple—Imp. Council Gen., 96°, presided over by a Gd. Hierophant, 97°." *Cf. post*, Chap. XXIX., *s.v.* Egypt.

CHAPTER XXV.

FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE.

A NATIVE historian of French Freemasonry would naturally turn first of all to the archives of the Grand Orient of France. These have been utilised to their full extent, but they unfortunately contain little to aid our researches before the commencement of the nineteenth century.

The Grand Librarian thus describes them in an official report:[1]—"The library consists only of some few profane [*i.e.*, non-Masonic] volumes, about forty volumes in German, some English works, and a bundle of pamphlets. The minutes of the Grand Orient from 1789 onwards are in a tolerably satisfactory state. In a portfolio are to be found the minutes of the *Gr. Loge de Conseil* from 1773 to 1778; those from 1788-1800 are very incomplete. There is no collection of its circulars to subordinate Lodges, and it would be impossible to form a complete series of printed calendars. The earliest is that of 1807, and numerous intervals occur in subsequent times." Kloss[2] adds that no complete list of French Lodges is anywhere in existence of a date preceding the end of the last century.

French Freemasonry is supposed to date from about the year 1725, and as no minutes whatever—relating to any earlier period than 1773—are to be found, it is obvious that, failing contemporaneous writings, the history of its first half century must be open to much doubt. The first comprehensive account of the French Craft appeared in 1773 as a five-page article, *s.v. Franche-Maçonnerie*, by De Lalande, in the "Encyclopédie Yverdon." Jos. Jérôme Lefrançais de Lalande, the celebrated astronomer and director of the Paris Observatory, was born July 11, 1732, and died April 4, 1807. He could therefore have been scarcely initiated before 1750 *circa*, so that his account of early French Masonry resolves itself into hearsay. Subsequent writers have been enabled to make use of some few pamphlets, circulars, or exposures, and none had more opportunities in this respect, or availed himself of them to greater advantage, than Kloss. Another historical contribution is that of De-la-Chaussée in his "*Mémoire Justificatif*," a printed defence of his official conduct, which had been impugned by Labady, published in 1772

The first real historian of French Freemasonry was Thory (1812-15[3]), and his principal suc-

[1] Em. Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 173.

[2] G. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 193.

[3] C. A. Thory, Annales Originis Magni Galliarum Orientis, and Acta Latomorum.



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cessors in chronological order have been Von Nettelbladt (*circa* 1836 [1]), Kloss (1852 [2]), Rebold (1864 [3]), Jouast (1865 [4]), and Daruty (1879 [5]). De-la-Chaussée's work is a defence of his own particular conduct, and therefore not always to be trusted implicitly. Thory wrote nearly ninety years after the first beginnings of Freemasonry in France. His early facts are therefore taken from Lalande, and in the total absence of any other authority every later historian has been more or less obliged to follow him. It may also be further remarked that Thory was an uncompromising partisan of the high degrees, and can be proved to have distorted historical facts, and misquoted documents to suit his own views. Nettelbladt was as strong a partisan of Zinnendorff's system, and equally guilty of historical perversion. Kloss was most painstaking, though sometimes blinded by his hatred of the "high degrees." Rebold suffered under the same defect, combined with a prejudice against the Grand Orient, of which his party became a rival. Jouast, on the contrary, wrote as the avowed advocate of that body and errs in the opposite direction; whilst Daruty, a member of the rival A. and A.S.R. 33°, with a personal grievance against the G.O., is very one-sided in his views, and not sufficiently critical in his acceptance of alleged facts. Under these circumstances it will be seen that the history of the first fifty years of French Freemasonry cannot be otherwise than a series of possibilities, probabilities,[6] surmises, and traditions; whereas in recording that of the last hundred years we must steer very carefully between contending opinions—with a leaning towards those of Kloss in doubtful matters. I cannot, indeed, adopt Kloss's work as the basis of this Chapter, it being much too detailed for the purpose, and shall therefore select the next best, that of Jouast. To avoid, however, a constant reference to notes, all statements not otherwise vouched or attested must be considered as given on the authority of the latter.[7]

According to De Lalande, or tradition, which in this case amounts to much the same thing, the first Lodge in France was founded in Paris by the Earl of Derwentwater in 1725 It is true that a Lodge at Dunkirk which affiliated with the Grand Orient in 1756, *then* claimed to have been constituted from England in 1721, and that the claim was allowed; but as it certainly never was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England at all, we may safely ascribe its alleged early origin to the ambition of its members. The colleagues of Lord Derwentwater are stated to have been a Chevalier Maskeline, a Squire Héguerty, and others, all partisans of the Stuarts. The Lodge assembled at the restaurant of an Englishman called Hure or Hure, in the Rue des Boucheries. A second Lodge was established in 1726 by an English lapidary, Bro. Goustand.[8] A circular of the G.O.—September 4, 1788—mentions as

[1] Gesch. Freimaurerischer Systeme, *published* 1879.

[2] Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich.

[3] Hist. des trois Grandes Loges.

[4] Hist. du Grand Orient de France.

[5] Recherches sur le Rite Ecossais. Many other authors might be named, such as Clavel, Ragon, Besuchet, Heldmann, Findel, Kauffmann-Cherpin, and Lenoir; but their works are less directly dedicated to French Freemasonry, *per se*, and merely treat it *en passant*. They will, however, be utilised where necessary.

[6] According to Gibbon, "in the science of criticism probabilities destroy possibilities, and are themselves destroyed by proofs." This principle is not to be controverted, but until *proofs* are forthcoming the historians of French Masonry may well shelter themselves under another saying of the famous author of the "Decline and Fall," who has finely observed—"Let it only be remembered, that those, who in desperate cases conjecture with modesty, have a right to be heard with indulgence."

[7] It should not surprise my readers that almost all references are to Kloss's history, and for this reason—Every statement of his predecessors has been carefully used and sifted by that writer, and his successors have been able to add remarkably little.

[8] Neither Hure nor Goustand have the appearance of English names, nor would it be easy to find any English James at all resembling them.

existing in 1725-30 five Lodges, *Louis d'Argent, Bussy, Aumont, Parfaite Union,* and *Bernouville.* Lalande ascribes no name to Derwentwater's Lodge, and calls the Louis d'Argent the third Lodge in Paris. Clavel makes the Lodge of 1726, the third in Paris, and says it was called St Thomas, and was identical with the Louis d'Argent. Ragon agrees, but gives the date as 1729. Rebold looks upon these names as those of two distinct Lodges under the dates 1726 and 1729 respectively, and thinks the first one identical with Derwentwater's Lodge. Speaking of the latter Lalande says,[1] "In less than ten years the reputation of this Lodge attracted five to six hundred brethren within the circle of the Craft, and caused other Lodges to be established." If I quoted more authors I should merely cite more divergencies of opinion, all of which shows that nothing can be positively said of these early Lodges for want of contemporary evidence. If we turn to our English engraved lists we find that whatever Lodge (or Lodges) may have existed in Paris in 1725 must have been unchartered, for the first French Lodge on our roll is on the list for 1730-32, No. 90, the King's Head, Paris.[2] King's Head is identical with Louis d'Argent—a silver coin bearing the effigy of King Louis. In 1736-39, No. 90 is shown at the Hotel de Bussy, Rue de Bussy, and the date of constitution as April 3, 1732. We thus see that the first two of the five Lodges cited by the G.O. in 1788 were in reality one and the same. In 1740 it became No. 78, and met at the Ville de Tonnèrre, Rue des Boucheries—in 1756 it received the number 49, and was erased in 1768. It would appear probable—more cannot be said—that Derwentwater's Lodge is identical with this Lodge; that it was an informal Lodge, and did not petition for a warrant till 1732. I have already stated my opinion that Lodges were held on the Continent previous to our earliest records in an informal and irregular, perhaps even spasmodic manner,[3] and this appears a case in point. Further proof is afforded by extracts from the daily papers.[4]

St James' Evening Post, September 7, 1734.—"We hear from Paris that a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was lately held there at her Grace the Duchesse of Portsmouth's house, where his Grace the Duke of Richmond, assisted by another English nobleman of distinction there, President Montesquieu, Brigadier Churchill, Ed. Yonge, and Walter Strickland, Esq., admitted several persons of distinction, into that most Ancient and Honourable Society."

St James' Evening Post, September 20, 1735.—"They write from Paris that his Grace the Duke of Richmond and the Rev. Dr Desaguliers ∴ ∴ now authorised by the present Grand Master (under his hand and seal and the seal of the Order), having called a Lodge at the Hotel Bussy in the Rue Bussy, [several] noblemen and gentlemen were admitted to the[5] Order." . . . It is noteworthy that this assembly was held in the premises of the only Lodge then warranted in France, but was evidently not a meeting of that Lodge, as it was "called" or convoked by the Duke of Richmond and Dr Desaguliers. On May 12, 1737—the same journal informs us—on the authority of a private letter from Paris, that "five Lodges are already established." Of these one only is known to have been warranted. The second in France was constituted at Valenciennes as No. 127,[6] and still exists, but dropped off our roll (as No. 40) in 1813. The third on August 22, 1735, as No. 133, by the Duke of Richmond and Aubigny, at his castle of Aubigny,[7] and was erased in 1768. We also know that at that

[1] Daruty, Recherches, etc., p. 84, note 42. [2] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, p. 50. [3] *Ante,* p. 78.
[4] Reprinted in *Masonic Magazine,* London, vol. iv., 1876, p. 419.
[5] Similar accounts appeared in the *Daily Advertiser,* and will be found in the collection of Dr Rawlinson.
[6] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, p. 52. [7] *Ibid.,* and Anderson's Constitutions, 1738.

time the English Lodge at Bordeaux[1] was working, though not yet warranted by the Grand Lodge of England, and it is quite certain that no other French Lodge received an English charter until 1766. It is therefore clear that of these five Paris Lodges four either were self-constituted or derived their authority irregularly from the first, "Au Louis d'Argent" No. 90.

The earliest publication which fixes a date for the introduction of Freemasonry into France is the Sceau Rompu[2] of 1745, twenty-eight years before Lalande. It states, "As regards Freemasonry, its introduction may be placed at 18 years ago [consequently in 1727], but at first it was worked under the deepest secrecy."[3]

Lalande says,[4] "Lord Derwentwater was *looked upon* as Grand Master of the Masons; he afterwards went to England and was beheaded. My Lord Harnouester was elected in 1736 by the four[5] Lodges which then existed in Paris; he is the first regularly elected Grand Master. In 1738 the Duc d'Antin was elected General Grand Master *ad vitam* for France. . . . In 1742 twenty-one Lodges existed in Paris." On the other hand a Frankfort publication[6] of 1738 declares that nothing was heard of the French Craft before 1736;[7] whilst another Frankfort publication of 1744[8] affirms[9] that at the end of 1736 there were six Lodges in France and more than 60 Masons [one-tenth of the number cited by Lalande], who at that date [which is usually assigned to Lord Harnouester] elected the Earl of Derwentwater to succeed James Hector Maclean, who had served some years previously." How is it possible to reconcile all these conflicting statements? My space will not even admit of the attempt.

Putting aside the above solitary reference to an alleged G.M. Maclean anterior to Derwentwater, as a question impossible of solution with our present knowledge, we may well ask how came Derwentwater to be a Mason at all? Charles Radcliffe was the brother of James Radcliffe, third and last Earl of Derwentwater. They were arrested for rebellion in 1715, and James was beheaded. Charles escaped to France and assumed the title—which had been forfeited for high treason—became concerned in the rebellion of 1745, and was beheaded on Tower Hill December 8, 1746,[10] meeting his fate as became a brave gentleman.[11] Having left England before the revival, where was he initiated? Not in Paris apparently, because he opened the first Lodge there. Also, why does the *St James' Evening Post*, which mentions so many men of lesser note in its Masonic news, never say a word about Charles Radcliffe, who was then at the head of the Craft in France? Moreover, who were the Chevalier Maskeline and Squire Héguerty, his colleagues? I have utterly failed to trace their names in any way—and above all, who was Lord Harnouester, his successor? I am quite prepared to admit an

[1] *Ante*, p. 98.

[2] Le Sceau Rompu, ou la loge ouverte aux profanes, par un francmaçon, Cosmopolis, 1745. *Cf.* Kloss, Bibliographie d. F., No. 1858.

[3] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 18. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Clavel says six, the *St James' Evening Post* only mentions five.

[6] Gründliche Nachricht, etc., Frankfort, Andrea, 1738; Kloss, Bibliog., No. 131.

[7] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 25.

[8] Der sich selbst vertheidigende F.M., Frankfort and Leipsic, 1744; Kloss, Bibliog., No. 285.

[9] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 26.

[10] Collins, Peerage of England, 1812, vol. ix., p. 407.

[11] General Advertiser, London, December 9, 1746.

error of orthography in this case; Frenchmen are not remarkable for accuracy in that respect.[1] By them Charles Radcliffe is invariably styled "Dervent-Waters," and even M. de St Simon continually calls the eldest son of John Dalrymple, created Viscount Stair by William III., "Mi-lord Flairs."[2] But can the utmost ingenuity convert Harnouester into the similitude of any name known to the English peerage? The only satisfactory hypothesis we can arrive at is, that previously to 1738 there existed in Paris one, and in the Departments two, regularly constituted Lodges, besides several others more or less irregular, and that the fashion had probably been set in the first instance by refugees at the court of the Pretender, and by other English visitors to the capital. Whether these Scottish names were not an afterthought, consequent on the rage for Scots Masonry which arose in 1740, or whether they really played an important part in the early days of the Craft in France, we must leave undecided. The doubt can only be suggested, space will not allow me to enlarge upon it; nor if it did, do I think that we could possibly arrive at any definite conclusion.

We first appear to touch really solid ground in 1738, when the Duc d'Antin, a peer of France, said to have been initiated by the Duke of Richmond at Aubigny in 1737, was elected Grand Master *ad vitam* of French Freemasons. That from this moment French Freemasonry as such, distinct from the English Lodges warranted in France, was recognised as existing, may be gathered from Anderson's Constitutions of 1738.[3] "All these foreign Lodges are under the patronage of our Grand Master of England, but the old Lodge at York City, and the Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France, and Italy affecting independency, are under their own *Grand* Masters; though they have the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, etc., for substance, with their brethren of England." This also incidentally tends to prove that up to this date French innovations on the rite of Masonry had not made themselves known.

In 1743 d'Antin died, and on December 11, 1743, sixteen Masters of Paris Lodges elected as his successor Prince Louis de Bourbon, Count de Clermont. The country Lodges accepted the nomination. Of the chief fact—Clermont's election—there can be no doubt; the other statements we have on the authority of a G. O. publication of 1777. Admitting them, we arrive at the probable number of Lodges in Paris, and at the conclusion that Grand Lodge consisted only of the *Paris Masters*, and that the Provinces were not represented in the governing body. But whilst the Grand Orient in 1777 thus lays claim to only sixteen Lodges, Lalande in 1773 had referred to twenty-one. Perhaps five were not represented?[4] Meanwhile the new Society had awakened the suspicions of the police under Louis XV., who in 1737 ordered his courtiers, under threat of the Bastille, to abstain from joining it. The meetings of English Masons resident in Paris appear to have been tolerated, but the police sought to prevent Frenchmen from joining. We have already seen what Cardinal Fleury's comment was in 1737.[5] The same year Chapelot—an innkeeper—was severely fined for receiving a Lodge on his premises. On December 27, 1738, the Lieutenant-General of Police, Hérault, dispersed an assembly in the

[1] "The editor of the private reprint of Heutzner, on that writer's tradition respecting 'the Kings of Denmark who reigned in England,' buried in the Temple Church, metamorphosed the two Inns of Court, *Gray's Inn* and *Lincoln's Inn*, into the names of the Danish Kings, *Gresin* and *Lyconin*. Erroneous proper names of places occur continually in early writers, particularly French ones. There are some in Froissart that cannot be at all understood. Bassompierre is equally erroneous. *Jorchaux* is intended by him for *York House;* and, more wonderful still, *Inhimthort* proves by the context to be *Kensington!*" (Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, edit. 1859, vol. i., p. 327).

[2] Supplement aux Mémoires de M. le Duc de St Simon, t. i., p. 208.

[3] P. 196. [4] *Cf.* Chap. XVI., p. 289, note 4. [5] *Ante*, p. 84.

Rue des Deux Ecus,[1] and really did imprison some of the members for a time. His machinations with the opera *danseuse* Carton in the same year, and the consequent issue of the *Relation Apologique*, have already been alluded to.[2] All this did not prevent the Count de Clermont from accepting the Grand Mastership; nor did his acceptance prevent the police interdicting Masonry once more in 1744, and in 1745 descending on the Hotel de Soissons, seizing the Lodge furniture, and fining the proprietor, Leroy, heavily. This seems to have been the last act of the French authorities against Freemasonry.

During the period I have just sketched, it has always been maintained that Ramsay introduced a Rite of five degrees[3] between 1736-38, called the "*Rite de Ramsay*" or "*de Bouillon.*" I trust to have already demonstrated that he did nothing of the sort, but it may be added, that beyond mere assertions, echoes of Thory, there is not the slightest evidence that a *Rite de Ramsay* ever existed. The appellation is a comparatively modern one, not being heard of until Thory invented it. Nevertheless, about 1740, various rites or degrees of Scots Masonry did spring into existence, followed shortly afterwards by Scots Mother-Lodges controlling systems of subordinate Scots Lodges. At first all these had reference to the recovery of the lost word, but before long additions were made. In 1743 the Masons of Lyons[4] invented the Kadosch degree, comprising the vengeance of the Templars, and thus laid the foundation for all the Templar rites. It was at first called Junior Elect; but developed into Elect of 9 or of Perignan, Elect of 15, Illustrious Master, Knight of Aurora, Grand Inquisitor, Grand Elect, Commander of the Temple, etc. 1751 is given as the date of the Lodge St John of Scotland,[5] subsequently Mother-Lodge of Marseilles and Mother Scots Lodge of France; 1754 as that of the establishment of the Chapter of Clermont; 1754 of Martinez Paschalis's Elect Coëns, etc.[6] These dates may not be altogether accurate, but that they are sufficiently so is probable. Three works[7] of 1742-1745 make no mention of anything beyond the Master's degree,[8] but the *Sceau Rompu* of 1745 alludes to the connection with the Knightly orders, as do Travenol's further editions of his *Catéchisme* in 1747 and 1749. *Le parfait Maçon ou les véritables Secrets des quatre grades d'Aprentis, Compagnons, Maîtres ordinaires et Ecossais, etc.*, of 1744[9] professes to expose a Scots degree, speaks of there being six or seven such, and says that "this variation of Freemasonry *is beginning* to find favour in France;"[10] and the *Franc Maçonne*[11] of 1744 reproaches the majority of the Paris Masters with not knowing that Freemasonry consists of seven degrees.[12] The last statement I have room to quote, in support of this date for the first innovations in the ritual, is an extract from the rules and regulations of the Grand Lodge under the date of December 11, 1743, or the very day of Clermont's election. The first nineteen Articles are mere adaptations of the English Constitutions of 1723 and 1738. Article 20 reads, "As it appears that *lately* some brothers announce themselves as Scots

[1] Thory, Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 38. [2] *Ante*, p. 90. [3] *E.g.*, Rebold, Hist. des trois G. Loges, p. 601.
[4] Thory, Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 52. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 63. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[7] Le Secret des Francsmaçons, Pérau, Geneva, 1742; L'Ordre de Francsmaçons trahi, Amsterdam, 1745; and Catéchisme des Francsmaçons, Leonard Gabanon, (Travenol, Paris) à Jerusalem, 1744. *Cf.* Kloss, Bibliog., Nos. 1848, 1850, and 1851.
[8] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 46. [9] Kloss, Bibliog., No. 1850.
[10] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 55.
[11] La Franc-Maçonne, etc., par Madame . . . Bruxelles, 1744; Kloss, Bibliog., No. 1857.
[12] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 55.

Masters, claiming prerogatives in private Lodges, and asserting privileges of which no traces are to be found in the archives and usages of the Lodges spread over the globe, the Grand Lodge, in order to cement the unity and harmony which should reign amongst Freemasons, has decreed that these Scots Masters, unless they are Officers of Grand Lodge or of a private Lodge, shall not be more highly considered by the brothers than the other apprentices and fellows, and shall wear no sign of distinction whatever."

It was possibly on account of the intrigues of these so-called Scots Masons that Clermont's Grand Lodge in 1743 took the title of *Grande Loge Anglaise de France*. Thory, for his own purposes, has chosen to consider that the title implied a connection with England, a sort of Provincial Grand Lodge for France. As a member of the "high degrees" he naturally felt disinclined to see in it either a protest against innovation, or a disclaimer of any connection with the Scots Masters; but in order to support his assertions, he has been disingenuous enough to invent an alleged correspondence with England, of which not a trace exists.

Louis de Bourbon, Count de Clermont, was born in 1709, and entered the Church, but in 1733 joined the army—the Pope granting a special dispensation, and allowing him to retain his clerical emoluments—succeeded Marshal Richelieu as commander, but got soundly thrashed by Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick at Crefeld in July 1757, left the army, retired from court, applied himself to science and works of benevolence, and died June 15, 1771.[1]

Although elected G.M. in 1743, it was not until 1747 that he succeeded in obtaining the royal permission to preside, and even then appears to have taken no great interest in the affairs of the Craft. Under his rule a state of confusion and mismanagement arose. Thory attributes it chiefly to the low character of his deputies, and to the irremovability of the Masters of Lodges; Kloss and Rebold to the factions and strife of the different systems of high degrees; others to the neglect of the rulers; and many of the exposures—to some of which I have already referred—to *all* these causes, combined with the negligence shown in admitting men of worthless character to the privileges of the Society. Almost the only clue we possess in this labyrinth is the already cited "Mémoire Justificatif" of Brest-de-la-Chaussée in his quarrel with Labady. Unfortunately no copy is procurable, and so I must trust to partial extracts, and to the opinions of others.

Taking these allegations in their order, let us first inquire into the personality of the deputies of the Grand Master, and of a later class of officials called Substitutes. Thory, and following him, all French writers, knew of only one deputy, the banker Bauer, appointed in 1745. But Kloss[2] shows clearly enough that two others, La Cour and Le Dran, had previously filled the office, so that it was probably an annual appointment. We also hear of another called Daché. Bauer is charged with having neglected his duties; but if the office was only held for one year, his neglect could not have been of vital importance. In 1761 it would appear that the office no longer existed, having given place to that of "Substitute." Clermont's *Substitut Particulier* was Lacorne, a dancing master. This wretched person has been burthened with the sins of many other people. La Chaussée merely refers to him as having assisted the Duke at some initiations, and speaks of him as an amiable man. Thory,[3] on his own authority, improves upon this. He declares that Lacorne's *amiability* extended so far as to assist Clermont in his amorous intrigues, which procured him his post of *Substitut*

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Clermont.

[2] Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 62.

[3] Acta Latomorum, vol .i., p. 78; and Annales Originis, p. 20.

Particulier; that he surrounded himself with all the lowest characters in Masonry, out of whom he composed the Grand Lodge; that all the better members retired, and set up a rival Grand Lodge in 1761; and that the split was only healed on June 24, 1762, by revoking Lacorne's appointment in favour of Chaillon de Jonville as *Substitut General.* It is quite probable that at this epoch there were two bodies claiming to be *the* Grand Lodge for a few months, but the facts are evidently distorted, as the signatures to Morin's patent in 1761 will sufficiently attest. We there find Lacorne associating intimately with the *élite* of the Craft—the Prince de Rohan, Chaillon de Jonville (W.M. of the Premier Lodge of France), Count Choiseul, etc., and that the assembly of the Emperors is called at Lacorne's request. This does not look as if he were a despicable pandar, nor as if his associates were the dregs of Masonry. Brest-de-la-Chaussée, who was a co-signatory of the same document, makes no such charge against him. As to Lacorne's being deposed in favour of Jonville, that very patent records their signatures side by side—each with his well-known title of Substitute-General and Substitute-Particular. It is evident, therefore, that one office was not merged in the other, and that they were co-existent. As Lacorne's impeachment rests on Thory alone, and is contradicted by the little evidence which can be collected from other sources, we must in justice decline to entertain it.

Another charge is, that the Lodges were proprietary, presided over by irremovable Masters who had bought their patents, and in order to make a profit out of them, initiated every applicant however unworthy. That this may have happened in some few cases, especially where the Master was an innkeeper, I am not prepared to deny; the taunts of some of the contemporary so-called exposures would almost imply as much; but considering how many high names were enrolled in the Craft at this period, I cannot imagine that the evil was of intolerable extent. Thory maintains that from the very first, patents of constitution were made proprietary, but Lalande assures us that in 1738 the Masters were elected quarterly. Nevertheless, irremovable Masters did exist at the period we are considering, and there is proof of their existence as early as 1742, *i.e.* before Clermont's time. Lalande again gives us the reason. Grand Lodge was composed of the Paris Masters only, not the Provincial, and to avoid the effect of inexperienced Masters assuming the rule of the Craft, the Paris Masters were made such *ad vitam.* That this agrees with facts, so far as they are known, we may infer from the minutes of the Versailles (a *Provincial*) Lodge which elected its W.M. yearly.[1] In view of the questions arising out of Morin's patent, it is well to note that this Lodge calls the Grand Lodge "The G. L. of St John at Paris." The statutes of the Grand Lodge of 1755 ordain in Article 29 that the Master shall be elected annually on St John the Baptist's Day. But although Masters *ad vitam* doubtless existed, and even in considerable numbers, there is no proof that the Lodges were proprietary, nor would such a state of matters have conduced to the prosperity of the Grand Lodge funds. The perpetual Masters, say a few of them who were innkeepers, may have had a bad effect upon the status of the Craft in general, but it is scarcely possible to connect them with the dissensions in Grand Lodge. Kloss has furnished the true reason in the strife of rival high grade systems, and Rebold, Findel, and Jouast were perfectly justified in accepting his conclusions.

Studying the history of the Grand Lodge chronologically, the facts appear to be as follow. In 1754 the Chapter of Clermont was established, and granted supplementary degrees, being joined chiefly by the *élite* of the Craft. In 1755 Grand Lodge revised its

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 67.

statutes and dropped the title of "English" which it had hitherto borne, possibly in deference to the wishes of its members, many of whom belonged to the Clermont Chapter, and all were probably admitted to some of the various Scots degrees. No copy of these statutes is to be found in France, but Kloss was enabled to use a magnificently illuminated edition belonging to a Frankfort Lodge.[1]

They are headed, "*Statuts dressés par la Resp. L. St Jean de Jerusalem de l'Orient de Paris gouvernée par le très haut et très puissant Seigneur Louis de Bourbon, Comte de Clermont, Prince du Sang, Grand Maître de toutes les Loges regulières de France, pour servir de Règlement à toutes celles du Royaume.*" They consist of 44 articles, and conclude thus—"Given at Paris, in a Lodge specially summoned for the purpose, and regularly held between square and compass, in the presence of 60 brothers, masters, and wardens. In the year of the Great Light 5755, on July 4, and of the vulgar era 1755;" attached is the "mysterious seal of the Scots Lodge," in red wax with gold and sky blue thread; signed, Louis de Bourbon. Articles 1, 2, and 3 contain the Mason's duty to God, his sovereign, and the civil authorities. Article 4 preaches the equality of rich and poor. Articles 5 and 11 describe the moral requisites of a Mason. Article 13 gives the age of a candidate at 25—a Lewis may be made and passed before that age, but not raised. Article 19 provides that the W.M. on the day of St John Baptist shall fix the dates of the twelve ensuing monthly meetings. Article 21 provides for the relief of applicants of all nations. Article 23, "Only the Master of the Lodge and the *Scots Masters* are permitted to remain covered," etc. Article 29 enacts that the Lodge is to attend mass on St John's Day, elect its Master, who shall appoint the officers, etc. Article 33 refers to the governing body as *Grande Loge de France*, omitting the word *Anglaise*. It therefore becomes evident that the "Grand," like every private Lodge, possessed a title, and that it was "St John of Jerusalem,"—an echo possibly of Ramsay's discourse. Article 42 is most important—"The Scots Masters are to superintend the work. They alone can censure faults. They are always at liberty to speak (*prendre la parôle*), to be always armed and covered, and if they fall into error can only be impeached by the Scots Masters." That there must have been a powerful high grade influence at work in Grand Lodge can no longer be doubted, but it must not therefore be imagined that Grand Lodge worked the so-called high degrees; this was doubtless done by the same individuals, but in another capacity and in Chapter.

In 1756 the Knights of the East were established, consisting principally of the middle class, in rivalry of the Chapter of Clermont, and the two organisations probably intrigued for the direction of Grand Lodge, the triennial election of Grand Officers forming, of course, the chief ground of battle.

In 1758 arose the Sovereign Council of the Emperors of the East and West. This was probably only a development of the Clermont Chapter, and very likely possessed a preponderating influence in Grand Lodge, as we know that both the Substitute General and the Substitute Particular were members of the Council.

1761.—The Lodge was divided into two camps, each arrogating to itself the authority of Grand Lodge, but Thory goes beyond the truth in his statement, that Lacorne withdrew with

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 82. Lately published in full with translation in the London *Freemason*, June and July 1885, by G. W. Speth, from a certified copy of the original manuscript. *Cf.* also the letters on the subject in previous numbers of the *Freemason*, beginning January 17, 1885, between Mr Speth and the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, who combats the views entertained by Mr Speth, and which I have adopted.

a rabble and set up a Grand Lodge of his own. In this year, indeed, the faction (or Grand Lodge) headed by Lacorne *and Jonville*, held a joint meeting with the Emperors, which resulted in the grant to Morin of his famous patent.

1762.—Owing to a quarrel, the College de Valois, the governing body of the Knights, was dissolved, and a Sovereign Council of the rite took its place.

The triennial election of Grand Officers took place June 24. A compromise having been effected between the rival camps, each faction insured the election of some of its members. There not being room for all, Lacorne was unprovided for. As to his removal by the Count de Clermont, it rests only on Thory's assertion.[1] The two momentarily separated Grand Lodges now only formed one.

1765.—At the next election, it would appear as if the battle had been fought out to the end, and that the Emperors had secured almost all the offices. This gave rise to violent debates and recriminations, both in Lodge and in print, which ultimately became unendurable. As a consequence the most violent were banished; they appear to have belonged some to one faction, some to another. But the Emperors must always have had a great support in Brest-de-la-Chaussée,[2] the Grand Keeper of the Seals, and Chaillon de Jonville,[3] the Substitute General. Among the exiles may be mentioned Daubertin, the former secretary of the Emperors, and Labady, Chaussée's subsequent enemy.

On August 14, 1766, to put an end (if possible) to all strife, the Grand Lodge issued a circular forbidding its Lodges to have anything to do with any high grades whatsoever. It is probable that this was the result of another battle royal. That the Knights had been thoroughly worsted may be gathered from the fact that on October 2, 1766, Gaillard, the Grand Orator, moved and carried that the decree be repealed, and insisted upon the necessity of incorporation with the Council of the Emperors. The proposal was placed before the private Lodges by circular for their consideration. The Knights retaliated by a circular denouncing all Templar degrees; they themselves not working any of that description.

On February 4, 1767, the Knights made a last effort in Grand Lodge, and this time came to blows. Labady, who had been expelled, afterwards declared before a committee of the Grand Orient, August 13, 1773, that he had been present at this meeting, and had engaged in a personal quarrel. From which it appears probable, as before stated, that the excluded brethren entered Grand Lodge by force, and were expelled by the stronger party.

The report of these occurrences having reached the ear of the King, a decree of State was laid before Grand Lodge on February 21, 1767, ordering it to cease to meet. Freemasonry itself, however, was laid under no ban, but the dissolution of Grand Lodge made the governance of the Craft very difficult, and, of course, prevented the proposed amalgamation with the Emperors. The direction of affairs remained in the hands of Jonville and Chaussée, and it is the latter's conduct during the interval that was afterwards impugned by Labady, who, on his side, formed a Grand Lodge of his own, and entered into correspondence with the provincial Lodges; but Chaussée, who, of course, kept possession of the seals, etc.,

[1] As an indication of the probable innocence of Lacorne, it is a curious fact that the only mention of his name in any documentary evidence which has come down to us, occurs in his own signature to Morin's patent. We know nothing whatever of his official career as a Mason, and from that moment he entirely disappears from the scene.

[2] Indications are, however, not wanting that Brest-de-la-Chaussée was at the same time a member of the Knights of the East. He certainly had been so at one time.

[3] This name is variously given as Chaillou, Chaillon, Jonville, Jouville, and Joinville

issued a circular giving the names of the excluded brethren, and so prevented his doing much mischief. In this way the strife was continued, and in spite of the dissolution of Grand Lodge new Lodges were chartered, the warrants being antedated by Chaussée.[1]

On June 15, 1771, the G.M., the Count de Clermont, died. As his death was followed by the establishment of two new and rival Grand bodies, neither of which can exactly claim to be the successor of *his* Grand Lodge, we may consider its history closed at this point. Rebold asserts that from 1743 to 1772 it had constituted over 300 Lodges in all, and has rescued the names and dates of 74, of which he gives a list.[2]

One curious fact remains to be mentioned before we proceed to the establishment of the Grand Orient of France. The following is an extract from the English "Book of Constitutions:"—"January 27, 1768.—The Grand Master informed the brethren that two letters had been received from the Grand Lodge of France expressing a desire of opening a correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England; and the said letters being read, Resolved, that a mutual correspondence be kept up, and that a book of Constitutions, a list of Lodges, and a form of a deputation, bound in an elegant manner, be presented to the Grand Lodge of France."[3] As the original Grand Lodge of France had ceased to legally exist for over a year, it would be interesting to know from which Grand Lodge these letters came, whether from Jonville or from Labady, and above all to whom the answer was directed, and how its arrival was insured. Apparently our rulers knew nothing whatever of French Freemasonry, and took it all as a matter of course; but as I shall presently have occasion to show, *our* Grand Lodge was never kept *au courant* of passing affairs, and in consequence, on more than one occasion, acted most outrageously towards its own most faithful Continental daughters. This official recognition of the Grand Lodge of France did not apparently entail any acknowledgment of its sole sovereignty. In 1767 England had constituted the English Lodge at Bordeaux, according it seniority from 1732, and the Lodge "*Sagesse*" at Hâvre, and in 1767 one at Grenoble. Subsequently to the receipt of the letters it warranted in 1772 the Lodge Candour[4] at Strassburg, and in 1785 the *Parfaite Amitié* at Avignon Languedoc. None of these Lodges were carried forward on the roll of the "United Grand Lodge of England" in 1813; and those at the *Louis d'Argent* and at Aubigny were erased on the same day that the letters from France were received, because they had either "ceased to meet or had neglected to conform to the laws of the Society."

The death of the Count de Clermont was the signal for momentous events. His influence at court had long been *nil;* if therefore he could be replaced by some one of more power, the Grand Lodge might again be allowed to meet. This really took place, and the new Grand Lodge thereafter immediately split into two rival Grand Lodges. Up to the present we have had to pick our way to a great extent between conflicting traditions, but in describing approaching events a choice must be made between diametrically opposite views based on documentary evidence, of which a great quantity exists. No point of Masonic history has given rise to greater bitterness and recrimination than the foundation of the Grand Orient. It has been variously

[1] For a more detailed account of this period, *cf.* Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 78-120.

[2] Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 53-55.

[3] Also referred to in the minutes of the Committee of Charity, Oct. 23, 1767.

[4] In 1774 this Lodge became the seat of government of the Province of Burgundy under the Strict Observance. *Cf. ante*, p. 107.

maintained that it was a base scheme of the brethren exiled in 1765, to revenge themselves on the former Grand Lodge; that it was the work of a rabble of no standing; that it was a deeply laid device of Montmorency; that it was brought about by the high degrees; that it was a usurpation of the provinces; that it was unmasonic and illegal; and that it was a conspiracy of the commissioners of Grand Lodge—together with other accusations equally diverse and imaginary. Exigencies of space prevent my bringing these allegations before the bar of history, or dwelling upon them in any way. They are all the fruits of a marked enmity to the Grand Orient, and the example was set by Thory. That writer, like all the others, can only make a lame attempt to prove his charges by tampering with documentary evidence, or by wholesale suppression and perversion. I shall, therefore, content myself with a bare recital of events in chronological sequence, and for further details must refer my readers to Kloss's "History of French Freemasonry," vol. i., pp. 121-186, and to the pages of Jouast. The strife between De-la-Chaussée and Labady—so frequently alluded to—is interwoven with these proceedings, and contributed, I think, not a little to the ultimate results.

In the first place it will be well to cite the names of the exiled brethren, viz., Perrault, Pethe, Pény, Hardy, Duret, Guillot, Daubertin, Guillet, Lacan, Bigarré, Morin, and Labady. Of these, Daubertin and Labady were certainly members of the Council of the Emperors, and possibly also some of the others, though this is uncertain, and they all appear to have held the status of simple citizens. The seven whose names are marked with an asterisk were Masters *ad vitam* of Paris Lodges, and Guillot was a Paris Master, but I have been unable to ascertain whether elected or irremovable.

From subsequent statements of De-la-Chaussée and the Duke of Montmorency, we learn that the latter had already been preferred to high office under the Count de Clermont, who had appointed him Substitute, in which capacity he had initiated the Duke of Chartres in his own Lodge. The date of this initiation is nowhere stated.

Tradition has it, that immediately on the death of Clermont—June 15, 1771—the exiles communicated with Anne Charles Sigismond, Duke of Montmorency-Luxemburg, and through him induced Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Chartres—from 1787 Duke of Orleans, a Prince of the blood Royal, father of Louis Philippe, born April 13, 1747, and guillotined as "Citizen Egalité," November 6, 1793—to declare that if he were elected he would accept the post of Grand Master. In view of the social position of the exiles, we may perhaps inquire with Kloss whether the Duke of Luxemburg did not act on his own initiative, and simply communicate the result through these brethren. But this is a matter of small moment! Let us proceed with facts.

1771.—June 21.—Six days after Clermont's death a meeting was held of the Paris Masters, who then and there resolved to revive the communications of Grand Lodge. As the Grand Lodge consisted of the Paris Masters only, they were doubtless within their rights. At whose suggestion the Lodge was convoked is not clear, but it was summoned, and very properly, according to Masonic usage, presided over by De Puisieux[1] assisted by Léveillé and Le Lorrain, the three Senior Masters of Lodges present. As the assembly was proceeding to elect a new Master, the exiles were announced and admitted. They demanded restitution of their rights, throwing the blame of past events on Zambault, Grand Secretary, then deceased. They retired, and the Grand Lodge agreed not to go into the matter too closely, out of respect for Zambault's memory, but hinted that this brother's conduct in other respects tended to

[1] Initiated December 15, 1729. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, p. 122.

justify the charge. The exiles were readmitted, and received with open arms and the *kiss of peace*. One of them, Duret, then announced the glorious news that through their efforts the Dukes of Chartres and Luxemburg had consented to accept the offices of G.M. and Substitute-General respectively. In order not to waste time, it was decided not to consult the provinces—*pro hac vice*—and the election was fixed for June 24. A committee was then appointed to verify De-la-Chaussée's acts during the interregnum. These were Martin, Pirlet,[1] Leroy, Daubertin, Bourgeois, Sec.-Gen.; Duret, Le Lorrain, Lescombart, Bruneteau, Guillot, and Labady, four of whom were former exiles. Although the reinstatement of the exiles was accomplished on this day, it was not placed on the minutes before October 17, possibly because this meeting of the Grand Lodge was considered informal.

1771.—June 24.—Grand Lodge. Unanimous election of the two Dukes; appointment of a deputation to the Duc de Chartres to acquaint him thereof, and to pray his acceptance of office. The deputation consisted of Pény, Duret, L'Eveillé, Guillot, Daubertin, and Bruneteau —with the exception of L'Eveillé and Bruneteau—all former exiles. I may here note that the Duc de Chartres showed no great anxiety to take over the duties of his office, and that from 1771 to 1778 the Duke of Luxemburg, who soon assumed the title of General Administrator, was, in all but the name, the real Grand Master.

August 14.—Grand Lodge. Approbation of revised Statutes in 53 and 41 Articles. Legend on seal, "Grande Loge des Maîtres de l'Orient de Paris." "Art. 1. G. Lodge is composed of the Masters of all regularly constituted Lodges." It will be observed that we have here the first step in a very salutary reform. Article 3 gives Wardens a consultative voice in Grand Lodge, but no vote. Article 5 ordains that the twenty-seven Grand Officers be elected from the *Paris* Masters only. These Grand Officers formed the *Loge de Conseil* or Managing Board. Article 8. The *Loge de Conseil* to meet monthly.

October 17.—Circular of Grand Lodge announcing past events, and calling upon the Lodges in the Provinces to appoint deputies to attend the installation of the Grand Master at a date to be subsequently decided. It gives a list of the Grand Officers, of whom I may name as important for our researches, Daubertin, Sec.-Gen.; Guillot, Treasurer; Duret, Warden of the Seals; Labady, Sec. for the Provinces; Bigarré, 2nd. Expert; Maurin, Asst. Sec. for the Provinces. So that of twenty-four officials six belonged to the exiled party.

1772.—January 29.—Committee reported on De-la-Chaussée's acts during the interregnum. Labady, among others, signed "of his own free will and accord," and all was pronounced in order, showing a balance of 201 *livres*, 16 *sols*, against De-la-Chaussée, who was granted an Honorary Diploma as Past Grand Warden of the Seals.

April 5.—Chartres signs a document, wherein he says that in view of the resolution passed in Grand Lodge June 24, 1771, and in the Sovereign Council of the Emperors August 26, 1771, he has accepted the offices of Grand Master of all regular Lodges in France, and Sovereign Grand Master of all Councils, Chapters, and Scots Lodges of the Grand Globe of France. This last phrase was the newest title of the organisation of the Emperors.

April 18.—Grand Lodge. The Duke of Luxemburg is congratulated on the birth of a son, and proposes that the Lodge *St Jean de Montmorency-Luxembourg*, in which the Grand Master had received initiation, shall be made members of Grand Lodge. Agreed that they shall all have seats and votes in Grand Lodge, and that three in turn shall sit and vote in the

[1] *Ante*, p. 96.

Loge de Conseil. These brothers were all members of the nobility, and thus helped to weaken the majority in Grand Lodge, composed of Parisian perpetual Masters. Labady, as Secretary for the Provinces, then reported on the state of the Lodges, and reviewed the past legislation from 1765. The speech is lost to us, but it contained a malicious impeachment of De-la-Chaussée, and was the immediate cause of the "*Mémoire Justificatif.*" It will be remembered that during the interregnum Chaussée officiated for the Grand Lodge, and that Labady attempted to set up a Grand Lodge of his own. The embittered personal quarrel which ensued is sad to contemplate, but perhaps not unnatural. Labady had on February 29 thoroughly approved De-la-Chaussée's acts, so that his conduct was inconsistent, to say the least of it. The Grand Master's manifesto of April 5 was read to and approved by Grand Lodge.

1772.—July.—Circular to all Lodges reporting past events, and preparing their deputies to receive an invitation for the installation in November or December.

July 26.—Meeting of the Emperors of the East and West, "Sublime Scots Lodge," President, the Duke of Luxemburg. The Grand Orator Gaillard, Sec.-Gen. Labady, Baron Toussainct, and De Lalande were appointed a deputation to Grand Lodge to renew proposals of fusion made October 2, 1766.

August 9.—Grand Lodge. President, Puisieux. Appeared the deputation of the Emperors. Gaillard submitted the proposal, Bruneteau, Grand Orator of Grand Lodge, replied. It was "unanimously and irrevocably decided that the Supreme Council of the Emperors of the East and West—Sublime Mother Scots Lodge—shall be, and from this moment is, united to the very respectable G.L. to constitute with it one sole and inseparable body, uniting all Masonic knowledge and legislative power over all the degrees of Masonry under the title of *Sovereign and very respectable Grand Lodge of France.*" The Commissioners of the Emperors had been empowered to request the appointment of Grand Lodge Commissioners, and with them to revise the Statutes, the revision to be approved of at a joint meeting of the two bodies. The Grand Lodge appointed their Grand Secretary, Daubertin—himself an "Emperor" and a signatory of Morin's patent—Bruneteau, Lacan, and Boulainvilliers. These are the eight commissioners who were afterwards accused of treachery to Grand Lodge. It will be observed that Labady, Daubertin, and Lacan were old exiles.

August 29.—Grand Lodge. The Commissioners receive extra instructions. I. They are to obtain audience of the Administrator-General, and request him to represent to Grand Lodge the possible inconvenience of his accepting the Presidency of other Councils, Chapters, etc. III. To circulate such representation, when obtained, amongst the Lodges. IV. They are enjoined to occupy themselves at once with the preparation of the necessary reform of the abuses which had crept into the Craft. The other instructions may be omitted. It will be observed that No. IV. gives them very wide powers indeed.

September 4.—Luxemburg declares that although he had accepted the Presidency of the Lodge of the Knights of the East [erected March 7, 1771], Grand Lodge may be assured that he will never acknowledge any foreign body as independent of it, and that in this particular case he will never allow said Lodge any special jurisdiction, etc., etc. From this it would appear that the Knights of the East were then so reduced in number as to consist of no more than one Lodge, and that only lately re-established. He also informed Grand Lodge that the Grand Master had fixed December 8 for his installation, and ordered that all Parisian and Provincial Lodges be informed of the fact; that they be requested to accredit deputies for

the festival; that they be further informed Commissioners would then be appointed to examine the proposed new statutes.

1772.—September 12.—A circular to the above effect was sent to all the Lodges.

September 17.—Circular signed by seven of the eight Commissioners, Lalande failing to sign. After describing the disorders produced by so many independent Chapters all claiming a supremacy over Grand Lodge, it continues, "The G.L. is occupied with the means of meeting this evil. . . . Since it resumed work its first care has been devoted to this subject, . . . and it has united with the Sov. Council of the Emperors, etc., to form one sole body, etc., etc.; . . . further, it intends to examine *all* grades, to bring them back to their original form, and to indicate their rank. We have been specially instructed to make the necessary preparations. . . . We flatter ourselves you will help us by forwarding your views upon the *administration in general*, etc."

October 9.—Grand Lodge. Labady *v.* De-la-Chaussée. Resolved by 30 to 15 as follows:—I. All titles conferred by Chaussée during the interregnum, excepting that of W.M., are declared *nul*. II. Chaussée is within fourteen days to deliver to Grand Lodge all documents in his possession. III. He is to refund to the Treasurer, according to his own proposal, 336 *livres*. V. He is to pay the Tyler 6 livres for unintentionally accusing Boucher de Lenoncourt of having been excluded from Grand Lodge. VI. Chaussée is acquitted of all other faults imputed to him in Labady's essay. De-la-Chaussée was apparently not satisfied, for on March 9 following appeared his "*Mémoire Justificatif*."

November 16.—Circular postponing the installation. Several deputies returned to the Provinces, the greater number, however, remaining in Paris to participate in the work of the Commissioners.

December 10.—Last meeting of the revived Grand Lodge. None were subsequently called under the pretence of "superior orders." As a matter of fact the decree against the meeting of Grand Lodge had never been revoked.

1773.—March 5.—Meeting at the Hôtel de Chaulnes, the residence of the Duke of Luxemburg, between the eight Commissioners and the deputies of Provincial Lodges. Jouast gives the list of these deputies; including the Duke of Luxemburg and the Grand Officers they number ninety-six, and for the most part were men of high position or attainments. Nor were they all Provincials. Either as Grand Officers or Provincial Deputies, the Paris Masters were represented by Bodson, Bruneteau, Daubertin, Baron Clauzels, Gaillard, Gouillard, Guillot, Labady—alone the proxy of twenty-seven Lodges in the Provinces—Lacan, Lafin, De Lalande, the Abbé Boulainvilliers, and others. But it will of course be seen that the Parisians were in a minority for the first time in French Freemasonry. Nothing was decided at this meeting, but the first two chapters of the new Constitutions were read.

March 8.—Meeting of the Provincials only. The election of June 24, 1771, by the Paris Masters was confirmed amid acclamation. Count Buzençois de Luxemburg, Bacon de la Chevalerie, and Richard de Bégnicourt were elected to form with three Paris Masters (Baron Toussainct, De Lalande, and Bruneteau), a deputation to inform the Dukes of the confirmation. Resolved to join the deliberations of the Paris brethren respecting the welfare of the Order.

March 9.—Meeting of Commissioners and Provincial Deputies. President, Luxemburg. "The sole and unique tribunal of the Order was proclaimed with the title of 'National Grand Lodge of France,' exercising in the greatest amplitude the supreme power of

the Order." The first two chapters of the new Constitutions were accepted, subject to definition. A committee of definition was appointed, consisting of Buzençois, B. de la Chevalerie, Chev. Champeau, R. de Bégnicourt, De Bauclas, Morin, Toussainct, De Lalande, and Bruneteau, the four latter being Paris Masters. Chaussée's *Mémoire*, which had recently appeared, was brought to the notice of the meeting. A judicial committee was appointed to take it into consideration, revise the decision of October 9, 1772, and adjudicate in the matter, their judgment to be without appeal, and to be made known to all the Lodges, and Chaussée to refrain from further publishing his *Mémoire*. Hence the scarcity of that valuable document. The committee consisted in great part of the same members as the committee of definition; only to avoid any chance of partiality, the Paris Masters were replaced by Provincials. President, De Bauclas; members, Count Buzençois, Bégnicourt, Abbé Roziers, Guillotin, Furcy, Varenne de Béost, Mariette de Castaing. They received their written authority the next day, and Pyron was added to the number as Secretary, and Carbonnel as a member of the former committee, but in either case without a vote.

1773.—March 19.—Labady demanded permission to print his defence, and offered to accept a coadjutor in his office of Secretary for the Provinces. The first request was denied, and he was relieved of his appointment during inquiries. Bégnicourt, Castaing, and Buzençois being on the point of leaving Paris, were replaced by Lamarque l'Americain of St Domingo, Lucadon, and the Abbé Jossot. This commission sat seventeen times.

The last meeting of the Commissioners and Provincial Deputies had taken place on March 9. It was probably felt that the former could scarcely be considered to represent Grand Lodge in arriving at a decision, as their duty was merely to prepare a scheme; but that the Provincial Lodges being represented by deputies, the Paris Masters should follow suit. Whether that was the reason or not, a long interval occurred, and during the delay twenty Paris Masters met and chose three deputies, viz., De Méry d'Arcy, Leroy, and Mangeau; a second division—or as it was termed, column—of fifteen Masters, chose two deputies, Régnard and Gouillard, Senior; a third column, of twelve Masters, chose four deputies, Richard, Joubert de la Bourdinière, Count de Jagny, and Herault; and a fourth column, of fourteen Paris Masters, elected two deputies, Packault and Théaulon. As they took care not to elect members already on the board, they thus strengthened their own side considerably.

April 7.—Meeting of Provincial and Paris Deputies, Commissioners, and Grand Officers. Toussainct appointed Secretary to the Board of Revision—this name is not historic, and I merely use it for convenience.

April 13.—A fifth column, of twenty Masters, elected three deputies, Gerbier,[1] Martin, and Caseuil, Jun.

April 14.—Board of Revision. Junction of last named deputies.

April 17.—Board of Revision. The first chapter of the new Statutes as amended by the new Commissioners adopted with enthusiasm.

April 22.—Board of Revision. The second chapter read amidst *partial* applause. In recognition of his services Luxemburg was permitted to nominate—*pro hac vice*—all the officers of Grand Lodge.

[1] We shall presently see that Gerbier joined the Grand Orient, and became a man of very great note as the possessor of capitular Charters, dating from 1721! *Cf. post*, p. 160.

signed; Bruneteau, Gaillard, and Daubertin subsequently joined the new Grand Orient; of the eight Commissioners, three only—Labady, Lacan, and Boulainvilliers—went back to the old Paris Masters' Lodge.

1773.—June 18 and 20.—Meetings of this committee and preparation of the protest.

June 21.—Board of Revision. Labady presents himself as the emissary of the Old Grand Lodge, and hands in the protest, which, after many "*whereas's*," declares that every act of the board is illegal, null, and of no value, and calls upon the Lodges to rally to their old Grand Lodge, and to help him in persuading the Duke of Luxemburg to put himself once more at their head. He then declared the so called National Grand Lodge non-existent, and desired to withdraw from several brethren the title of deputy (of various Lodges) with which he had formerly entrusted them. The meeting declared this to be impracticable, and Labady retired. New honorary Grand Officers were appointed, the third chapter of the Statutes agreed to, and it was ordered that the first three chapters should be printed.

June 24.—Grand fête given to the new Grand body by the Duke of Luxemburg; present 81 *convives.*

June 26.—Last meeting of the Board of Revision. The fourth chapter of the Statutes approved of and ordered to be printed, and a circular detailing the whole course of events drawn up and confirmed. The assembly then separated, and from this day we may date the final completion of the *National* Grand Lodge of France, which, however, soon changed its name to Grand Orient. Among the 45 officials of the new Grand Lodge are 19 Paris Masters, who therefore resigned their privileges.[1]

July 23.—The old Lodge—which I shall in future call the Grand Lodge—met again, and on July 29 held a festival *in the name* of the Duke of Luxemburg, whom it continued to look upon as its head.

I think it will now be admitted that the taunts and gibes of Thory and his congeners are misplaced, and that all things were done in perfect order and with due legality. The Paris Masters, that is, the old Grand Lodge, concurred in all the proceedings until their vested rights were threatened. That the Grand Lodge was justified in abrogating these rights in the general interest must be freely conceded. "In all countries [and communities] the legislative power must, to a general intent, be absolute."[2] Compensation was offered, which is not always the case—witness the emancipation of the slaves in the United States.[3] Neither, indeed,

[1] Kloss and Jouast—who are in substantial accord—are my authorities for the foregoing. These writers rely on the following publications. The numbers within parenthesis refer to the Bibliographie der Fremaurerei by Dr Kloss. Statuts et Reglements de la Grande Loge de France, arrêté par deliberation du 14 Aout 1771 (203 and 4122); Grand Elu, etc., Paris, 1781 (1916); La très R.G.L. de France a toutes les loges regulières, June 24, 1771 (4121); Procès-Verbal de la scéance, etc., du 18 Juin 1772 (4123); La très R.G.L. de France a toutes les loges regulières, May 18, 1772 (4124); Extrait des régistres de la Souv. G.L. de France, September 12, 1772 (4126); Mémoire Justificatif, 1772 (4128); La Grande Loge Nat. de France a toutes, etc., 1773 (4129); Statuts du Grand Orient de France, etc., 1773 (4130); Extrait des Registres, etc. (4131); La très R.G.L. de France à toutes, etc., 1773 (4132); Au Grand Orient de France, etc. (4341).

[2] *Per* Lord Hardwick, C., in the debate on the Bill for abolishing Scottish heritable offices and jurisdictions, the retention of which had been guaranteed by the articles of Union (Campbell, Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. v., p. 113).

[3] "Ancient as well as modern history is full of instances illustrating the absurdity of irremovable laws. Every one knows that the North American States made a compact when they formed the Union not to interfere with the institution of slavery in the slave States. But nevertheless slavery was abolished by a proclamation of President Lincoln" (Mr Jacob Norton in the *Freemasons' Chronicle*, Jan. 11, 1879).

could the Masters raise any valid objection to their privileges having been cut down by a mixed body of metropolitan and provincial deputies, because, on August 14, 1771, they had themselves enacted Article I. of the first new Statutes. They might certainly have contended that the compensation offered was inadequate, and have said, "If *you* prefer a new Grand Lodge, well and good, *we* are satisfied with the old one, and will revive it by virtue of our inherent authority." This is what they practically did, but when they proceeded to stigmatise the new body as illegal, they went altogether beyond their province. Both parties, therefore, were strictly "within their rights," and to cast imputations upon one or the other is manifestly unjust. Nor can either of them be denominated a rabble—certainly not the brilliant assembly of the new Lodge, and with equal certainty not the older body, because, in spite of the possibly worthless character of Labady[1] himself, it comprised within its ranks many honourable men, and some who were highly distinguished both by their social position and intellectual attainments. A very peculiar fact is, that the Council of the Emperors was quite overlooked in the new Statutes, so much so that they soon showed themselves again as an independent body.

1773.—August 13.—Sitting of the Judicial Commission. De-la-Chaussée *v.* Labady. Seventeenth meeting. Report. 1. The commission refers the validity of constitutions delivered during the recess to the Grand Orient. 2. De-la-Chaussée to make a stipulated declaration before the next assembly. 3. The money alleged to be owing is remitted for want of proof. 5. The fine of 6 *livres* formally imposed is unjustified. 6. General acquittal. The declaration stipulated for, and which he eventually most handsomely made, was to the effect that he was sorry he had published his *Mémoire*, or that it should be considered that he intended to injure any person, which was far from being his intention. Labady is convicted of having maliciously renewed on April 18, 1772, unfounded charges, of which he had himself acquitted De-la-Chaussée on January 29 previously, and of having failed to clear himself of Chaussée's countercharges. He is therefore suspended for nine months, and other charges made against him by private Lodges are left to the judgment of the Grand Orient.

September 1.—National Grand Lodge. Chaussée reinstated and made a Grand Officer.

September 10.—The Grand Lodge issued a circular stamped with the old seal, and calculated in many ways to lead to confusion, especially as it made use of Montmorency's name, and was signed by Duret and Labady, names familiar in another capacity to the Provinces. Montmorency forgot himself in his anger, and obtained a *lettre de cachet* under which Labady and Duret were imprisoned, in order to force them to deliver up the documents, seals, and archives of the old Lodge. They were shortly released, but without the desired effect being produced. The Emperors made common cause with the Grand Lodge at first, but after 1775 *circa* were once more quite independent, although we do not hear much more of them. Labady became their Secretary-General, and in 1780 they erected a bust to this Masonic martyr, bearing the punning lines, "Whilst abhorring vice, fly the *pit of perdition*" (*La Chaussée de perdition*). A librarian by profession, he appears to have made an income by selling cheap rituals, those of the Emperors included.

The Composition of the new body as finally settled by the last board meeting of June 26, 1773, was a distinct advance on any previous Grand Lodge in France. The entire brother-

[1] According to a circular of the Duke of Luxemburg—March 18, 1775—he was once more excluded by his own Grand Lodge about the end of 1774, after which we only hear of him in connection with the Emperors.

hood, or confederacy, which took the title of Grand Orient, and met for the festivals, was composed of all the Worshipful Masters or their deputies. Out of these members, 77 were chosen to form the *Grande Loge Nationale*, viz., the Grand Master, Grand Administrator, and Grand Conservator, 15 *officiers d'honneur* of the Grand Orient, at their head being the representative of the G.M.; 45 officers (*en exercice*)—composing the subsidiary boards—7 Lodge Masters of Paris, and 7 of the Provinces. The *Grande Loge Nationale* thus constituted, met quarterly. The subsidiary boards were—1. The *Loge de Conseil* or Chamber of Appeal. 2. The *Chambre d'Administration* or Board of General Purposes. 3. The *Chambre de Paris* or Metropolitan Board; and 4. The *Chambre des Provinces* for the Lodges outside Paris. The three superior officers were elected *ad vitam*, and the honorary officers for the whole duration of the Grand Master's tenure; the working Officers, *i.e.*, the other 45, went out by thirds each twelve-month, but were eligible for re-election by the Grand Orient. On December 27, 1773, the *Grande Loge Nationale* was dissolved as such, and its members from thenceforth constituted the *Loge de Conseil*, meeting monthly. In its place the whole of the Grand Orient was to meet quarterly, so that at last we see every Lodge represented by its Master or Deputy in the governing body. From that date, therefore, the *Grande Loge Nationale à l'Orient de Paris* became the *Grand Orient de France.*

Up to October 14 the Grand Master had refused to receive the deputations from Grand Lodge. On that day he received them, and appointed the date of his installation. It was to take place after his return from a visit to Fontainebleau.

1773.—October 22.—Installation of the Duc de Chartres.

December 27.—*Grand Orient* constituted as above. A commission consisting of Bacon de la Chevalerie, Count Stroganoff, and Baron Toussainct[1] was appointed to revise and examine all the high degrees, and all Lodges were directed to work meanwhile in the three symbolic degrees only.

December 27.—The Grand Lodge—professing to work under the auspices of the Duc de Chartres—appointed its officers in his name, inveighed against the Grand Orient as illegal, and forbade its members to visit Lodges of the rival body. It assumed as its full title "*Très respectable Grande Loge, seul et unique Grand Orient de France.*"

1774.—March 7.—Grand Orient. Proposal to establish thirty-two Provincial Grand Lodges in order to lighten the labours of Grand Orient. Subsequently carried on October 20, but the resolution produced little effect, as there were never more than four or five established. In 1806 they were declared unnecessary, and in 1810 were entirely done away with.[2]

June 24.—Resolution not to admit artisans until they shall have attained the Mastership in their trade. Domestic servants were declared ineligible, except as serving brothers. In the course of this year, members of the theatrical profession were precluded from receiving the privileges of the Craft, on the ground of their being too dependent on the favour of the public. An exception was made, however, in the case of musicians.

Deputies to Grand Orient were only allowed to represent in future five Lodges each, and Grand Orient formally approved of Lodges of Adoption in which ladies were admitted to ceremonies somewhat resembling Freemasonry. These Lodges soon became most brilliant

[1] They became members of the Strict Observance, which may possibly account for their never executing their commission.

[2] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 198; *post*, pp. 167, 168.

assemblies, that is, having regard to the persons who took part in them, especially under the Empire, but inasmuch as they are scarcely of Masonic interest I shall not further allude to them.

1774.—August 12.—The Grand Orient having completed its new premises in the *Rue* Pot-de-Fer, took possession of them. The grand address on this occasion was delivered by De Lalande.

September 9.—A new Lodge, *St Jean de Chartres*, was constituted at Mousseaux near Paris, for H.S.H. the Duc de Chartres, in which he occupied the Master's chair.

December 27.—On the proposal of Luxemburg the Honorary Grand Officers were in future to hold their offices subject to re-election every three years, and their appointment was left in the hands of the Grand Orient.

In this year—1774—three Templar Directories were formed at Lyons, Bordeaux, and Strassburg.[1] The Grand Orient is stated to have been at the head of 144 Lodges, of which 64 had been constituted or rectified during the year,[2] and the Grand Lodge had constituted 3 new ones.[3]

1775.—February 3.—The Inquisition dispersed the *Mère Loge du Comtat Venaissin*,[4] and during the year the old Grand Lodge warranted eight Lodges.[5]

1776.—March 24.—The Grand Orient replaced the former committee to inquire into the high grades, by Guillotin, Savalette de Langes, Morin, De-la-Chaussée, and De Lalande.

May 31.—From the beginning of 1775 a commission had been engaged in formulating a compact between the Scots Directories of the IInd., IIIrd., and Vth. Provinces and the Grand Orient. Several of the Commissioners representing the Grand Orient were already members of the Strict Observance system, so that we need not be surprised that the treaty concluded on this date was more advantageous to the Directories than to the Grand Orient. The Templar Lodges were to use their own ritual and obey their own Superiors, but had to be chartered by the Grand Orient, and pay fees to that body, returning also a list of their members. Mutual visiting was to be permitted, and although a French Mason was not allowed to belong to two French Lodges at one and the same time, he might under this Concordat belong to one Lodge under each of the two contracting systems.[6] Many French Lodges protested, and for two especial reasons. By the treaty French Masons were rendered subject to "Unknown" (and presumably *foreign*) "Superiors," which Superiors were themselves no party to the contract. It is probable that the success of the Scots Philosophic Rite,[7] a Scots system purely French, may be ascribed to the feeling of patriotism thus awakened?

The circular of June 24, 1776, announcing the conclusion of the treaty, was not issued till later, and contains an appendix of August 19, with a list of 205 Lodges—Paris, 34; Provincial, 148; Regimental, 23. Some, however, are described as dormant.[8] In the same year the Lodge "*Neuf Sœurs*" (Nine Muses) was founded by De Lalande. It comprised much of the literary, artistic, and scientific talent of Paris. Among the members were Benjamin Franklin, Vernet, Greuze, Lacépède, Helvetius, and *Paul Jones!*

[1] *Ante*, p. 107 (Strict Observance).
[2] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frank., vol. i., p. 204.
[3] Thory, Annales Originis, p. 35.
[4] *Ante*, p. 117.
[5] Thory, Annales Originis, p. 35.
[6] The 12 articles of compact are given in full by Kloss, Geschichte der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 210-212.
[7] *Ante*, p. 117.
[8] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frank., vol., i., p. 227.

On April 7, 1778, a few weeks before his death, Voltaire, whose pungent pen had previously satirised Masonry, was initiated in this Lodge.

1776.—December 9.—The Grand Orient refused to recognise the *Contrat Social* as a Mother-Lodge, and ordered it to either withdraw its pretensions or submit to erasure. This recent head of the new Scots Philosophic Rite replied by electing a Grand Master, and constituting a Lodge at Rome (December 31), also by a circular discountenancing Templar degrees (February 20, 1777). On May 18, 1778, the Lodge was erased, to which it replied by a circular—July 5, 1778—which procured it the adhesion of many Lodges.[1]

1777.—July 3.—Grand Orient. The Duc de Chartres attended for the first time since his installation, and it is the only occasion on which he is mentioned as being present.

October 3.—Circular of the Grand Orient[2] chiefly respecting the high degrees. It adverts to the committee as being still at work on the subject, and counsels the Lodges to await the end of its labours, and meanwhile to confine themselves to three degrees. We may almost assume that the document owes its origin to the increasing influence of the Scots Philosophic Rite, and of another recent invention, the Sublime Elects of Truth, whose field lay chiefly in Rennes and the north of France. It was, however, powerless to prevent the rise in 1778 of yet another Rite, the Academy of True Masons, at Montpellier, with alchemical tendencies.[3]

Of the Grand Lodge all we know is that on January 19, 1777, it installed three representatives of the Grand Master—still assumed to be the Duc de Chartres; and that according to Thory it constituted five Lodges.

November 21.—The Grand Orient forbade its Lodges to assemble in taverns.

To insure the exclusion of irregular Masons, the *mot de Semestre*[4] was introduced in this year, the knowledge of which was necessary to obtain admission to a strange Lodge. It was changed half-yearly, and communicated through the Masters of Lodges.

1778.—January 18.—The Grand Lodge published a circular, to which was attached a list of its Lodges. It enumerates 200 Paris Masters of Lodges, besides 27 absent and 247 in the provinces. Now as the Masters of the five Paris columns in 1773 were only 81 in number, and Thory, the great partisan of this Grand Lodge, has only claimed that in the interval it had constituted 16 Lodges, if we admit that these were all Paris Lodges, and also that the list of 81 was not a complete list of all the Paris Masters, we shall still have great difficulty in converting the number from 81 to 200! We also know for a fact that many of the 81 Masters joined the G.O. Therefore we are driven to the conclusion that the number of Masters by no means corresponded with that of the Lodges, in fact that the great majority of these Masters had no Lodges to preside over. As regards the provinces, Jouast asserts, after due comparison, that many of these Lodges were also on the list of the Grand Orient, and suggests that the Grand Lodge simply continued to carry forward all such as had not actually announced their affiliation with the former.

February 26.—The Grand Orient published a list,[5] in all 258 Lodges, of which there were in Paris 34 and 7 dormant, in regiments 30 and 1 dormant. In this list a Lodge in the Irish Regiment "Walsh," quartered at Bapaume, claims as its date of constitution March 25, 1688! It is scarcely necessary to refute this assumption. Of foreign Lodges we find 4 at St

[1] Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 230, 231.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 243. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 245. [4] *Cf. post*, p. 167. [5] Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

Domingo, 5 at Guadaloupe, and 1 at Martinique. Of Strict Observance Lodges there are 6, besides 3 Directories.

1778.—November 25 to December 27.—The *Convent des Gaules*—under the Strict Observance—was held at Lyons.[1]

For the next few years nothing very remarkable is to be recorded of the rival Grand bodies, but the systems opposed to either or both of them began to multiply exceedingly and to wax strong. In 1768 the Martinistes, confined hitherto to Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles, made a settlement in Paris; in 1770 the *Illuminés* of Avignon came to the front; and in 1780 the Emperors had apparently recovered momentarily some strength and consistency.

1779.—October 8.—On this date Cagliostro founded his Egyptian Rite in a Strassburg Lodge, and this androgynous and immoral system had arrived at such favour in 1784 that the Duke of Luxemburg actually accepted the dignity of a Grand Master Protector.[2] In the same year the Lodge *Constance* at Arras erected the *Chapitre Primordial de Rose Croix.* Its patent is alleged to have been granted by the Pretender, Charles Edward, April 18, 1745.[3] According to Thory's version it commences, "We, Charles Edward Stuart, King of England;"[4] whilst Jouast[5] gives it as "*prétendant roi d'Angleterre*"! It will be sufficient to point out that Charles Edward did not call himself "King" during his father's lifetime, or *pretender* at any time. The use of the latter term indeed he very naturally left to others. Moreover, no historian has yet shown that he ever was in Arras, where, according to this legend, he remained for a period of *six months*—whilst we have it on his own authority that he never was a Freemason at all.[6]

1780.—In this year the Chapter at Arras founded another in the capital under the title of *Chapitre d'Arras, de la Vallée de Paris,* with constituent rights, which it exercised to a large extent, and finally went over—with its progeny—to the Grand Orient in 1801. The original Chapter at Arras remained, however, independent.[7] In 1779 Count Schmettau, who had some thirty years previously carried the Scots degrees to Berlin, imported the Zinnendorff Rite into Paris, and established a Lodge there;[8] and in the following year—1780—the Lodge *Amis Réunis* (Philalethes) began to make progress with its system, and was immediately followed by the Philadelphes of Narbonne.[9]

1781.—March 6.—The Scots Directory of the Strict Observance for Septimania at Montpellier became a party to the pact already subsisting between the Grand Orient and the other Directories.

July 11.—Grand Lodge issued a circular and a list of Lodges. Of the Masters of 1772, 47 were still in existence; 4 Lodges date from 1774, 7 from 1775, 8 from 1776, 5 from 1777, 9 from 1778, 18 from 1779, 7 from 1780, and 3 from 1781; there were also 28 provincial Lodges: in all, 136.[10]

November 5.—Compact between the Grand Orient and the Scots Philosophic Rite.[11]

1782.—January 18.—The Grand Orient erected a Chamber of Grades to continue and conclude the work of the committee previously appointed. With such a number of rivals all conferring high degrees it became urgent to take some step or other.

December 27.—Grand Orient. A question arose as to the eligibility of a blind candidate.

[1] *Ante*, p. 107. [2] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 257, 280.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 257. [4] Thory, Annales Originis, p. 184. [5] Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient, p. 84.
[6] *Ante*, pp. 78, 110. [7] Thory, Annales Originis, p. 184.
[8] *Pace*, A circular of the Philalethes (March 1780) quoted by Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 264. [9] *Ante*, p. 119.
[10] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 272. [11] *Ante*, p. 117.

Given in his favour by 24 votes to 19. The minutes were not confirmed on January 21, 1783, and on April 4 ensuing a contrary decision was arrived at. In 1803, however, after the Egyptian campaign, owing to the prevalence of ophthalmia among the officers, blindness ceased to be a bar to admission.[1]

1783.—May 16.—Circular of the Grand Orient calling upon its Lodges to send copies of all high grade rituals in their possession to the Chamber of Grades, as a help to its labours.

We now approach a very remarkable series of events, which ultimately relieved the Chamber of Grades of its commission, by placing in its hands four extra degrees all ready made—culminating in that of the Rose Croix. Kloss produces cogent reasons for looking upon the whole transaction as a pre-arranged drama calculated to supply the Grand Orient with what a brand new rite would have lacked, *i.e.*, a respectable antiquity. It is, however, very evident that the *Rite Français*, as we shall presently see, was invented neither by the commission nor the Chamber of Grades, but simply accepted by the latter. Here I must express regret that space will only admit of my giving the most material facts, and compels me to withhold a full narrative of the many curious incidents connected with this movement.[2]

Among the Paris Lodges dependent upon the Grand Orient at the beginning of 1784 there were 9, each of which possessed a Rose Croix Chapter. As I have been unable to discover by what body these Chapters were warranted—they had nothing to do with the Chapter of Arras—it is probable that they were self-constituted. Roëttiers de Montaleau, the most conspicuous Mason of post-revolutionary days, was a member of one of these fraternities.

1784.—January 18.—Montaleau brought forward in his Chapter a most comprehensive plan which was to redound to the benefit of the Rose Croix grade, and a committee was appointed to secure the co-operation of other Chapters under the Grand Orient.

February 2.—Present 80 Knights Rose Croix, representing seven Chapters; Montaleau, Grand Orator, proposed that the seven Chapters should unite and form a *Grand Chapitre Général de France*, to gradually attract and absorb all other Sovereign Chapters, and form the sole constitutive capitular body in France. A pact of union in 8 articles was then and there drawn up and agreed to. Three only of these need be further adverted to. Article 6. Affiliation will only be conceded to Chapters grafted on Lodges under the Grand Orient. Article 8. Grand Chapter resolves to at once prepare a simplified revision of all existing high degrees. This, we see, was practically undertaking the work confided to the Chamber of Grades. Article 7 ordered statutes to be drawn up.

March 19.—Grand Chapter General. New statutes approved and confirmed.

It will be perceived that the Chapter was less dilatory than the Chamber of Grades; also that the assertions of Thory and his followers that this body was the result of a fusion between the Emperors and the Knights is unfounded.

October.—Grand Orient. Waltersdorff complained of these proceedings in G.O., which, as he was one of those who met in Grand Chapter General, looks like a piece of pre-arranged bye-play.

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 277.

[2] To give some idea of the compression requisite, in order to bring so many divisions of the subject within the limits of a *general* history, it will suffice to mention that Kloss, who rarely uses a superfluous word, fills a *thousand* pages in his history of the French Craft alone! See, however, *ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 338, lines 2-7.

1784.—November 20.—The Grand Chapter General seized the opportunity procured by Waltersdorff's speech to declare that it was only "acting for the greater honour of G.O., and in order to lay its acquired light at the feet of G.O. so soon as that body should decide to use its undoubted right of conferring high degrees." After this the G.O. and Grand Chapter enter into *pourparlers*, and Act I. is closed. But if the fusion had then taken place the Grand Orient would only have possessed a usurped authority with no flavour of antiquity, so the curtain rises on Act II.

Dr Humbert Gerbier de Werschamp now appears upon the scene claiming to be the sovereign authority in Rose Croix matters. He produced three documents in support of his claim. 1. In Latin, given at the Orient of the World and Sanctuary of Edinburgh, January 21, 1721, constituting a Grand Chapter, Rose Croix, at Paris, for France, in favour of the Duc d'Antin. This voucher was very unskilfully manufactured, for, not to mention the alleged Edinburgh authority, it must be remembered that there was no Freemasonry in France before 1725 at the earliest. Also that the Duc d'Antin was not made Grand Master until 1738—in fact in 1721 he was only fourteen years of age, and then *Duc d'Epernon*, his grandfather the *Duc d'Antin* being still alive.[1] But it was necessary before all things to produce an earlier authority than that of the Chapter of Arras (1745). 2. A certificate from the Lodge of Perfect Union at Paris, signed Antin, under the date June 23, 1721 (!) in favour of Brother Quadt as a Chevalier Rose Croix. This was to prove that Antin's Chapter had really been at work. 3. A certificate, dated February 6, 1760, signed by De Tellins—who is not otherwise known—Substitute-General of the Count de Clermont, from the Grand Chapter of France, appointing Gerbier *Très Sage ad vitam* of the said Chapter. These documents are worthless, really beneath contempt. One is known to have been manufactured in a *Café*, and the wine stains are plainly perceptible; but they answered the required purpose, and are preserved in the archives of the Grand Orient, constituting, in effect, the foundation of its claim to control the high degrees. Owing to these parchments, no Frenchman, in the midst of all the ensuing party strife, ever questioned the right of the Grand Orient to confer the 18° or Rose Croix grade. But the old Paris Masters were not to be outdone; they immediately concocted another fabulous genealogy, proving the existence of a Chapter connected with *their* Lodge, dating from still earlier times, *viz.*, 1686! and managed to bring over the Arras Chapters in Paris to their side.

As regards this last date it was apparently thought necessary to produce an earlier authority than the *alleged* Charter of the Walsh regiment of 1688,[2] so as to make the Chapter referred to the first of its kind in France. Space, however, forbids my pursuing these curious speculations at any greater length.

1785.—March 24.—Treaty of fusion in thirteen articles between the *Chapitre Général de France* and Gerbier's *Grand Chapitre de France*. Gerbier deposited his papers in the archives, ceded his rights, received the title of Past G.M.; and Roëttiers de Montaleau was appointed G.M. of the Rose Croix.—Close of Act II.

We now come to an interlude *not* arranged by the Grand Orient.

December 13.—A self-constituted Chapter at Rouen asked for affiliation, which was refused, but reconstitution was offered. With this the Lodge was not satisfied, and applied to the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning at Edinburgh for a patent.

[1] Daruty, Recherches sur le Rite Ecossais, p. 94.

[2] *Ante*, p. 157.

1786.—February 17.—Opening of Act III. The Grand Orient resolved to amalgamate with the Grand Chapter, and commissioners were appointed.

May 1.—The Royal Order of Scotland grants to Jean Mathéus of Rouen a patent as Provincial Grand Master of all France. His installation followed on August 26, and Louis Clavel was named Deputy Grand Master. Thus arose a fresh rival system to that of the Grand Orient. In 1811 this system comprised twenty-six Lodges and Chapters.[1]

1787.—July 13.—The Grand Orient approves of a Treaty of Fusion in twenty-four articles between the Grand Orient and the Grand Chapter. The Grand Chapter follows suit on August 4, and a circular of September 20, conveys the information to the Lodges. Article 6 provides that the Chapter shall in future be called *Chapitre Metropolitain*, receiving a patent from Grand Orient, recognising its activity from March 21, 1721. Article 11, the present Orders, *i.e.*, collections of grades, in number 4—worked by the Chapter, are to be continued till otherwise decreed. The ritual was never altered in any great degree, so that we have here, the four extra degrees of the French Grand Orient, denominated the Modern or French Rite. The first order comprised all the Kadosch or degrees of Vengeance, renamed Secret Elect; the second, the Scots degrees, called the Order of the Scottish Knights; the third, the Crusading degrees, under the style of Knights of the East and West; and the fourth, the Christian or Rose Croix degrees, under the appellation Knights of the Eagle and Pelican. Article 15 provides for new Statutes.

1788.—August 13.—Installation of the Metropolitan Chapter. End of Act III.

November 21.—Epilogue. Rearrangement of the Grand Orient into the three following Boards:—Of Administration, of Symbolic Freemasonry, and of High Degrees.

December 5.—New Statutes approved and communicated by circular of January 19, 1789, also a list showing forty-five Chapters at work. And thus the curtain falls on this very pretty little comedy.[2]

Nothing of very great importance remains to be recorded anterior to the French Revolution. Both systems (G.O. and G.L.) apparently continued to prosper until 1788 or 1789, at which time they arrived at their greatest prosperity. Then came the political troubles, and one by one the Lodges closed. The *Etât* of the Grand Orient, November 16, 1787, enumerates 636 Lodges, of which 30 were dormant. Of these, 35 were in the colonies, 71 in various regiments, 17 in foreign countries, and 67 in Paris.[3] The Grand Lodge *Etât* of 1788[4] shows 88 Paris, and 43 Provincial and Colonial Lodges, the latter being mostly warranted during the years 1780-87. Under the *two* governing (or Grand) bodies, there were therefore 767 Lodges (more or less), and if we add to these the Lodges of the Scots Philosophic Rite (37) of the Philalethes, the Illuminés, the Royal Order of Scotland, the various Scots Mother-Lodge systems, and the English Lodge (No. 204) at Bordeaux, the number might easily reach 900 or more. The first to close its doors was the Philosophic Rite—July 31, 1791—on the 16th it had sent a circular to its Lodges, advising them to cease from working, if required to do so by the magistrates, and not to forget their duty towards their sovereign, Louis XVI. It is therefore not at all surprising to find that many of its members fell victims to the guillotine.

[1] Thory gives a list of these; two were Colonial, two Italian, and one was at Brussels (Annales Originis, p. 173).

[2] For further details see Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 280-330.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

1791.—In this year the Grand Lodge ceased to meet, and on October 13 the French branch of Royal Order of Scotland. The Grand Orient constituted two Lodges, and in 1792 three more. On February 24, 1793, it issued a circular, stating that it had taken precautions to preserve the archives, and on the same date the Grand Master, the Duke of Orleans, published the following abject manifesto in the *Journal de Paris.*[1]

"From Citizen *Egalité* to Citizen Milscent.

" . . . Notwithstanding my quality of Grand Master, I am unable to give you any information concerning these matters to me unknown. . . . However this may be, the following is my Masonic history:—At a time when truly no one foresaw our Revolution, I joined Freemasonry, which presents a sort of picture of equality, just as I entered parliament, which presented also a sort of picture of freedom. Meanwhile I have exchanged the shadow for the substance. Last December the Secretary of the G. Orient applied to the person who in my household filled the post of Secretary of the G.M., in order to hand me a question relating to the affairs of this Society. I replied to him under date of January 5, as follows:—'As I know nothing of the composition of Grand Lodge, and moreover do not believe that there should exist any mystery, nor any secret assembly in a republic, more especially at the commencement of its rule, I desire in no way to be mixed up with the Grand Orient, nor with the assemblies of Freemasons.' . . . L. P. J. Egalité."

On August 8, 1793, the Grand Orient published a circular announcing that on May 13 the office of Grand Master had been declared vacant. In the usual stamps impressed on this document the *fleurs-de-lys* had been effaced.

1794.—In this year—it may be remarked—Freemasonry in France had practically ceased to exist.

Three Lodges only in Paris had the courage to continue working throughout the reign of terror. The W.M. of one of these, the *Amis Réunis*, was Roëttiers de Montaleau, whose acquaintance we have already made. Born at Paris in 1748, he was made in the celebrated Scots Mother-Lodge of Marseilles in 1772, and joined the Grand Orient in 1780; in 1785 became G.M. of Grand Chapter; in 1788, President of the Chamber of Paris, and in 1793, of the Chamber of Administration, his predecessor having been removed by the guillotine. He was subsequently imprisoned, but July 28, 1794, which restored so many wretched *détenus* to their liberty, broke his bonds also. Thory attributes to him the preservation of the G.O. archives. In 1795 he ventured to summon the remnant of the Grand Orient together with other Masons not previously eligible; and to resume work. If we consider that the members of Grand Orient had in great part consisted of personages attached in one way or another to the court of Louis XVI., we shall not be surprised to find that even on June 24, 1797, the number which assembled was only forty. Montaleau was offered the post of G.M., which he modestly declined, but accepted, however, the title of Most Worshipful (*Grand Vénerable*), and in that capacity presided over Grand Lodge. The first new constitution was issued to a Geneva Lodge June 17, 1796; and the report of June 24 only includes eighteen Lodges, of which three met at Paris.

1796.—October 17.—Grand Lodge also reassembled for the first time since 1792. This governing body found itself in an even worse plight than its chief rival. In the Grand Orient certain members were dispersed, others killed, and the same may be said of each private

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, pp. 325-328.

Lodge, but these at least retained the power of revival as soon as a few members once more met together. But with the Grand Lodge, if a Paris Master was killed or had fled, his Lodge, being proprietary, became extinct, and it is asserted that, at the period we are considering, very few of the perpetual Masters remained alive.

Montaleau saw his opportunity arrive, and at once seized it. He made personal overtures to the Grand Lodge, which lasted for more than a year, but were ultimately crowned with success. On May 3, 1799, he was able to inform the G.O. that the Grand Lodge was ready to accede to a fusion. A committee was appointed, and on May 20 Grand Lodge also named its commissioners. On May 21 a contract in nine articles was drawn up, and agreed to by the G.O. on May 23, and by the Grand Lodge on June 9. Article 1 abolished Perpetual Masters. Article 2 prolonged their tenure of office for nine years, and provided for certain honourable compensations. Article 3 withdrew the appointment of officers from the W.M., and conferred it on the Lodge. The others need not be specially alluded to.

1799.—June 22.—Formal junction of the two Grand bodies. June 28, grand festival. There were present 4 Past Grand Officers, the first on the list being Lalande. Among the 28 officials of the Grand Orient there were 5, and among the 15 W.M.'s, 9, of the old Grand Lodge.[1]

The following figures will show the rate at which the Craft recovered itself in these early years. On December 27, 1800, we know of 74 Lodges which had resumed work, and of these, 23 were in Paris. In 1802 there were 114 Lodges, of which 27 were in Paris, also 37 Chapters,[2] seem to have been in existence at that time.

1801.—June 24.—The Scots Philosophic Rite recommenced work under the lead of the Lodge *St Jean d'Ecosse*, the "Social Contract" having almost taken its last sleep during the Revolution.

The Grand Lodge having united with the G.O., it was only natural that its former Chapter and all the dependent Chapters of Arras should follow suit. It will be sufficient to state that this final step was completed on December 24, 1801.

But although the Grand Orient had thus made an ally of its former most powerful rival, many others still remained in the field. The Philalethes had died out during the Revolution, and the Scots Directories of the Strict Observance were still dormant; but the Provincial Chapter of Arras, the Scots Mother-Lodge of Marseilles, the Scots Philosophic Rite, and the Royal Order of Scotland, besides various other smaller Rites unnecessary to name, were warranting Lodges and Chapters in every direction. Even many of its own Lodges, not content with a single comprehensive Scots grade—the *Rite Français*—had opened Lodges and Chapters to work one or more of the Scots degrees, whose number was infinite, and the latter found a leader in Abraham, the publisher of a Masonic paper called the *Mirror*.[3] Members of these Scots Lodges—grafted on the Grand Orient Lodges—assumed airs of superiority, and at last, in 1801, appeared at the Lodge *Réunion des Etrangers* at Paris in clothing unrecognised by the G.O. The result was an official indictment

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 358. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] A curious circumstance in all these quarrels is, that we invariably find one and the same member highly placed in two or more rites that were fighting to the death. To give a solitary example: Thory was the life and soul of the Scots Philosophic Rite, yet from 1804 to 1813 he was also Treasurer of the Grand Chapter of the Grand Orient, and a member of it still in 1814. In 1808 he was Tersata or G.M. of the Royal Order of Scotland in Paris, and until 1821 he was the Secretary of the Holy Empire in the Supreme Council of the A.A.S.R. 33°.

of their proceedings on November 17, and again on March 25, 1802. This was met by a circular from Abraham in June 1802 calling upon the Scots Masons to rally round the standard. A meeting of the Scots Masons was accordingly held on August 5, and elicited another circular from the G.O. on November 12, 1802; the ultimate result being a very embittered feeling on both sides.[1]

1803.—August 5.—The Grand Orient resolved to reappoint *Grands Officiers Honoraires*.[2] This was an institution dating from Luxemburg's time, by which all officers of the Grand Orient were duplicated, one set for active service, the other for show on state occasions, the latter class being of course composed of very highly placed court personages. On this occasion the leading idea was, that by appointing generals and other military officers, and state officials, the active support of the First Consul would be acquired. Among the Honorary Officers and members actually elected on September 30 then ensuing, may be mentioned Murat, the Governor of Paris; Lacépède, the Director of the *Jardin des Plantes;* De Lalande, Director of the Observatory; Generals Beurnonville and Macdonald, and Marshal Kellermann. Meanwhile French Freemasonry followed the French arms, and increased so remarkably that on March 23, 1804, upwards of 300 Lodges were in existence, and a corresponding number of Rose Croix Chapters.[3] But although outwardly prosperous, the spirit of Masonry had to a great extent departed, to make way for a fulsome adulation of Napoleon, far exceeding the bounds of loyalty so properly set up in all countries by the Craft. Lodges were convoked for no other purpose than to celebrate the victories of the French idol of the day. Even the orators ceased to confine themselves to Masonic themes, in order to vaunt the majesty and power of the French army—and of its hero. This excess of patriotism naturally led to very awkward results in 1814; and a continuance of the practice was followed by very similar consequences at every subsequent change of Government. Yet although this feature of Continental Freemasonry need not be further dwelt upon, it must not, however, be forgotten that our French brethren might have adduced very weighty reasons for the habit into which they had fallen. The Craft there has never existed by virtue of the freedom of the subject—to assemble when and where he likes, provided he transgresses not the law. It has never rested on any such solid basis, but simply on the sufferance of the civil authorities, and at this very moment—*i.e.*, even under the third Republic—a mere police decree might compel every Lodge in France to close its doors. Ought we therefore, in fairness, to wonder very greatly that the French Masons have always been time-servers, or that they should have abased themselves at successive periods, "with a boundless docility," at the shrine of authority?

In 1804 Hacquet appeared on the scene with his revived Rite of Perfection 25°, and De Grasse-Tilly with the A. and A.S.R. 33°. Around the latter rallied all the disaffected Scots Masons, and the Scots Philosophic Rite granted them the use of its temple. From January 11 to September 1804, Tilly lavished his 32 and 33 degrees right and left, and erected his Supreme Council 33°; and on October 22, 1804, the *Grande Loge Générale Ecossaise* was constituted, all the various Scots rites assisting and becoming constituent parts of that Grand Lodge. Even the *Rite Philosophique* for a time effaced itself, in spite of Thory's assertions, for on September 6, 1805, it was distinctly agreed[4] "from this day the Lodge St Jean d'Ecosse *resumes* its title and attributes of a Mother-Lodge." This to a certain extent was an

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 378-400.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 399.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 408.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 470.

advantage to the Grand Orient, as it reduced its innumerable rivals to one body, with whom it might be possible to treat. The new Grand Lodge had, without his previous consent, proclaimed Prince Louis Buonaparte as its head. The Grand Orient replied on November 7, 1804,[1] by resolving to petition the Princes Joseph and Louis Buonaparte, and Marshal Murat to accept its highest offices. But here, as we know by repeated statements of Cambacères at a later period, the Emperor himself stepped in, and directed his brother Joseph to accept the office of Grand Master, and the Arch-Chancellor, Prince Cambacères, that of Deputy G.M., holding the latter directly responsible for the good conduct of the Craft and for its internal peace. In fact, as events proved, the astute Emperor was apprehensive lest by altogether suppressing the Craft he might encounter the attendant ill-will of such a numerous body, and therefore resolved to make it subservient to his interests, and keep it under the powerful control of his most trusted Minister. From that time every one who wished to please the Emperor became a Freemason, and the highest officials were soon made members and officers of the Grand Orient. That Cambacères thoroughly understood his mission, and with a firm hand kept peace among the rival factions, will shortly become clear. No sooner was the Grand Scots Lodge established, than Roëttiers de Montaleau took measures to avert the blow, and caused negotiations to be opened for a union. Marshal Massena represented the Grand Orient, and Marshal Kellermann the Scots Masons, and when matters were somewhat in trim they were joined by Montaleau and Pyron. But here again we are startled to find, as was always the case, that all four of the Commissioners were officers of the Grand Orient. Pyron, however, who was a thorough-going partisan of the Supreme Council, eventually libelled the members of the G.O. most infamously, and was suspended for several years. Matters were so hurried that the pact of union was signed before the necessary alterations in the Constitutions of the Grand Orient were settled, and this gave rise to the subsequent quarrels.

At midnight on December 3, 1804, in the palace of Kellermann, the treaty was concluded and signed in duplicate; but Pyron was incomprehensibly allowed to retain both copies. The instrument contained the following passage:—"The G.O. therefore declares that it incorporates *with itself* the brethren of every rite." When Pyron at a later period—March 1, 1805—was forced to deliver up these writings, we may imagine the consternation of the G.O. at reading the following substituted passage:—"The G.O. therefore declares that it incorporates *itself with* the brethren of every rite." This slight distinction represents the different views of the contracting parties. The Scots Masons desired to rule Grand Lodge by force of their high degrees, whilst the Grand Lodge intended to rule all degrees through those members of its body who possessed them. On one hand the 33° was to be supreme; on the other hand it was to be accountable, like every other body, to the Grand Orient in its collective capacity.

1804.—December 5.—Grand Orient. The treaty was approved, and at midnight the Scots Masons, De Grasse-Tilly at their head, were admitted. De Grasse-Tilly and Montaleau each received the oath of fealty to the Grand Orient from the other, one as representative of the G.M. in the Supreme Council, the other as representative of the G.M. in the Grand Orient. Kellermann and Massena were deputed to wait upon his Majesty, and to request him to permit his brothers to preside over the Order.

December 19.—Circular of G.O. announcing the union, and informing its Lodges that in

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 423.

future it would grant warrants of constitution for each and every rite. In order to carry this plan out, it was decided to form a *Grand Chapitre Général* to confer all degrees above the 18° or Rose Croix, which was the limit of jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Chapter. It was therefore necessary to confer the 33° on various members of the Grand Orient, which was accordingly done on the 29th of the same month.[1]

1805.—January 2.—Inauguration of the *Grand Chapitre Général* and election of Grand Officers. Joseph Buonaparte and his brother Louis were proposed as Grand and Deputy Grand Masters.[2] The former was not at that time a Mason, nor did he ever attend a Lodge meeting, although he signed all official documents as G.M., and even certificates of initiation. Rebold[3] asserts that he was made by Cambacères, Kellermann, and Murat on April 15, 1805, at the Tuilleries, and that a circular issued two days later announced the fact to the Lodges. It may be so, but Rebold does not quote his authority, and the circular has escaped the notice of all other writers, even of Thory, who, writing only eleven years afterwards, ought to have been well aware of the fact, if such it were. The exact date of Joseph's accession is somewhat doubtful, for although Jouast says he was appointed by the Emperor—October 11, 1805—Cambacères, on April 27 previously, in promising to attend the meetings of the Grand Orient as often as possible, already speaks of Joseph as the Grand Master. Prince Louis seems never to have been really elected; in fact in 1805 he left for Holland.

July 21.—Circular of the Grand Orient announcing the formation of a Directory of Rites. This Board was to rule all the allied rites, and all such as might in future be aggregated. The members were to be chosen by the body of the Grand Orient, but although necessarily possessing the highest degrees of the various rites, were to be in no way privileged in the Grand Orient or to assert any supremacy over the other members. The new Board, or Grand Committee, of course, destroyed all hopes which the members of the Supreme Council had conceived of ruling the Craft autocratically by virtue of their 33rd degree.

September 6.—Protest of Scots Masons in the palace of Kellermann, and on September 16 the pact of union was declared broken. But here the power of Cambacères made itself felt, and the Supreme Council, instead of at once warranting Lodges, Chapters, Consistories, and other bodies, prudently resigned itself to raising individual Masons to its highest grades; and as the Grand Orient already worked a Rose Croix grade equal to the 18° A. and A.S.R., it merely *advanced* its members on application. So that for years subsequently the Supreme Council of the 33°, instead of being a governing and constitutive body, was nothing more than a private Lodge of the 33°. The Grand Orient, on the other side, although counting among its most faithful members more than one Grand Inspector General, was quite content to let matters remain on this footing. The arrangement has sometimes been called a compact or treaty. It was nothing of the kind; there is no proof that it was even a *verbal* understanding. The fact is, the Supreme Council was simply restrained by Cambacères from aggressive measures, and the G.O. was only too glad to see the threatening danger thus averted. There existed, doubtless, a sort of implied but unexpressed understanding to let matters rest on both sides, but no mutual agreement of any sort, nor did the G.O. ever admit that the compact of union was vitiated. Most of the allied Scots rites recovered their liberty at the same time; Hacquet's Rite of Perfection (Heredom 25°) remained, however, true to the Concordat, and worked under the shield of the Grand Orient, but gradually became extinct.

[1] Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, p. 102. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 98. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

Hacquet himself, although at the head of his own rite, filled nevertheless important offices in the A. and A.S.R. 33°; and De Grasse-Tilly, on the other hand, for many years subsequently appears on the list of officers of the Grand Orient. With the exception of one Consistory of the 32°, which it dissolved in 1810, it was not till 1811 that the Supreme Council began to erect Tribunals, Councils, etc., but not Lodges or Chapters.

1805.—October 21.—Joseph Buonaparte was proclaimed G.M. in the Grand Orient, and on December 13, Prince Cambacères was installed as first *Grand-Maître-Adjoint.*

December 27.—The Grand Orient celebrated the solstitial fête of the Order, and at the same time, the victories of the French armies. At this meeting, "le mot de *semestre,*" which had not been given for many years, was again communicated.[1]

1806.—July 1.—Cambacères was elected Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council 33°, and installed as such August 13.

Shortly afterwards—October 25—he was also elected Honorary Grand Master (*Tersata*) of the Royal Order of Scotland in Paris.

November 17.—The Grand Orient published its new Statutes,[2] chiefly remarkable for suppressing any further erection of Provincial Grand Lodges. It feared they might become powerful rivals. Grand Orient was to be composed of a deputy from each Chapter and Lodge, such deputy to be a resident Parisian. A deputy might represent as many as five Lodges. There were also 169 Grand Officers—viz., 7 Grand Dignitaries, 63 honorary, and 99 working officers, the last-named being chosen from the deputies. These officers formed six Boards (*Ateliers*): I. *Grande-Loge d'Administration;* II. *Grande-Loge Symbolique;* III. *Grand-Chapitre;* IV. *Grande-Loge de Conseil et d'Appel;* V. *Grande-Loge des Grands-Experts;* and VI. *Grand-Directoire des Rites.* A certain number of deputies also served on these Boards, with the exception of No. VI., which was composed exclusively of Grand Officers. The whole scheme was of a most centralising character, and it will be perceived that Provincial Lodges were forced to entrust their affairs to Paris deputies.

The "*Ordre du Temple*" (New Templars) was instituted *circa* 1805, and grafted on "Les Chevaliers de la Croix," a *Lodge*—formed October 14—from which its members were subsequently recruited. The pretensions of this Society—which claimed a lineal descent from the Knights Templars, and did not even profess to be a *Masonic* body—are elsewhere referred to (Chap. XI., § vi.). It ultimately developed religious views of a somewhat peculiar nature, but of its remaining history, it will be sufficient to add, that it lay dormant during the restoration, revived about 1830, and apparently died of inanition about 1845. In 1807[3] a Portuguese called Nuñez grafted on another Paris Lodge the Order of Christ, also a Templar Rite with a Templar degree beyond the 33° of the A. and A.S.R. It erected a few subordinate Chapters at Perpignan, Limoges, Toulouse, etc., but soon died out. A proposed new *Ordre de la Misericorde*[4] in 1807 never acquired any substance. An Order of *St Sépulchre* also arose, and according to Begue-Clavel, died out with its commander, Vice-Admiral Count Allemand, in 1819.[5] The latter was an important personage in the strife between the rival Supreme Councils.[6] It will be seen that the era of new Rites had not yet closed.

1807.—January 29.—The *Rit Primitif de Narbonne* joined the Grand Orient, and deputed three representatives to the *Grand Directoire des Rites.*[7]

[1] Acta Lat., *sub anno.* [2] Kloss, Gesch. der F. in Frank., vol. i., pp. 491, 494 *et seq.* [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 508-517.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ante*, p. 131. [7] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, p. 498.

1807.—March 26.—Cambacères was installed Supreme Chief of the French Rite in the Metropolitan Chapter, and on March 30 *Grand Maître d'honneur* of the *Rite Philosophique.*

April 4.—Death of De Lalande. January 30, 1808, of Roëttiers de Montaleau.

1808.—January 23.—Cambacères installed G.M. of the Order of Christ. February 8.—Montaleau's son—Alex. H. N. Roëttiers de Montaleau—appointed to succeed him as representative of the Grand Master, chiefly as a compliment to his father's memory. He was installed on the 12th.

March 8.—Cambacères was installed G.M. of the *Rit Primitif de Narbonne,* and in June, of the Vth. Province at Strassburg. In March and May 1809 the second and third Provinces at Lyons and Montpellier followed suit. In the same year he was elected Protector of the high alchemical grades of Avignon. Being thus at the head of all the Rites of any importance, we can understand how the peace was kept.

1809.—August 11.—The Grand Orient allowed its Lodges and Chapters to cumulate several rites, *i.e.,* to work as many as they pleased under as many different warrants, all of which were to be obtained from the *Directoire des Rites.*

1810.—December 29.—The existing Provincial Grand Lodges (three in number) were dissolved.[1]

1811.—January 19.—The A. and A.S.R. 33° resolved to commence instituting subordinate bodies beyond the 18°. The fact is, they found that such were being erected without their warrant by private individuals, and their hand was thus forced.

June 24.—Renewal of the former Concordat with the Scots Directories. August 9.—A circular of G.O. was issued, severely censuring certain foreign jurisdictions, and a few French Lodges for refusing to initiate Jews.

1813.—October 27.—The Supreme Council for America recognised the sole authority of the Grand Orient, and sought amalgamation.[2] Political events prevented further action.

Of this period little remains to be recorded. From 1796 to 1813 the G.O. practically acquired sole and supreme authority in Masonic matters, other rites being merely subsidiary or supplementary, but not antagonistic. Its Lodges increased remarkably in France itself, and also beyond the borders, for every fresh conquest meant an increase of French Masonic jurisdiction. In 1813, however, owing to the members being in such great numbers with the army, very many Lodges became dormant. On the restoration in May 1814 of Louis XVIII. almost all the Imperialists who were officials of the G.O. became conspicuous by their absence. The Craft immediately became effusively Royal, and the number of its Lodges dropped suddenly, owing to the reacquired independence of so many European States. During the "Hundred Days" the Craft was once more violently Imperial, and after Waterloo it professed to breathe freely at last, owing to the removal of the Napoleonic incubus. On July 1, 1814,[3] several Lodges united to celebrate the return of Louis XVIII., and their labours were concluded by a unanimous vote and oath to "protect the Lilies, and die in defence of the Bourbons." The Grand Orient made speed to declare the Grand Mastership vacant, and—May 11—voted 1000 francs for the restoration of the Statue of Henri IV., whilst on June 24 its orators expatiated on the joy which Masonry felt in *at length* seeing its legitimate king surrounded by his august family.

According to Rebold's list the progress of the G.O. was as follows:—1803, 60 new

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 119. [2] *Ante,* p. 130. [3] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 123.



COLONEL EDWARD C. MALET DE CARTERET

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER JERSEY

Chapters and Lodges; 1804, 49; 1805, 67; 1806, 47; 1807, 56; 1808, 47; 1809, 44; 1810, 36; 1811, 27; 1812, 27; 1813, 18; 1814, 7—but these figures do not include the *dormant* Lodges which resumed work. The last list under the Empire, published in 1814, gives 764 active Lodges and 290 Chapters in France; in the infantry, 63 Lodges and 24 Chapters; in the cavalry, 7 Lodges and 2 Chapters; in the auxiliary forces, 4 Lodges; in the colonies, 16 Lodges and 7 Chapters; abroad, 31 Lodges and 14 Chapters—in all, 886 Lodges and 337 Chapters. When we remember that after the revolution the report of the G.O. on June 24, 1796, could only enumerate 18 Lodges, it must be confessed that the Craft had advanced by "leaps and bounds." The above list of 1814 also mentions 6 dormant Lodges as about to reopen, and that there were applications for 35 new Lodges and 24 new Chapters, bringing the total number up to 1288! the result of eighteen years' activity.

At this period the G.O. of France was in communication with the Grand Lodges of Baden in Swabia, of the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, of Poland and Lithuania, of the Three Globes at Berlin, of the Duchy of Warsaw, of Vienna, and of the kingdom of Westphalia.[1] The Grand Lodges at Frankfort, Hanover, the Hague, etc., were ignored by French Masons as having no right to exist in territory occupied by France.

One further allusion, which is of historical interest, will be made to Dr Guillotin, an officer of the Grand Orient, who died March 26, 1814. There is the authority of the Grand Orator on June 24 of that year, for the statement that his last days were embittered by the thought, that his name had been so prominently connected with the excesses of the Revolution; the dreaded instrument which bore his name having been suggested by him out of pure pity for the former sufferings of condemned criminals.[2] This oration consequently refutes the so often alleged fable that Dr Guillotin's head was one of the first to fall under his own invention.

On the whole, the restoration had a disastrous effect on French Freemasonry. Apart from the number of foreign Lodges which naturally reverted to their own native jurisdictions, a great number of French Lodges had so identified themselves with Napoleon, and were so largely composed of his adherents, that nothing remained for them but to close their doors, at least for a time. In addition to this, the police and clergy under the restored family were by no means favourable to the Craft, and prevented its progress. The king himself firmly refused to allow a prince of his family to be placed at its head, and no Grand Master was consequently elected, but in his place three deputies of the non-existent G.M. or Grand Conservators, and one representative of the G.M., viz., Montaleau. General—afterwards Marshal—Beurnonville offered the king to become surety for the good behaviour of the Craft, if allowed to assume the command, to which His Majesty agreed, so that the General, as first D.G.M. or first Grand Conservator, took the place previously occupied by Cambacères. The precarious state of toleration in which the Craft managed to drag on its existence is reflected in its own conduct. The individual initiative of the Lodges was everywhere hemmed in and fenced around; representations of the police, even if unfounded, were immediately followed by erasure of the supposed peccant Lodges; Masonic publications were on several occasions forbidden by the Grand Orient, which did its best to suppress them entirely; and in sympathy with the government, the increasing centralising tendency of its authority was day by day more pronounced. The influence of political events is shown by the fact that immediately after the "Hundred Days" more than 450 Lodges became dormant.[3]

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der F. in Frank., vol. i., p. 582. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 3. [3] Rebold, Hist. des 3 G. Loges, p. 145.

1814.—July 1.—The Grand Orient declared the Grand Mastership (Joseph's) vacant, and sent a deputation to Cambacères to require and accept his resignation.

July 29.—The Grand Orient received a report of the fruitless efforts of its committee to induce the king to grant them a Royal Grand Master; elected and proclaimed in his stead three Grand Conservators, Marshal Macdonald, General Beurnonville, and Timbrunne, Count de Valence. Montaleau was elected special representative of these three officers, and among the other officers of later interest, may be mentioned the following members of the A. and A.S.R. 33°:—Lacépède, Kellermann, Rampon, Muraire, Perignon, Lefèvre, Massena, Clément de Ris, Beurnonville, Montaleau, Valence, De Ségur, Challan, and Tour d'Auvergne. Beurnonville declared that he would extend his protection to the Grand Orient alone, as in his eyes it was the legal Masonic authority.[1]

August 19.—The Grand Orient, at a meeting of one of its Boards, the *Grande Loge de Conseil*, resolved to exercise the control to which it laid claim over all rites of Freemasonry,[2] and on August 26 informed the Supreme Council of its intention, announcing that it had appointed a committee to treat with them.

As the events which followed this step, are even at the present day the source of mutual recriminations between the members of the two leading systems of French Freemasonry, I shall follow the course already pursued in describing the formation of the Grand Orient, and relate the facts in chronological order, and with considerable minuteness of detail, allowing my readers to arrive at their own conclusions. A few introductory words, however, are necessary, in order that the position of the parties may be clearly understood. The Grand Orient, although shorn of some of its higher dignitaries, had not been severely crippled by the change of government. The Supreme Council, on the other hand, which largely consisted of military officers attached to the late Emperor, had fallen into a state of paralysis, and was quite dormant. This is admitted on all sides. The last list of the Supreme Council enumerates the following members:—Cambacères, Valence, Pyron, Thory, Hacquet, Challan, Kellermann, Lacépède, d'Anduze, Rénier, Massena, De Ris, Beurnonville, Muraire, Aigrefeuille, d'Aunay, Rapp, Chasset, Ségur, Rampon, Langiers-Villars, Pény, Rouyer, Montaleau, Joly; honorary members, De Grasse-Tilly, Trogoff, Baillache, Tour d'Auvergne, d'Harmensen, and De Villière. Of these thirty-one brethren, the twelve whose names are in each case distinguished by an asterisk, are known to have been Officers of the Grand Orient. Moreover, Hacquet and some of the others were members of the same body; and all were of course, under the circumstances which had hitherto obtained, members of Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient, because the A. and A.S.R. 33° had not so far warranted any bodies *under* the 18°.

September 8.—Joly reported the announcement of August 26 to the Supreme Council, which on September 23 appointed a committee of inquiry, consisting of Beurnonville, Muraire, and Aigrefeuille, the two former being officials of the Grand Orient.[3]

October 28.[4]—The Supreme Council handed in an answer declining a fusion, signed Valence, Pyron, Thory, Hacquet, Challan, De Ris, Beurnonville, Pérignon, Muraire, Aigrefeuille, d'Aunay, Lefèvre, Ségur, Langiers-Villars, Pény, Rouyer, Joly, and Desfourneaux. This list is remarkable, and affords evidence of the continual play of cross purposes in French Freemasonry.

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. ii., pp. 4, 11. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 5. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[4] Jouast here differs from Kloss, and gives the date as October 21.

Desfourneaux was not a real member at all of the Supreme Council for France, but of the S.C. for America, dormant until better times; the nine names marked * were Officers of the Grand Orient, and the General Bournonville, its Senior Grand Conservator—who had declared he would acknowledge no authority but that of the Grand Orient itself. But still more remarkable is the fact, that a committee previously appointed by the G.O. on August 22, to prepare a report on the subject, did unanimously—November 12—approve of a fusion—or, in the language of the Scots Masons, a usurpation—and that of the nine members of this committee, two were Joly and Hacquet, who signed the answer of October 28, as above.

1814.—November 18.—The Grand Orient considered the report, and resolved to resume its inherent authority over all rites, to dissolve the Directory of Rites as no longer necessary, etc. Among the signatures we find Joly's; the others, with the exception of Montaleau's, are not given in any work at my command. The results of this resolution on the organisation of the Grand Orient may now be taken out of their chronological sequence. That body separated the legislative from the administrative functions of the 33°, and it constituted on one hand a *Chambre du Suprême Conseil des Rites* (another name for the old *Grand Chapitre*) to warrant and administer ALL bodies beyond the 3°, and on the other a *Grand Consistoire des Rites* divided into two sections. Section 1, the Grand Council of Prince Masons, to initiate into the 32° or the equivalent degree in the other rites, and to delegate the right to other Consistories in France. Section 2 to be the sole authority conferring the 33°. The Grand Consistory was erected September 12, and inaugurated November 22, 1815. It will be observed that the autocratic powers of a few 33° members were thus suppressed, and that they became only an integral part in one combined whole—the Grand Orient.

November 25.—The Supreme Council issued a circular protest against the action of the G.O. on the preceding 18th. This was only signed by Muraire, Aigrefeuille, d'Aunay, and Pyron.[1] So that apparently all the others had joined the party of the Grand Orient.

December 3.—De Grasse-Tilly returned, revived the Supreme Council for America, and attempted to assume the place left vacant by the moribund Supreme Council for France.

December 28.—Installation of a modified list of Grand Officers. Among these we find the following former members of the Supreme Council for France:—Bournonville, Valence, Lacépède, Kellermann, Rampon, Muraire, Masséna, Challan, Tour d'Auvergne, De Ris, Hacquet, Montaleau, Perignon, and possibly others, as Kloss does not give the complete list.[2] As it includes Muraire, it would appear as if the protesting remnant of the S.C. had been reduced to three. Of course those who were not in Paris at the moment, owing to political reasons, cannot be reckoned with. Certain it is, that the great majority had at this time rallied to the Grand Orient, although some afterwards went back to their previous allegiance. But of what effect can a majority be, in a society where one single 33° man who may hold out, is allowed to make others, and with them reconstruct the whole edifice? In this respect all systems of Scots Masonry resemble some of the lower forms of life. You *may*, it is true, destroy the whole organism, but should you overlook a single speck no bigger than a pin's head, in course of time this atom will grow, and swell, and sprout, and re-establish the species in all its pristine vigour!

1815.—March 15.—Napoleon lands at Cannes—when *Hey Presto!* the Grand Orient reinstates Prince Joseph and Cambacères, and becomes intensely imperialist. On June 18

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. ii., p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the Emperor was overthrown at Waterloo, and the order, "As you were," was passed along the line. A transformation scene, or a grand *bouleversement* in the harlequinade at Drury Lane, are the comparisons which occur most readily to the mind![1]

1815.—August 18.—The Supreme Council for France issues a fresh circular protest, which has affixed to it the signatures of Aigrefeuille, Thory, Hacquet, Muraire, d'Aunay, De Tinan, and Pyron. Here we meet with the last sign of this body for some years, with the exception of Joly's resignation on November 10 following, when he joined the Grand Orient. That Hacquet should have signed is incomprehensible, seeing that he presided over the Grand Consistory of Rites, or in other words, was the head of the Scots branch of the Grand Orient. Muraire and Lacépède, it may be incidentally observed, had, however, at that time deserted the G.O.

December 27.—This meeting of the Grand Orient is of interest, because it afforded Admiral Sir Sidney Smith an opportunity of presenting several printed projects for freeing the white slaves in Algiers.

1815 is also remarkable as being the year in which the Rite of Misraim began to arouse attention. Joly, to whom allusion has frequently been made, was a member at the time, and so of course was Thory, who joined everything! Joly and other members of the Grand Orient united in a petition to that body, that the new rite might be placed under the ægis of the Grand Consistory of Rites, which, however, was rejected on January 14, 1817.[2]

1817.—August 8.—The Grand Orient passed a resolution—embodied in a circular, September 18, 1817—declaring all *soi-disant* Masonic bodies not warranted by itself, to be irregular and clandestine, and forbidding its Lodges to recognise any such associations as Masonic, or to exchange visits with their members.[3] This attitude was persisted in by the G.O. until 1841. The A. and A.S.R. 33°, on the other hand, always professed tolerance, and acknowledged as legitimate all Masons, under whatever jurisdiction. As a stroke of policy coming from the weaker side, this action was eminently well conceived, and met with the success which has invariably attended every such proceeding, from historic times down to our own. It would nevertheless be difficult for an English Mason to dispute the strict legality of the proceedings of the Grand Orient; nor, from the point of view of that body, would it be altogether easy to call in question their expediency; but even as in England at the time of *our* rival Grand Lodges, so in France, the prohibition of mutual recognition was constantly broken by the subordinate Lodges of the G.O., which more than once entailed erasure. At all great meetings, it may be observed, of the Supreme Council, members of the Grand Orient were present in large numbers, and were invariably well received.

October 7.—The Grand Orient prohibited its Lodges from assembling at the "Prado" because the Supreme Council for America and a Misraim Lodge met there. It was not until September 12, 1821, that the proprietor of the Prado purged himself of his offences, and the G.O. reinaugurated the premises, besprinkling them with water to exorcise the unclean spirits of the past;[4] a proceeding which brought down upon its head the Homeric laughter of its rivals, and indeed of all Paris.

[1] Even Jouast, the great partisan of the Grand Orient, is constrained to admit the accuracy of this sorrowful picture; it does not rest on the inventions of an enemy.

[2] Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, p 126. Kloss, however, gives the date as *February* 14.

[3] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim in Frankreich, vol ii., p. 37.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 40, 126.

1817.—November 7.—A letter was read from Marshal Beurnonville enjoining the Grand Orient to follow the example of the Government, and to look upon all Lodges not dependent upon itself as secret societies prohibited by the law.[1]

December 27.—The G.O. declared the Rite of Misraim to be illegal, and erased a Lodge for taking its part. It also called upon its own members to leave the Rite within 33 days, an order which they one and all obeyed.

1818.—February 23.—The Supreme Council for America having completed its organisation, met for the first time.[2] The list of Grand Officers comprises names which subsequently became of importance, but none were connected with its past proceedings except those of De Grasse-Tilly and Desfourneaux, the latter of whom so incomprehensibly signed the document of October 28, 1814, which professedly emanated from the dormant Supreme Council for France, of which he was not even a member.

March 24.—Constitution of the Rainbow Lodge as the Mother-Lodge of Misraim.

April 8.—The Supreme Council marked its new departure by warranting two Craft Lodges.[3] This is the date of its first attack upon *the* Craft in the sense *we* understand that expression.

August 7.—Pyron in a circular, attempted to revive the Old Supreme Council for France, but unsuccessfully. He died on September 28 following.[4]

August 18.—De Grasse-Tilly, having been deposed by the Supreme Council which he had constituted anew, issued a manifesto and retired with his adherents to the "Pompei."[5]

October 15.—The Grand Consistory of Rites, established September 15, 1815, issued its Statutes.[6]

November 9.—The Supreme Grand Scots Lodge, at the Pompei (De Grasse-Tilly's), completed its Statutes, which, however, were not published until July 9, 1819.[7]

1819.—April 24.—This date marks the commencement of one of many efforts on the part of the Grand Orient to conciliate the A. and A.S.R. 33°. The negotiations were conducted with the Supreme Council at the Pompei, the one in the Prado being moribund, and the ancient Supreme Council for France, or rather what remained of it, not having yet awoke from its slumber. On the day in question, the highest officials of the Supreme Council met at a ball in a Paris Lodge—Commanders of Mount Tabor—two influential members of the Grand Orient, de Mangourit and Boulle. As a consequence of advances made by the latter, commissioners were appointed, and on May 2, Roi and Baccarat on the one side, and de Mangourit and Boulle on the other, held a conference. Boulle's proposal was as follows:—"A friendly fusion, the Count de Cazes, to be third Dep. G.M., Baron Fernig to be Lieut. G. Commander, the other members of Sup. Council to receive posts or become honorary members, all members of the 33° to be recognised, and all former inimical manifestoes to be annulled."[8] This liberal offer surprised the other side, who had only come prepared with a proposal that the independence of the Supreme Council should be acknowledged, and harmony—though not fusion—established between the rival bodies. According to Kloss, on May 7, additional commissioners were appointed by both parties; whilst if we follow Jouast this occurred two days previously. The names, however, of the Supreme Council representatives given by these two authorities do not agree. Conferences were held on June 16, from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., and again on June 21, and the Grand Orient

[1] Kloss gives the date as *December* 7, 1817. [2] Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 57. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 58. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[5] *Ante*, p. 181. [6] Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 90. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 87. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

appears to have been so confident of a happy result as to prepare for the festival of reunion. But the negotiations were wrecked on the usual rock. The G.O. insisted that the united body ought not only to be supreme but singly-governed; but the S.C. refused to part with its fancied prerogative of ruling the inferior (!) degrees. The Supreme Council wished to absorb and rule the Grand Orient, whilst the latter wished to place the other side in the same position as its own branch of the A. and A.S.R. 33°. The independence within itself of a small body of men—an *imperium in imperio*—naturally enough could not be tolerated, and the other side would accept nothing less. The Count—afterwards Duc—de Cazes appears to have been unfeignedly sorry at the rupture of these negotiations; and Lacépède demitted from the Supreme Council in order to accept the post of Grand Administrator General in the Grand Orient. The circular of G.O. of July 31, 1819, gives a complete history of all these transactions, and conclusively proves that the G.O. never relinquished the rights acquired by the Concordat of 1804, but merely held them in suspense until 1815, at which date the great majority of the old Supreme Council had joined it in erecting the Grand Consistory of Rites.

1820.—June 20.—The Grand Orient renewed its decree forbidding Masonic assemblies in public-houses, but excepted four by name.[1]

1821.—March 9.—Vassal opened the discussion on the projected new Statutes. These were not presented in a complete form to the Grand Orient until 1826, although the Committee of Revision had been appointed in 1817.

April 23.—Death of Peter Riel, Marquis de Beurnonville, Marshal and Peer of France, Senior Grand Conservator of the Grand Orient; born May 10, 1752. Valence, one of his co-Deputy Grand Masters, had deserted to the Supreme Council. Lacépède took the position vacated by the decease of Beurnonville, and was himself replaced in 1823 by Count Rampon. The Marquis de Lauriston succeeded Valence in 1822.

May 4.—What remained of the original Supreme Council for France met, after a repose of six years, and on the 7th amalgamated with the Pompei Council for America, and the united body became the Supreme Council for France and the French possessions.[2] The articles of union were signed by Valence, Muraire, Ségur, and Pény. The Prado Council attempted to organise a festival as a counter-demonstration on June 28 and July 31, and then incontinently expired. Hacquet demitted, and threw in his lot finally with the Grand Orient, Lacépède becoming Grand Director of Ceremonies in his place. It was discovered that of the ancient (or original) Supreme Council eight members were dead, three in continuous absence, and four others resigned. In the list of the new Supreme Council we find the following names of members of the old—Counts de Valence, Ségur, and Muraire, Baron de Pény, Thory, Challan, Counts Lacépède, De Grasse-Tilly, Rampon, De Ris, and Langier-Villars, the seven marked with an asterisk having all at different times sanctioned, by their participation therein, the former action of the Grand Orient in assuming the control of this Rite. It is most singular that De Ris and Rampon for many subsequent years held high office in the Grand Orient. Through this constant shuffling of names, and transfer of allegiance, the study of French Freemasonry is beset with almost insuperable difficulties.

June 24.—Lacépède—notwithstanding the occurrences of May 7—presided in the Grand Orient at the proceedings in memory of Beurnonville.[3] He afterwards resigned his membership, retaining only that of the Supreme Council.

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der F. in Frank., vol. ii., p. 126. [2] *Ante*, p. 131. [3] Rebold, Hist. des trois G. Loges, p. 133.

1821.—August 6.—Erection by the Supreme Council of the "Very Illustrious Lodge of the Supreme Council," to admit members to the 30°–33°. The Lodge *de la Grande Commanderie* had been constituted on June 24 preceding, to admit to the 29° inclusive.

December 21.—The Grand Orient denounced the Rite of Misraim to the civil authorities,[1] and on September 7, 1822, the latter took advantage of a slight infraction of the police rules to suppress the meetings of the Rite, which became dormant.[2]

1823.—November 20.—The Royal Order of Scotland (*Hérédom*) united with the Grand Orient,[3] and on November 25 the Grand Orient met to mourn the death of Louis XVIII.[4]

1824.—The accession of Charles X. does not seem to have been very beneficial to the Craft. In this year many Lodges in the provinces were forcibly closed by the police.

1826.—June 26.—The new Constitutions, commenced in 1817, were completed and laid before the Grand Orient; they consisted of 898 articles. The Grand Orient—in its entirety—was to consist of a Grand Master [not appointed at this time], three Deputy Grand Masters [Marshals Macdonald and Lauriston and Count Rampon], Grand and Past Grand Officers, and Masters and Deputies from the Lodges. The Boards, or Grand Committees (*Chambres*), were to be five in number. 1. Correspondence and Finance, or *La Chambre d'Administration.* 2. *La Chambre Symbolique.* 3. *La Chambre des Hauts Grades,* or *Suprème-Conseil des Rites.* These three Boards were called "*Chambres Administratives.*" 4. Counsel and Appeal—a composite body—consisting of nine officers of each of the three first Boards, and some others. The members were required to possess the highest grades of the Rites practised. Besides hearing appeals, this Board settled the agenda paper for the Grand Orient. 5. *La Comité Central et d'Elections,* formed by the union of the three first, or Administrative Boards. Its functions were to nominate to all the different offices. Besides these, there was a Grand College of Rites, formed of all members of the Grand Orient holding the 31°–33°, and directed by 36 officers of that body, its duty being to grant the 31°–33°, or the corresponding ones of the other Rites, and to warrant Consistories of the 32°.

These constitutions—containing more than 400 regulations for private Lodges—were declared subject to revision every five years.

November 30.—We now meet with another series of efforts to accomplish a fusion between the two rival Rites. On this date Benou wrote anonymously to the Duc de Choiseul, Grand Commander of the Supreme Council, urging a union. Choiseul answered anonymously on December 5, expressing a willingness to treat on the basis of the Concordat of 1804. On the 6th these letters were laid before the *Chambre des Rites,* which appointed commissioners, and prepared a room for the committee. Benou informed Choiseul of the foregoing on the 7th. On the 10th the Supreme Council for France appointed its commissioners. The first meeting took place December 22, and the deputies from the G.O. handed in their proposal—complete fusion: Choiseul to be made a Deputy Grand Master; Muraire, President of the *College des Rites;* 15 members of the S.C., chosen by Choiseul, to be made Grand Officers; 5 others to enter the *College des Rites,* 5 the *Chambre Symbolique,* and 5 the *Chambre d'Administration;* all Choiseul's Lodges to be acknowledged, etc. It will be seen that, as on every other occasion, the Grand Orient was the first to make overtures, and proffered most generous terms. But the same cause was ever destined to nullify the most well-meant efforts.

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 133.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[3] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frank., vol. ii., p. 162.
[4] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 136.

Besuchet[1] relates an anecdote of these meetings. General Pully, in order to explain the views of his colleagues, betook himself to professional terms, and remarked, "We wish to enter in amongst you with shouldered arms as a battalion square (*bataillon carré*). Yes, was the reply, and it only needs that you should place your fieldpieces at the four corners, and we shall doubtless conclude a famous treaty of peace!"

After this declaration of first principles, it will occasion no surprise that in spite of frequent meetings and interminable colloquies, the Supreme Council announced—April 8—that further negotiation was useless, whereupon the committee dissolved. On April 13, 1827, the Grand Orient received the report of its commissioners, and the proceedings closed.

1830.—The documentary evidence preserved, presents very little of importance, till we come to the three revolutionary days of July 28-30, which deposed the elder branch of the Bourbons, and placed Louis Philippe on the throne. The Lodge of the Trinosophes at Paris fêted the event on August 6, and a deputation of the Supreme Council attended, Muraire at its head. Bouilly and Merilhon of the Grand Orient took the opportunity of improving the occasion by desiring that the auspicious political events should be followed by a fusion of the two Rites. Muraire replied, and concluded by expressing a wish to exchange the kiss of peace with Bouilly. Then followed a truly French scene. Desétangs seized each orator by the hand, led them into the middle of the Lodge, and amidst the acclamation of the assembly, they threw themselves into each other's arms. A speech in honour of Lafayette, the hero of the hour, followed. On October 10 the Supreme Council gave a *fête* in honour of Lafayette, at which he was present, and the official chairs of the Lodge were partly vacated in favour of officers of the Grand Orient, who attended in a body. A similar festival in compliment to Lafayette was given by the Grand Orient, at which the Supreme Council assisted. But these reunions were only of passing importance; the rivalry was very soon resumed.

This would seem a fitting point to review the progress of both systems since we last compared them.[2] In 1827 they stood thus:[3]—Grand Orient, Paris, 67 Lodges, 37 Chapters, 6 Councils 30°, and 1 of the 32°; in the Provinces, 203 Lodges, 78 Chapters, 8 Councils 30°, 1 Tribunal 31°, and 5 Councils of the 32°; in the Colonies, abroad and in regiments, 20 Lodges, 18 Chapters, 3 Councils 30°, and 2 Councils 32°: in all, 450 bodies, besides 156 dormant. At the same date the Supreme Council had only warranted 27 bodies. In 1831 the Grand Orient stood thus:—268 Lodges, 130 Chapters, and 27 Councils in France; and abroad 54: in all, 479 bodies. Of these, 114 met in Paris, and 97 were still dormant.[4] At the same date the Supreme Council ruled over 10 Lodges and 8 Chapters in Paris; in the Provinces, 10 Lodges, 4 Chapters, and 1 Council; and abroad 1 Lodge: in all, 34.[5] The nett result as regards these, the only two remaining constituent bodies in France, is thus:—513 Lodges, all told; which compares unfavourably with the 1288 of 1814. According to Rebold's lists, the annual progress of the Grand Orient was (Lodges *and* Chapters) in 1814, 7; 1815, 1; 1816, 6; 1817, 8; 1818, 17; 1819, 23; 1820, 9; 1821, 14; 1822, 10 (35 at least closed during the preceding two years); 1823, 5; 1824, 12; 1825, 15; 1826, 12 (though the grand total was no higher than in 1820); 1827, 6; 1828, 6; 1829, 17; 1830, 9 (more than 60, however, ceased work during this year).

[1] Besuchet was the Secretary to this committee of fusion.
[2] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. ii., p. 226.
[3] *Ante*, pp. 168, 169.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 377.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

The first efforts of the Grand Orient, on the accession of Louis Philippe, were directed to procuring his assent to the nomination of the Duke of Orleans as Grand Master. Failing in this, the office was still considered vacant, and held, as it were, in commission by the three Grand Conservators or Deputy Grand Masters, as they were variously styled. These were the Marquis de Lauriston (1822), Count Rampon (1823), and Count Alexander de Laborde (1825); Roëttiers de Montaleau, Jun. (1808), being still the representative of the Grand Master.

According to the Statute requiring a revision of the constitutions every five years, this duty was entrusted to a committee, October 27, 1831. A report was furnished to the G.O. —March 24, 1832—and remitted to the Boards. Here it underwent revision from June 12, 1832, to June 11, 1833, and returned to the committee, who apparently went to sleep over it for the next six years.

1833.—August 21.—The Grand Orient was obliged to caution its Lodges against intermeddling with politics. During the whole of this reign, 1830-1848, the Lodges showed a tendency to political discussions, which often began innocently enough with politico-economic questions and humanitarian projects, but were not kept within due bounds. Many Lodges were in consequence from time to time suspended, some at the instance of the police, and on these occasions the Grand Orient was so anxious to make submission, that it occasionally refrained from any inquiry into the alleged offences. The first to suffer was the "Indivisible Trinity" of Paris, September 11.

1834.—A police law of April 10, placed the Lodges still more under the arbitrary control of the police; so much so, that the Grand Orient thought of asking the special protection of government, but Bouilly induced the members to reject this dangerous project. The result was, however, that the Grand Orient became more pusillanimous than ever, and even sought to suppress all Masonic publications. In this it could not succeed, but it could and did exclude their authors, and the next to suffer was Peigné (1835), the editor of the *Revue Maçonique*. This course of action was by no means new to the Grand Orient, but earlier examples could not have been mentioned without excluding matters of more importance.

The anathema pronounced by the Grand Orient on the Supreme Council was a constant source of remonstrance from its own Lodges. In 1835 fresh efforts at a fusion were made, but the proposals on either side were a counterpart of those of 1826, and therefore failed.[1]

1836.—The Grand Orient received continual complaints as to the tardy progress made with the revision of the Statutes. At one tumultuous meeting the President closed the Lodge, but the members would not disperse. Besuchet harangued the assembly, and proposed to withdraw from the tyranny of the Grand Orient by forming a new body with the title Central and National Grand Lodge. As a consequence, on October 14 and 28, the orator and his Lodge were alike suspended. Six other Lodges then ranged themselves on the side of the Schismatics; and on January 14, 1837, at the recommendation of Laborde, not only were these also suspended, but the names of their members were even handed in to the civil authorities. In 1836, Bouilly succeeded Montaleau as Representative of the G.M.

1837.—The Committee of Revision complained of the difficulties under which they laboured, and on October 27 their meetings were in consequence declared to be private, and visitors were pronounced incapable of taking part in their discussions.

1838.—Rise of the Rite of Memphis.[2]

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 161.

[2] *Ante*, p. 134.

1839.—A general amnesty was granted to all previous Masonic offenders on January 4. The new Statutes were at length produced—March 15—and approved and published on June 24. There were few alterations of importance. Honorary officers were discontinued; and all articles making it impossible for members of the two masonic jurisdictions to intervisit were withdrawn. As a check to the admission of members already verging on pauperism, a minimum initiation fee was fixed for each separate degree. Visitors to the Grand Orient were deprived of the right of addressing the Lodge—which, in spite of the absence of voting power, had in 1829 and 1836 led to scandalous tumults. The "historical" introduction to these Statutes (or Constitutions), affords a melancholy proof of the lamentable Masonic ignorance of those by whom they were compiled.

November 13.—The "*Loge l'Anglaise*, No. 204, Bordeaux," petitioned the Grand Orient to put an end to its enmity with the Supreme Council.[1] In 1840 several other Lodges joined in the plea for toleration, and a circular of the G.O.—October 19, 1840—which sought to awaken slumbering animosities, was severely criticised on all sides. The Supreme Council seized the opportunity—December 15—of once more proclaiming that it opened its arms to all Masons, either as members or visitors; and in spite of the intolerance of the Grand Orient it forbade its own Lodges from entering upon reprisals of any sort.[2]

1841.—A last effort at a fusion was made by the Grand Orient, and in order to ensure success it was agreed that the negotiations should be conducted by the five highest dignitaries on either side. These, severally headed by Bouilly and the Duc de Cazes, met for the first time on March 28, 1841.[3] The Supreme Council proposed a return to the tacit understanding of 1805,[4] that the G.O. should place all degrees above the 18° under the authority of the Supreme Council. Each body to remain independent, but under the same Grand Master, and two Deputy Grand Masters, one for each Rite; with the joint title "The Grand Orient of France and the Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. united." The G.O. could not accept those terms, but it made every possible concession. Nothing, however, would satisfy the Supreme Council but absolute supremacy and the conservation of their hierarchical system. Later—June 29—it declared that no fusion could ever be possible between two bodies so fundamentally different in organisation. In the same year—November 6—the Grand Orient at length gave way to the wishes of its Lodges, and decreed "That Lodges under its jurisdiction might interchange visits with those under the Supreme Council." From that time all quarrels have been buried, and the two Grand bodies have worked side by side in peace, although the Grand Orient has never ceased to confer the 33 degrees of the A. and A.S.R., or the Supreme Council to warrant Lodges of the Craft.

1842.—February 11.—Baron Las Cases was named Deputy Grand Master *vice* De Laborde, and installed on the 19th;[5] and—September 3—Bertrand was installed as Representative of the Grand Master in the place of Bouilly deceased.

1843.—Ragon, the author of *Cours Philosophique et Interprétatif des Initiations Anciennes et Modernes*, was censured—September 29—for publishing the second part of that work, and—October 20—Begue-Clavel was expelled for publishing his *Histoire Pittoresque*. On November 8, however, the latter penalty was commuted to a formal censure.[6]

[1] Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, p. 155; *cf. ante*, p. 98. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 161. [4] *Ante*, p. 129. [5] Rebold, Hist. des trois G. Loges, p. 174. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

1844.—September 6.—The Lodge of the "Trinosophes" at Paris affiliated a brother Noël de Quersoniers, *aged* 115! (?)[1]

1845.—In this year there began a series of congresses to discuss questions of general and Masonic interest, such as pauperism, schools, and cognate subjects, some of which approached perilously near to the *malum prohibitum*, viz., current politics. The Revolution of 1848 was already in the air. The first congress was held—July 30—at La Rochelle; and August 31, the Lodges at Strassburg inaugurated one at Steinbach in honour of Erwin, the architect of the cathedral,[2] at which many German Lodges were represented. Six Lodges met at Rochefort June 7, 1846; others assembled at Strassburg, August 18; at Saintes, June 5-7, 1847; and at Toulouse, June 22. A further one was projected at Bordeaux for 1848, but the Grand Orient stepped in on January 17, 1848, and forbade these congresses altogether.

1846.—February 27.—The Grand Orient held a Lodge of mourning for its deceased members—1843-45—amongst whom was Joseph Napoleon, last Grand Master of France.[3]

April 3.—Reports and complaints that the Prussian Lodges refused to receive as visitors Frenchmen who were Jews, were taken into consideration. The G.O. expressed its indignation, and instructed its representatives at the Berlin Grand Lodges, to endeavour to procure an alteration in the statutes of those bodies, but at the same time strictly enjoined French Lodges to refrain from reprisals. A more pronounced action on the part of England may have possibly assisted in bringing one at least of those bigoted Grand Lodges more into harmony with the spirit of the age.[4]

June 1.—The Supreme Council issued its first code of Regulations.[5]

1847.—April 2.—Bertrand was elected Deputy Grand Master, and was succeeded in the office of Representative—June 24—by Désanlis.[6] On December 17 the commission entrusted with the revision of the Statutes made its report to the Grand Orient.

1848.—March 4.—The Grand Orient met after the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the formation of a Provisional Government, and resolved to send a deputation to the latter expressing sympathy with the Revolution, and joy at finding that its own maxim of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity had become the watchwords of the nation. Thus, again, we see it unable to refrain from political action—and worship, more or less sincere, of the rising sun. These sentiments were expressed to the Lodges in a circular of the 13th. The deputation presented itself on the 6th, and was received by Crémieux and Garnier-Pages, members of the government, both wearing Masonic regalia. The addresses on either side may be passed over with the bare comment that, though confining themselves to the letter of the truth respecting the *rôle* of the Craft, they violated its spirit by implication. But political events also tinged the preparations for passing the new Constitutions just announced as complete. A resolution was agreed to—March 20—ordering a new election of deputies in all Lodges to assist at the framing of the new ordinances, and a circular of the 25th calls upon *all* Lodges, *without regard to rites and jurisdictions*, to send deputies to form in the Grand Orient a most truly National Masonic assembly for all France. A further circular of April 7 was still more explicit. It invited *all* Lodges and Masons in France to come and aid in establishing a Masonic unity of government. Here we plainly recognise the cloven hoof, the

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 186.
[2] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 196.
[3] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frank., vol. ii., p. 385.
[4] *Cf. ante*, Chap. VI., pp. 267, 319.
[5] *Ante*, p. 19.
[6] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 200.

idea evidently being, to utilise the awakened democratic spirit of the nation, to the detriment of the aristocratically governed Supreme Council.

At the close of this epoch it will be convenient to review the progress of the Grand Orient from 1830. According to Rebold's list, the following Lodges, Chapters, etc., were constituted by the G.O.: in 1831, 4 [it had lost over 90 bodies of all sorts in the year, and the number of its *Lodges* was reduced to 228]; 1832, 14; 1833, 4; 1834, 8 [but some 15 had become dormant]; 1835, 6; 1836, 10; 1837, 3; 1838, 4 [but so many Lodges had become dormant that there remained only 216 active ones]; 1839, 11; 1840, 3; 1841, 6; 1842, 6; 1843, 4; 1844, 8; 1845, 7 [the number of active *Lodges* had risen to 280]; 1846, 9; 1847, 9 [but as upwards of 30 had closed, the number of Craft Lodges only reached 255]. The same year the number of bodies of all sorts under the Supreme Council amounted to 71.

A further incentive to the unusually liberal action of the Grand Orient, may be found in a movement then recently initiated, and of which, as it was of short duration, an account will be here given before proceeding with the history of that body. Curiously enough, this democratic attempt arose in the bosom of the oligarchical A. and A.S.R. 33°; or rather the fact is not really curious, because the worst tyranny usually gives birth to the most republican sentiments. A detailed account of this movement, which deserved a better fate than befell it, is concisely given by Rebold in his History of the Three Grand Lodges.[1]

It would appear that in the course of 1847, a few earnest Masons discussed the possibility of erecting a really representative Grand Lodge, on the model of the Grand Lodge of England, confining itself to the simple ceremonies of the Craft. The first step was taken by the Lodge "*Patronage des Orphélins*" of the A. and A.S.R. under its W.M. Juge Jun., and a manifesto was issued—March 5, 1848—in conformity with certain resolutions duly passed August 10, 1847. After inveighing against the monstrosities in the direction of affairs under both Rites, it declared that the time had arrived for the Lodges, which are the basis of the Craft, to *govern themselves for themselves*, and to assert their absolute right to form their own by-laws, subject to the confirmation of the Grand Lodge. It proposed that each Lodge should send three representatives to form a National Grand Lodge (no deputy to represent two Lodges), to choose their own Grand Officers, to work only three degrees, and to suppress all others; that in private Lodges each member should be at liberty to address the chair—a right hitherto confined to the orators and high degree Masons—the liberty of the Masonic press to be established, the Grand Lodge to have no right to control the election of deputies, etc. These clauses indicate very plainly the grievances of the Craft. It concludes—"No more Rites of 7, 33, or of 90 degrees, each anathematising and fighting with the others; but one simple Rite, founded on good sense, comprising in itself all useful instruction, and which shall at length annihilate the nonsense, the revolting absurdities, and the perpetual strife which these brilliant fantasies have introduced amongst us." Six other Lodges of the A. and A.S.R. soon joined this party, and were naturally enough erased. A committee was appointed, which—March 10—waited on the authorities at the Hotel de Ville, to obtain police permission for their future action, and to congratulate the Provisional Government. Lamartine's reply was as poetical as might have been expected, but space forbids its insertion. The next step was to placard Paris with an invitation to all Masons to meet in General Assembly on April 17. The circular was forwarded to all the Lodges, and signed by Barbier, Vanderheyen, Jorry, Du Planty, Juge,

[1] Pp. 545-572.

Minoret, Lefrançois, Desriviéres, and Dutilleul. Juge, however, almost immediately afterwards withdrew; he had conceived the fanciful idea of causing the new Grand Lodge to be inaugurated by the Grand Lodge Union of Frankfort, with himself as Grand Master. On April 17 the assembly met and resolved to call a larger one, requesting each Lodge in France to send 3 deputies. At this second assembly 400 Masons appeared, by whom, unanimously, the original self-elected Committee was directed to prepare a code of ordinances. Full meetings of the new Grand Lodge were held on November 29, December 14 and 17; each article was discussed, and the code adopted on the last-named date. A report and manifesto, dated February 25, 1849, and signed, among others, by Rebold, was then forwarded, together with the new Constitutions, to every lodge in France. On April 29, the committee summoned a meeting of Grand Lodge for May 19 following, announcing that no insignia beyond that of the three degrees would be permitted. At this meeting seven Grand Officers were elected, viz., the Marquis du Planty, M.D., and Mayor of St Ouen—Master of the Grand Lodge; Barbier, Avocat Général—S.W.; General Jorry—Jun. W.; Rebold—Grand Expert; Humbert—Sec. General, etc. During the whole of that year the Grand Lodge occupied itself with settling its rituals, organisation, etc., but does not appear to have attempted to seduce the Lodges under other governing bodies, from their allegiance; and in answer to all inquiries, refrained from persuasion, contenting itself with forwarding its manifesto and Constitutions. It is more than probable, that more energetic proceedings would have resulted in the ruin of the G.O. and the S.C., but they were not taken.

In 1850 the Supreme Council and the Grand Orient both applied to the authorities to suppress the new body; whilst fear on the one hand, caution on the other, and the apparent wish to reform itself evinced by the Grand Orient, combined to diminish the number of Lodges which adhered to the National Grand Lodge. At this time they were only 8. Towards the end of the year, several Lodges in France—for one cause or another—were closed by the police, and the enemies of the National Grand Lodge were astute enough to throw the blame on their young rival. The result was, an edict of the Prefect of Police, dated December 6, 1850, dissolving the Lodge. The Grand Lodge resolved to obey the authorities, and issued a circular to that effect to all its members on January 10, 1851. On January 14 it held its final meeting. Its 5 Lodges, and more than 600 visitors, met on the occasion, when amid a mournful silence the president delivered his valedictory address, and closed the Lodge. Had it not been for Rebold himself, matters might have turned out differently. On December 14, 1848, some members of the Provisional Government of the Republic, who also belonged to the Grand Lodge, came to a meeting of the latter, prepared to counsel its members to petition the government to dissolve both the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council, and to hint that the request would meet with a ready compliance. Rebold, however, who was taken into their confidence, evinced a strong repugnance to make use of the Civil arm, and so worked upon the members in question, that the communication was never made. Herein he showed much Masonic feeling, but little worldly wisdom—but to return to the Grand Orient.

1848.—June 9.—The deputies summoned by the G.O. assembled, and were addressed by the president Bertrand, J. Dep. G.M. One sentence of his allocution will describe the purpose of the meeting. "To revise the whole Masonic Code and to establish the institution on new bases, in consonance with the present state of feeling." The Master dissolved the old Grand Orient by laying his insignia on the table before him, and was unanimously elected president

of the new constituent assembly. The powers of the deputies were examined, five officers elected to administer the Craft *ad interim*, etc., etc. From then to August 10, 1849, 26 meetings were held, and on the latter date the new Constitutions were confirmed by the Grand Orient, thus newly erected. In spite of the liberal promises of the circulars of 1848, the organisation was scarcely more democratic than previously, but one fact deserves mention; for the first time in French Freemasonry this code unequivocally declares (Art. 1), that the *basis* of Freemasonry is a belief in a God and the immortality of the soul.

1850.—December 13.—Appointment of Berville as Senior Deputy Grand Master, and of Desanlis as president of Grand Orient and Representative of the Grand Master. They were installed on the 27th following.

1851.—June 12.—The following words sum up the report made to Grand Orient on this date: "Confusion in the archives, confusion in the property, confusion in the finances, this is what our researches have disclosed, this is what we are forced to report to you." On December 10, following, in view of political disturbances which were then anticipated, the Grand Orient ordered all Masonic meetings to cease. In the same month Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic for ten years, and—January 1, 1852—the Grand Orient withdrew its prohibition.[1]

The existence of Freemasonry appearing very precarious, Prince Lucien Murat was asked whether he would accept the Grand Mastership, and having obtained the permission of his cousin, signified his assent. Whereupon, he was unanimously elected—January 9, 1852, received the 33° on the 27th—and was installed February 26. On the same date Bugnot was invested as President of the Grand Orient, *vice* Desanlis, who had resigned that office July 11, 1851.

The first act of the new Grand Master was to adopt measures for the erection of a Masonic Hall in the Rue Cadet. He succeeded, thanks to a large loan (125,000 francs) from his son, but the expenses were for years a heavy burden on the resources of the Craft. A house was purchased, and sufficiently altered, in part, to be opened formally on June 30 of the same year.

1853.—March 11.—Desanlis was installed as second Deputy Grand Master, and on April 12, three members were nominated for the Presidency of the G.O., from whom the G.M. selected Janin, who was installed on the 29th. It was on this occasion that Murat gave the first indication of the despotic manner in which he intended to rule. On the occasion in question, the G. Sec., Hubert, had voted against the candidate most acceptable to the Prince—which, although a salaried officer, he was quite entitled to do—but he was immediately relieved of his duties by the Grand Master, in spite of the fact that during his short tenure of office he had contrived to increase the correspondence tenfold, to restore order in the *bureau*, and to convert the financial deficit of the Grand Lodge into a balance on the other side.

1854.—December 15.—The Grand Master convoked a "Constituent Convent" for October 15 to "take measures for Masonic unity, and to assure to the directing power the means of action which are indispensable, etc." On the 16th the Convent met and verified the mandates of the deputies, and the following day the questions to be discussed were submitted, the first being

[1] From this date, Jouast and Kloss being no longer available, the subsequent facts are given on the authority of Rebold (a contemporary), and will be found, under the dates cited, in his "Histoire des trois Grandes Loges," *tit.* Histoire du Grand Orient.

the modifications of the Constitutions. The G.M. allowed it to become known, through Desanlis, that the Government had resolved not to permit in future a deliberative and legislative assembly. It required that all power should be in the hands of the Grand Master, who would be assisted by a council—that this was the only way to offer the Government a valid guarantee, etc. The Commission of Revision was chosen from those members most likely to be amenable to such thinly veiled hints—and proceeded to work. On October 26 it brought up its report, which was so badly received, and gave rise to such tumult, that the sitting was prematurely closed. As the whole spirit of the new ordinances may be gathered from one single article, I here reproduce it side by side with the corresponding paragraph of 1849.

1849.	1854.
Art. 32. The Grand Orient, the legislator and regulator of the Order, is possessed of all its power. It exercises directly the legislative power, delegates the executive to the G.M., assisted by a council, and confides the administrative to Boards (*Chambres*) formed of its own members.	Art. 31.—The G.M. is the Supreme Chief of the Order, its representative near foreign Masonic jurisdictions, and its official organ with the Government; he is the executive, administrative, and directing power.

In fact Murat had determined to rule the Grand Orient and the Craft after the manner of a general in the field, who directs everything, although he may, and for his own convenience occasionally does, ask the advice of his staff—the members of which, however, would hold their offices by a very frail tenure, were they in the habit of often disagreeing with their chief. In spite of protests and struggles, the Convent was obliged to ratify these Constitutions on October 28. Next day the members of the Council were appointed, and on the 30th the G.M. by a decree appointed Desanlis and Heuillant Deputy Grand Masters. The most noticeable name on the Council is that of Rexès, of whom we shall soon hear more than enough. In order to convey some faint impression of the pitiable state of subserviency into which the Craft was reduced during this period of its history, a few of Murat's many arbitrary acts will now be cited.

On May 13, 1856, a member of the Grand Orient demanded that certain decrees of the G.M. should be submitted to the assembly. He was informed that such decrees could not be discussed, and continuing to urge the point, was ordered to resume his seat. Blanche, a member of the G.M.'s council, on one occasion indignantly exclaimed, "But what are we then?" "Nothing without me," said Murat, "and I—I am everything, even without you." Blanche resigned his seat. In 1861, Murat suspended, in one month, more than 40 Presidents and Deputies of Lodges for opposing the arbitrary government of the Grand Orient. Previously —April 16, 1858—he had distributed, of his own will, the 40 Paris Lodges amongst the 13 chapters of the city, and on November 30, of the same year, he decreed that no Masonic writings should be published, except by the printers to the Grand Orient. A Lyons Lodge was suspended—March 31, 1859—for having "permitted itself to discuss a decree of the G.M.," and a similar fate befell a Paris Lodge on May 9, ensuing. In 1858, the G.M. warned the assembly general "to deliberate only on such subjects as are placed before it by his council, and on no account to wander, *accidentally* or otherwise, from the *ordre du jour*." These are only a few incidents taken at haphazard, and yet, something, after all, may be urged in Murat's favour. He was the first French Grand Master who ever

interested himself in the slightest degree in the affairs of the Craft. His intentions were doubtless good—according to his lights—his speeches often had a true Masonic ring, but he was apparently much misled by worthless and ambitious members of his council, and wholly unable to appreciate the beauties of self-government, or to divest himself of the effects of his barrack training. In *his* eyes the Craft was a regiment and himself the colonel, and there—so far as he was concerned—was an end of the matter. Discussion meant mutiny, and was therefore to be kept under with a firm hand.

1855.—February 26.—The G.M. invited all the world to a Masonic congress at Paris, to be held June 1. Desanlis resigned the position of Dep. G.M., March 30, and on June 4, was made an Hon. Grand Officer, and Razy appointed Dep. G.M. *ad interim.*

June 7.—The Grand Masonic Congress assembled under the presidency of Heuillant, Dep. G.M., and was officially opened on the 8th by Murat in person. The Grand Orient was represented by 22 members and officers. Five foreign Grand Bodies had accepted the invitation, but did not put in an appearance, viz., the Grand Lodges of Switzerland, Hamburg, Louisiana, Saxony, and the Supreme Council of Luxemburg. Three—the Grand Lodges of Hayti, New York, and Sweden—had appointed deputies, but they were unable to arrive in time. Four Grand Lodges and 1 Provincial Grand Lodge were really represented, viz., Columbia, Ireland, Virginia, Holland, and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster. Inasmuch as there are some 90 Grand Lodges in the world, besides any number of Provincial Grand Lodges, the outlook was not encouraging. Only 5 proposals were agreed to; these were of the most unimportant description, and not one of them has been carried into effect.

1857.—June 6.—By a decree of Murat, Doumet was appointed Dep. G.M., *vice* Desanlis resigned; and Razy, who had acted *ad interim,* was made an Hon. Grand Officer. A decree of September 30 placed Rexès at the head of the correspondence of the Grand Orient, and entrusted him with other important charges. In fact, the Dep. G.M. became such an unimportant personage, that Heuillant resigned. From that time the Grand Orient was practically under a triumvirate—Murat, Doumet, and Rexès. This paved the way for a very disgraceful transaction. On June 2, 1860, Murat accepted the resignation of Rexès, but asked him to continue his duties *ad interim.* On the 11th Rexès presided over the Grand Master's council, and delivered a message to the effect that the finances of the G.O. being now capable of supporting the charges upon them, the G.M. was unwilling to ask any longer for the services of such an important officer as Rexès' successor would be, without offering an equivalent. The council was therefore requested to name the sum it could set apart for the purpose, and on the 18th offered a maximum of 9000 francs per annum. As a matter of fact, the finances of the Grand Orient showed a large and increasing annual deficit, but the council was chiefly composed of brethren, who are best described as the creatures of the Grand Master. Moreover, as Rexès' successor could only be appointed from among themselves, each member felt that he had at least a chance of being appointed to an office, worth some £350 a year. Their consternation, however, may be imagined, when a decree appeared—June 21—stating that on and after July 1 the office formerly occupied by Rexès would be endowed with a salary of 9000 francs,—which was followed by another of July 17, appointing Rexès himself to this office, and instructing him to assume thenceforth the title of Representative of the G.M.!

We now approach the most scandalous series of scenes in French Freemasonry, scenes only to be equalled by similar ones in the Legislative Chambers of the same nation, of which we

sometimes read a description in the daily papers. It will be readily understood, that most thinking Masons had long since become thoroughly disgusted and disheartened; in fact, very many Lodges in France, had for years preferred to declare themselves dormant rather than shamefully live on. Only one hope remained, the Grand Master was not appointed *ad vitam*, and the next election was no longer far distant. Murat had been appointed on June 9, 1852; Art. 30 of the Statutes provided for a renewal of election every seven years, but as the election was confirmed by the Constitutive Convent—October 28, 1854—his appointment was regarded as bearing that date. The new election ought therefore to have taken place October 28, 1861, but Murat, in convoking the General Assembly falling due May 20, 1861, had warned the Grand Orient to take that opportunity of renewing the election, in order to avoid double journeys and expenses to the deputies. Already the attention of the brethren had been called to the liberal tendencies of Prince Jerome Napoleon, as exemplified by his parliamentary conduct, which contrasted favourably with the Ultramontane votes of Prince Murat, and there is no doubt that canvassing on a large scale had been used to promote his possible candidature. The first open act of hostility was an article in the March-April number of the "*Initiation*," respecting the approaching election, and contrasting the two princes much in Hamlet's style, with regard to the Two Pictures. At some time in April a number of the Paris Masters addressed a letter to Prince Napoleon. Space will only admit of short extracts. "Whereas Prince Murat's attitude of late incompacitates him from acting any longer as the representative of the Craft, whereas we have finally decided not to re-elect him, but have cast our eyes on you, who, though not yet the representative of the Craft, have nevertheless always proclaimed its principles aloud; whereas it behoves us under present circumstances to choose a leader who will, etc., etc., we have decided to nominate and elect your Imperial Highness, and beg to remind you that being a Freemason you owe certain duties to the Fraternity, etc., etc."

The Prince's reply, stating his readiness to accept the office, if elected, was received by the Masters, April 19. About the same time, or shortly afterwards, appeared a circular of Murat to the Lodges respecting the election. It speaks of an intrigue organised amongst some Masons, desirous of utilising Freemasonry for political ends, to produce a schism on the occasion of the election. The name of an illustrious prince having been used to cover these machinations, the G.M., desirous not to enter into rivalry with a member of the Imperial family, had inquired of Prince Jerome whether he intended to stand; and this prince had answered, that having ceased to occupy himself with Freemasonry since 1852, he should certainly decline a nomination. Murat therefore warns the brethren against these intriguers, but disclaims any idea of wishing to influence the election. It appears that Jerome omitted to inform Murat of his change of views until May 17, and the latter was thus placed in a very equivocal position, because at the time his circular appeared Jerome's letter was already in the hands of the Paris Masters. On May 2 a decree of Murat suspended the author of the newspaper article in question, as being in the highest degree disrespectful to the G.M., whose civil actions it had ventured to criticise. About the same time Rexès reported several brothers for daring to *intrigue* to procure the nomination of Prince Jerome, and denounced them as factious. On May 14 *they* were consequently suspended. Two of them were members of the G.M's. Council. Among the names of nine others we meet with that of Jouast. This wholesale suspension of voters was certainly a curious way to avoid influencing the elections!

After all this it is easy to conceive, that when the Grand Orient met it was in no very equable frame of mind.

1861.—May 20.—First meeting of the Grand Orient. President—Doumet, Dep. G.M. The first business was necessarily of a routine character, to verify the powers of the deputies. Rousselle proposed that this should be undertaken by a Committee of Scrutineers nominated *ad hoc* by the assembly, as in the olden days, and not by the Grand Master's Council as had been arbitrarily carried out since 1852. After debate Rousselle carried the day; each of the nine Boards (or Chambers [1]) of the Grand Orient named one member to form a Committee of nine Scrutineers. Only one belonged to the party of the Grand Master. From that moment the majority escaped from the control of Rexès.

May 21.—The Committee of Scrutineers, and the Boards met, and the Scrutineers commenced the examination of the mandates. Dissatisfaction became soon openly expressed, and in his excitement Hovins, the member of the Grand Master's party, so far forgot himself as to exclaim, "Your methods will produce excitement, and *the police will be called upon to interfere.*" The Boards began to review past decrees, and rejected almost all the propositions of the Grand Master. They decided that it would be wise to at once elect the new Grand Master, and were about to resolve themselves into a plenary *séance*, when a decree of that very morning was presented to them, suspending the sittings of the full Orient till the 24th, but permitting the Boards to continue sitting. A committee to interview the G.M. and procure the repeal of this decree was about to be elected, when Doumet expressed his intention of taking that duty upon himself the first thing in the morning, it being then five o'clock and too late. The meeting broke up, to resume at eight o'clock—at which hour the committee rooms being occupied by private Lodges, all nine Boards met in the large hall in separate groups to continue their work. Whilst thus engaged, Rexès strolled into the room, struck his hand on the table to procure silence, and said, "Sirs, I come to tell you that you are not legally assembled, the hour is unsuitable, you must retire." On being remonstrated with, he exclaimed, "If you persist I must call in the police," and withdrew. Steps were taken that one man only, should protest for all, if the police interfered, and the work was continued. Meanwhile a squad of police entered the building under the orders of Rexès. Masons leaving their private Lodges met these in the corridor, and ordered them to leave. Rexès ordered the police to clear the building. The Masons present, answered by warning the police that they were the proprietors of the building, both as shareholders and as rent-payers, and that Rexès was their salaried servant. Rexès exclaimed, "Sirs, you are ruining Freemasonry." "Sir," they replied, "you disgrace it." In the end the police retired. The committees, who had meanwhile remained undisturbed, not being able to meet as a Grand Orient, had in each Board separately elected Prince Napoleon, and drawn up a minute to that effect, after which they left to meet the next day at nine o'clock.

May 22.—Doumet and the Council called upon the G.M., who, after persuasion, consented that they might announce to the assembly the repeal of the decree. The Council returned to the hall, and was about to summon the Boards to meet as a Grand Orient, when Rexès appeared and announced that the Council had misunderstood the Prince. The indignant members sent to request Murat's presence; but meanwhile Doumet was called away to the Ministry of the Interior, and as he did not reappear the Boards were not summoned.

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 167, 175.

These meanwhile obtained 98 signatures to the minute of election out of a possible 152, and left in order to return at eight o'clock to resume their departmental work. On arriving at that hour they found the building closed, not only to themselves, but to private Lodges whose night of meeting it was. The Lodge of the United Brothers had even prepared for a brilliant *soirée*, and were not made acquainted with the order until their arrival at the Hall.

1861.—May 23.—A deputation waited upon Prince Napoleon at ten in the morning, and handed him a written report showing that, debarred from effecting a regular election, they had had recourse to the best means available, accompanied by a minute of the election signed by 98 deputies. They were graciously received, and proceeded thence to a notary public in order to deposit with him a minute of the election, etc. They then separated to meet at two o'clock as a Grand Orient. But Rexès had meanwhile interviewed the Prefect of Police, and when the brethren arrived they found this notice on the door—"Freemasons are forbidden to meet for the election of a Grand Master before the end of next October. Signed Boitelle," etc., etc.

May 24.—The members of the Grand Orient published a formal and dignified protest against all these proceedings, attaching, very naturally, and it may be justly, all the blame to Rexès, the only one interested, to the extent of 9000 francs per annum, in the then existing arrangements.

May 28.—The *Opinion Nationale* published a letter from Prince Napoleon thanking the Fraternity for their sympathies; but in view of the strife which the election was engendering, requesting that his name might be no more mixed up in the matter. Then followed decrees of Murat's. The Grand Orient will not be convoked till October. Lodges in the metropolitan department of the Seine are suspended till further notice. A third, on May 29, after many "*whereas's*," goes on to say, "All brothers who have taken part in these illegal and unmasonic meetings in the hotel of the G. Orient, without our authority and in spite of our prohibition, are hereby declared unworthy; as soon as their names shall be known, and failing a disavowal on their part, they will be suspended." [Then follow the names of 24 brothers who *were* known and consequently suspended.] Signed, Murat.

July 29.—In a long manifesto, very dignified and Masonic, but misstating the facts, Murat declared that thenceforth the duties devolving upon him as G.M. had ceased to be *pleasing*. In fact he declined re-election, and appointed a committee composed of Boubée, Desanlis, Rexès, and the G.M.'s Council to manage affairs until the election in October. I must pass over the bickerings and recriminations in the ordinary as well as in the Masonic press—but these can very readily be imagined?

September 29.—The G.M.'s Council convoked an extraordinary General Assembly for October 14. As its sole business was to elect a G.M., the sitting was to close on the same date. This was followed by a dignified letter of advice from Murat to the Fraternity, and the publication of a private letter of Prince Napoleon begging the Craft to give their votes to some other brother.

October 10.—"We, Prefect of Police, on information received, in the interests of public security, do decree; all Masons are hereby interdicted from meeting in order to elect a G. Master before the month of May 1862. Signed Boitelle." This naturally raised further protests, amid which October 28 arrived, and the Order was without a G.M. Murat's time had lapsed, and no successor had been elected. Under these circumstances a committee handed in the name of *three* brothers to the Minister of the Interior, as administrators of the Craft, and claimed that their legal power should be acknowledged; but Murat had already

advised the minister of *five* of his own appointing, so that we now have two committees claiming to rule the Craft, and more discord.

1862.—January 11.—At last the Emperor took the matter into his own hands:—"Napoleon, by the grace of God, .·. .·. whereas, etc. Art. 1. The Grand Master of Freemasons in France, hitherto elected every three years according to the statutes of the Order, is now appointed directly by me for the same period. Art. 2. His Excellency, Marshal Magnan, is appointed Grand Master of the Grand Orient of France. Art. 3. Our Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of this decree. Given at our palace of the Tuileries, 11 Jan. 1862. Napoléon."

January 12.—Rexès waited upon Magnan to receive *instructions* for his initiation. This took place on the following day, Rexès and four others conferring upon him from the 1° to the 33° at one sitting! This of course was exceedingly irregular, and Blanche and Sauley told the Marshal so the day succeeding, when they in turn came to make arrangements. Their conversation with the new Grand Master resulted in Rexès's immediate impeachment, trial, and degradation from his office.

It will scarcely be expected that the Craft should have prospered during these troublous times. According to Rebold's lists, the Grand Orient constituted Lodges and Chapters, etc., in 1848, 7; 1849, 8; 1850, 9; 1851, 4; 1852, 4; 1853, 2; 1854, 2; 1855, 0 [about 10 had become dormant this year; the total number of Craft Lodges was only 180 active, as against 255 in 1847]; 1856, 2; 1857, 5 [and 5 relieved from suspension]; 1858, 12; 1859, 7 [and 3 reinstated]; 1860, 9 [and 7 reinstated]; 1861, 5 [and 3 reinstated].

In 1852, at the election of Murat, the bank book of the Grand Orient showed a credit to the amount of over 50,000 francs (£2000); at the close of his term, October 31, 1861, it presented a deficit of 68,446 francs.

One more and last fact to show the decadence which had overtaken the spirit of Masonry during the past lamentable period. In order to provide funds for the continually increasing needs of the Grand Orient, the Grand Master's Council had hired out a part of its premises, within the very walls of its own hotel, to serve as a ballroom for the use of the *Demi-monde.* Need we wonder that thoughtful and earnest Masons, meeting within the same walls, should have grown indignant at this forced proximity of a "school of morals" to a *rendezvous* of immorality, and that, in their own corridors, the sons of light should jostle the modern representatives of Phryne and the *Bacchantes.*

At the entrance of Magnan on the scene, the position of the rival jurisdictions was, as nearly as can be estimated: Grand Orient—France, 158 Lodges and 59 Chapters, Councils, etc.; Algeria, 11 Lodges and 7 Chapters; Colonies and abroad, 20 Lodges and 14 Chapters: in all, 189 Lodges, 80 Chapters. A. and A.S.R. 33°—France, 41 Lodges and 10 Chapters; Algeria, Colonies, and abroad, 9 Lodges and 5 Chapters: in all, 50 Lodges and 15 Chapters. Rite of Misraim—5 Lodges. Grand total of French Freemasonry:—244 Lodges practising degrees of the Craft, and 95 bodies—composed of Masons—playing at philosophy!

January 15.—Magnan presided over the G.O. for the first time, and appointed as his Deputy Grand Masters, Doumet and Heuillant. He was installed on the 8th February. His speeches on these occasions foreshadowed his subsequent conduct. He admitted, in so many words, that his appointment by the Emperor was an infraction of the Landmarks, but he promised to rule constitutionally, and to obtain, as soon as possible, the restoration to the

Grand Orient of its privileges, and observed, "Your Grand Master is but one brother the more—*primus inter pares.*" Of this Latin phrase he was very fond, often using it to define his position. Under his sway order and regularity were soon restored, and the arbitrary character of Murat's administration considerably amended. Magnan, however, could himself occasionally play the tyrant, as his action respecting the A. and A.S.R. 33° will show. Soon after his nomination he met Viennet, the Sov. G. Com. of the Supreme Council, whom he informed that he read the Emperor's decree as appointing him to be Grand Master of *all* French Freemasons, and concluded, "prepare to receive me as your Grand Master also, I will no longer suffer *petites églises.*" Viennet smiled and retired. On February 1, he wrote kindly to Viennet, announcing his formal intention of reuniting dissenting Lodges to the Grand Orient. Viennet replied on the 3rd, pointing out that the Constitution of the Supreme Council rendered this absolutely impossible, and that as long as a single 33° man remained, he would become the head of the Rite, etc. On April 30 Magnan addressed a circular to all the Scots Lodges: "For many years a deplorable schism has desolated French Masonry, . . . a Sovereign Will desires to-day its unity, . . . and has confided to me the universal direction of all French Rites. . . . I trust you will not force me to use measures repugnant to my fraternal feelings. . . . Presidents of Lodges under the ex-Supreme Council, do not misunderstand the position: it is from me, from the Grand Orient, that you now hold. . . . On June 9 I trust to be surrounded by the deputies of *all* lodges. Signed, Magnan." No satisfactory answers arriving, on May 22 he issued a decree abolishing the Supreme Council. "Whereas . . . by this decree the Emperor recognises only one Masonic authority, that of the Grand Orient. . . . Art. 1. The Masonic powers known as Supreme Council, Misraim, etc., are dissolved, etc., etc." Viennet replied on May 25: "*M. le Maréchal*, for the third time you summon me to recognise your authority. . . . I declare I will not comply. . . . The Imperial decree named you G.M. of the G. Orient, established 1772, but gave you no authority over ancient Masonry dating from 1723. . . . The Emperor alone has power to dissolve us. If he should believe it to be his duty to do so, I shall submit without hesitation; but as no law obliges us to be Masons in spite of our wishes, I shall permit myself, for my own part, to withdraw from your domination. Signed, Viennet."

Shortly afterwards, the Emperor expressed to Viennet his wish to see a fusion accomplished. The latter replied that he could not, according to the Statutes, allow a fusion, but would dissolve the Supreme Council if the Emperor wished it. As nothing further was done, it is probable the Emperor hinted to Magnan to let the matter drop. The circular of April 30 above mentioned caused, however, the dormant Rite of Memphis to petition for admission under the College of Rites, which took effect on October 18.

1862.—March 25.—Magnan wrote to the Minister of the Interior, that as he was now the person responsible to the Emperor, he must insist on the decrees closing several provincial Lodges being annulled. To which Persigny consented on the 29th.

May 20.—Magnan summoned the Grand Orient to meet on June 9 to revise the Constitution. Accordingly, on that and succeeding days it was slightly altered, the change consisting in greatly increasing the number of the Grand Master's Council, which was made entirely elective, and vested with the administrative power, subject to a veto of the G.M. who preserved the executive functions. This was certainly a step in

the right direction.[1] In 1862, 22 Lodges and Chapters were constituted, and 3 restored from dormancy to activity—a joyful sign of progress.

1864.—May.—Magnan, having restored order and won the general approbation of the Fraternity, induced the Emperor to restore to the Craft its right of election, and was immediately re-elected by the Grand Orient. He died May 29, 1865.

1865.—June 5-10.—Meeting of the Grand Orient. General Mellinet was elected Grand Master. A movement in favour of abolishing all high degrees made itself strongly felt, and the motion was only lost on the 7th by 86 votes to 83—a very narrow majority.

1868.—In this year even the Supreme Council made advances towards a more liberal Constitution. The lately appointed Sov. G. Commander, Crémieux, caused his appointment to be confirmed by the Lodges, and thus abrogated the hitherto existing right of a Sov. G. Com. to appoint his successor—a great blow at the autocratic nature of the institution.

1869.—July 8.—The Grand Orient passed a resolution that neither *colour*, *race*, nor religion, should disqualify a man for initiation. This procured the friendship of the Supreme Council of Louisiana, the first Grand Body to receive ex-slaves, but entailed the rupture of amicable relations with almost all the other Grand Lodges in the United States.

1870.—June.—At the General Assembly, Mellinet resigned the office of Grand Master, which the Grand Orient resolved to abolish, and until the confirmation of a resolution to that effect, elected and installed Babaud-Larivière.

1871.—September 6.—The Grand Orient confirmed the above resolution, the Grand Master resigned, and was appointed President of the Council. In 1872 he was succeeded by St Jean, M.D., as President. Although it is possible that true Freemasonry might exist without a Grand Master—as in older days—subsequent events have proved that this was only the first step in a series, marking the decadence of the French Craft, and which resulted in its being ignored entirely by almost all the Freemasons of other countries. The Lodges had become filled by men of advanced socialistic ideas. Their influence made itself felt in a sphere which should have been jealously kept free from political or religious controversy; and the French Fraternity, which, as we have seen, never did possess a distinct idea of the true purposes of the Craft, or of its history and origin, gradually and surely effaced every landmark till it arrived at its present pitiful condition. One landmark, that it should not interfere in the politics of its native land, it had, from the very first, constantly overstepped; the deposition of the Grand Master—himself the type of a constitutional monarch—was the reflex action of the Republican feelings of its members. We shall next see it intermeddling in the most ridiculous fashion with international politics, and finally effacing the very name of the Deity from its records. One single virtue it retains; it still exercises great charity in the narrowest sense; charity in its divine signification, in its highest attributes, it has seldom exemplified. At various times, individual Lodges have indeed excelled in *all* that Freemasonry should be, and I regret that space forbids my doing justice to those Lodges and their works; but, as a whole, the Freemasons of France have ever

[1] Rebold's History closes with 1862. The only books known to me which carry the History of French Freemasonry further, are the "*Allgemeines Handbuch*," vol. iv., presenting a mere encyclopædic sketch, and Findel's 4th German edition, which, however, is in the main a summary of the "*Handbuch*." As I am not in a position to search the archives of the Grand Orient, or the files of the French Masonic press, the remaining facts to be now related are given on the authority of the "*Handbuch*," which probably contains all matters of more than passing interest.

been vain, ambitious, frivolous, contentious, and wanting in dignity and independence; and their representative bodies, whether Grand Lodge, Grand Orient, or Supreme Council, have been abitrary, quarrelsome, slavishly subservient to the Government, repressive towards their Lodges, bureaucratic, and devoid of all idea of their true mission. "Englishmen look on Freemasonry with veneration, Germans with awe. Frenchmen adopted it without thought, but with ardour; and soon it became with them a plaything on account of certain pomps; they surrounded it with the cloak of chivalry; they loaded it with multi-coloured ribands or ultra-antique ceremonies; and if we seek the deepest and most serious signification of these usages, we only meet with means conducing to *external* culture; whilst the English and Germans have at all times regarded Masonry as a means to perfect *the spirit and the heart;* this is why it has degenerated in France. In that country Lodges sprout up like mushrooms, but they die out as quickly."[1]

A general Masonic Congress was projected for December 8 in reply to the Œcumenical Council at Rome in 1869, but it was first delayed, and then rendered impossible by the Franco-German war of 1870.

1871.—September 16.—Ten Paris Lodges published a most ridiculous circular, citing the German Emperor and Crown Prince to appear before them and answer to a Masonic charge of perjury! In November, another Paris Lodge summoned a convent of impartial Masons to meet on March 15, 1871, at Lausanne, in Switzerland, and try their cause of complaint against Brothers William and Frederick of Hohenzollern, *i.e.*, the Emperor and Crown Prince. All the Grand Lodges of Europe and America, those of Germany excepted, were invited to attend, and in case of the non-appearance of the accused they were threatened with divers pains and penalties. It is surprising that the Grand Lodge "Alpina" of Switzerland, should have even deigned to protest, and of course nothing else was ever heard of this insane project. During the time of the Commune, many Paris Lodges united in a public demonstration against the French Government; and after the war many Lodges throughout the country excluded all Germans from their membership; even the *Loge l'Anglaise, No.* 204, of Bordeaux, descended to this miserable exhibition of malevolence. The number of Lodges under the Grand Orient was considerably reduced at this time by the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and the formation of a Grand Orient in Hungary, where many French Lodges existed.

1873.—September 22.—The Grand Orient held its centenary festival. On this occasion the high degrees *as such* were refused participation by 111 votes against 99. The Chapters, etc., threatened to secede from the Grand Orient in consequence, but few really did so. The war had very much thinned their ranks and reduced their importance.

1875.—In this year the veteran academician Littré was initiated; his reception was considered in the Craft as an anti-clerical demonstration, and awakened much satisfaction in consequence. Our volatile French brethren have always had an affection for initiating men of advanced years, of which I have given a few examples in the course of these pages.[2]

1877.—September 10.—The Grand Orient resolved to alter the first article of the Constitutions of 1849. I have already pointed out[3] that on August 10, 1849, for the first time in French Masonry, it was distinctly formulated "that the basis of Freemasonry is a belief in God and in the immortality of the soul, and the solidarity of Humanity." With the consent of two-thirds of the Lodges, this now reads, "Its basis is absolute liberty of Conscience and

[1] Quoted by Rebold, p. 412, from the German. [2] *Ante*, pp. 118, 157, 179. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

the solidarity of Humanity." The rituals were then changed in conformity; all allusions to the Great Architect of the Universe being everywhere eliminated. In consequence of this measure, the Grand Lodges of England,[1] Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and in most of the United States ceased to be in communion with the French Craft. Not that the relations between England and the Grand Orient had ever been very close. The latter was doubtless tacitly acknowledged by England as an independent Masonic power, but never formally so. No correspondence passed between the two, no exchange of representatives was ever made. But French Masons who were formerly received and welcomed in all English Lodges, can now only be admitted, on certifying that they were made in a Lodge acknowledging the G.A.O.T.U., and that they themselves hold such a belief to be a pre-requisite to Freemasonry. With this mournful episode, let us close the history of the French Grand Orient. Indeed, in our eyes, French Freemasonry no longer exists. What remains is spurious, irregular, and illegitimate. I must nevertheless present a short account of a movement which began in 1879, and would have merited our approbation had it only reverted to that most ancient landmark of the Craft, the expression of a belief in the Deity.

As was the case in 1848, it was from the bosom of the autocratic Scots Rite that the cry arose for the autonomy of the Craft; it was the A. and A.S.R. Masons, who, feeling most the yoke, made one more effort to free themselves from the irresponsible rule of the high degrees.

On January 3, 1879, papers were read in the Lodge, *La Justice*, No. 133, A. and A.S.R., and subsequently printed, calling for a judicious rearrangement of the Constitutions. On March 15 following, the first Section of the *Grande Loge Centrale* (corresponding to a Grand Lodge of Master Masons) met. A Bro. Ballue of the Lodge Justice dropped a proposal of amendment into the box. On April 15, five members of the first Section, viz., the Vice-President Goumain-Cornille, the Senior Warden Denus, the Orator Mesureur, the Secretary Dubois, and Ballue, W.M. of Justice, issued a circular embodying these proposals, and calling upon Masters of Lodges for support. A few extracts from this circular will define the grievances of the Lodges, and explain the wished-for reforms. "Scottish Freemasonry in France is passing through a crisis, crushed by the dogmatic authority which rules it. . . . Without control over the finances of the Rite, our Lodges find their existence seriously menaced by the many taxes and dues which weigh upon them. All manly effort is blamed, all work inspired by the spirit of liberty censured, all initiative is rendered sterile by excessive regulations which condemn all to a fatal stagnation. . . . We ask then to be free, . . . etc." The chief points of the proposal to the first Section were:—(1.) the President of the first Section to be elected by members of the Masters' Lodges; (2.) the first Section to *itself* arrange the dates of its meetings and the agenda paper, instead of this being done by the Supreme Council; (3.) the Supreme Council to confine itself to governing the high degrees, but the Lodges to govern themselves, through their deputies assembled in the first Section. In a word, it was sought to establish a procedure, like that obtaining in England with regard to the Craft and the Royal Arch.

It will be readily understood that strife at once arose. The Lodge *La Justice* and the first Section were both accused of irregularity in issuing circulars without the previous consent of the Supreme Council. Their accusers, however, committed precisely the same offence, and

[1] *Ante*, p. 26

were not reprimanded by the Supreme Council, whereas at a meeting of the first Section on May 20, 1879 (the officers having been all replaced by others), a decree from the Supreme Council was read, suspending for two years the five subscribers to the circular, closing the Lodge Justice, and forbidding the first Section to entertain the proposal of said Lodge. Hereupon ensued a scene of disorder, the President quitted the chair, the gas was turned off, and the meeting broke up.

1879. — July 14. — No less than sixteen Lodges protested against the recent proceedings of the Supreme Council, and—August 12—a circular was issued signed by 103 Masons, announcing the formation of a provisional committee of five for the following purposes:—(1.) To inform the Supreme Council of the resolution to form a *Grande Loge Symbolique* under the obedience of the Supreme Council, or temporarily outside such obedience; and (2.) to obtain as soon as possible the support of the various Lodges who had already shown themselves favourable to the movement.

Crémieux, the Sovereign Grand Commander, then intervened, and of his own accord reinstated all the suspended members, but the Supreme Council disavowed his act on October 30, by erasing the names of the six most prominent offenders. This naturally meant war to the knife, and nine Lodges issued a circular on November 20, declaring that they thereby constituted themselves into a Grand Independent Symbolic Lodge, and inviting the other Lodges to join them. Therein, they curiously profess to remain, as ever, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Masons; they do not wish to establish a new Rite, but to resume the rights and power which the Supreme Council had usurped in their despite. Their motto is thus expressed—"The government of the high degrees to the Supreme Council, that of the Lodges to the Grand Lodge." This retention of the (so-called) Scottish Rite, with its 33 degrees, has been further emphasised by a change of title to "*Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise*," but in Lodge or Grand Lodge no degree beyond that of Master Mason is recognised. The first constituent assembly was called for December 20, 1879.

The Supreme Council replied to this on November 29 and December 5 by erasing more names; and on February 10, 1880, all hopes of a reconciliation were destroyed by the death of the Sov. G. Com. Crémieux.

On February 12 the new Grand Lodge received the permission of government to hold its meetings, and announced its existence at home and abroad by circular of March 8. It was composed of 12 Lodges—at Paris 8, and 1 each in Havre, Saintes, Lyons, and Egypt.

1880.—March 11.—The Supreme Council, thoroughly worsted, issued a general amnesty, but it was too late. The Grand Lodge had attained a separate existence, and refused to give up its independence; but it acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council, in all matters concerning the high degrees, over such of its members as passed beyond the 3rd degree.

Its Constitutions, approved August 23, 1880, deserve a few words of notice. The first declaration of principles reads, "Freemasonry rests on the *solidarité humaine*." This evasion of the acknowledgment of a Divine Power places it outside Anglo-Saxon Freemasonry. It requires of its members loyalty to their country and abstention from politics in Lodge. The Grand Lodge is composed of deputies from each Lodge, who need not be *members* of the provincial—but *must be* of the Paris Lodges, and also residents in the metropolis. Three members of Grand Lodge are elected as the Executive Commission; they may not accept or hold Grand Office. A president directs the meetings of Grand Lodge, but he is not a Grand Master,

having no executive power. Also—unheard-of liberality in French Masonry—no restriction or censorship is placed upon Masonic publications, whether emanating from an individual or a Lodge. The remainder of the 71 articles breathe a like spirit of liberty with order, and were it not for the unfortunate agnostic principles of this new body, the Grand Lodge appears worthy of support. Its jurisdiction on November 10, 1884, extended over 26 Lodges, of which 19 were in Paris, 5 at Lyons, 1 at Havre, and 1 at Tours.[1]

In 1867 the Grand Orient of France was at the head of 250 Lodges and 86 Chapters, etc.; in 1879, 260 Lodges and 45 Chapters, etc. At the same date the A. and A.S.R. ruled over 81 Lodges and 25 Chapters, etc. At the present moment[2] the governing committee of the Grand Orient is the Council of the Order (formerly Council of the G.M.), with Cousin as its president, and its roll enumerates 294 Lodges, of which 32 have a Chapter or other body attached to them.

The Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R., with Proal as Sovereign Grand Commander, claims the allegiance of 80 Lodges, 19 Chapters, and 5 Areopagi; and the Mother-Lodge, "the Rainbow" of the Rite of Misraim, boasts of 5 subordinate Lodges. All other Rites are practically extinct, because the Grand Orient claims to have absorbed the following Rites at the dates affixed, and its Chamber of Rites is divided into 7 sections, one for each Rite:

1 Sec.	French Modern Rite, ...	created 1786,		degrees	7
2 „	Rite of Heredom or Perfection (Emperors),	„ 1758, G.O. assumed control 1814,		„	25
3 „	Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, .	„ „	1814,	„	33
4 „	Rite of *Hérédom* Kilwinning (Royal Order of Scotland),	„ „ and finally absorbed it	1814, 1823,	„	7
5 „	Scots Philosophic Rite, . .	G.O. assumed control	1814,	„	12
6 „	Rectified Scots Rite of Strict Observance,	„ „	1814,	„	5
7 „	Rite of Memphis, . . .	ceded control to G.O.	1862,	„	95

Yet for very many years no charters have been granted for any of these Rites except for the first and third; and, as will be seen by comparing the lists given by me at various times, the percentage of capitular bodies is gradually decreasing.[3] As regards the Rite of Memphis, the last two Lodges under this system reverted to the modern French Rite in 1868, so that not a single Lodge in France is now active in the 7th section, which, therefore, like most of the others, is quite useless, and exists only in name.

[1] I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr G. Collar Dickey, of Paris, who has kindly furnished me with the foregoing information, comprising even more details than I have been able to find room for, together with copies of the circulars, Constitutions, etc., referred to.

[2] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885.

[3] This is the most hopeful sign of French Freemasonry—an increasing tendency to confine itself to the three degrees of pure and ancient Freemasonry.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FREEMASONRY IN NORTHERN EUROPE—SWEDEN, NORWAY, DENMARK, HOLLAND, LUXEMBURG, BELGIUM, RUSSIA, POLAND.

SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

THE history of Freemasonry in Sweden possesses an interest peculiar to itself. The Swedes appear to have fallen away from the simple teachings of the Craft as easily and early as the other nationalities of Europe, but with this difference, that instead of flitting from one Rite to another, constantly seeking variety, they have remained steadfast to their first heresy, and still work the same ceremonies that originally riveted their attention about 1760. These ceremonies are in great part their own invention, although based—not improbably—upon the degrees of the Clermont Chapter; and as they have only been adopted by one Grand Body in Prussia, and by Denmark, Sweden has ever since been practically outside the circle of Freemasonry—a distant connection only of the great Masonic family. This want of *intimate* Masonic intercourse, combined with a marked absence of indigenous Masonic literature, is the reason that any history of Swedish Freemasonry can be no more than a sketch. The two best attempts at a history with which I am acquainted[1] are merely reproductions, as regard early facts, of Thory's "Acta Latomorum," and agree so closely with respect to later occurrences, as to warrant the conviction that they are either based on the same original, or copied one from the other. My own account will therefore present little or no novelty. Considering the peculiar position of the Craft in Scandinavia, this paucity of material is somewhat vexatious.

Among the many Swedes who were admitted to the Fraternity in England and France may be mentioned Count Axel Eric Wrede Sparre, who was initiated at Paris May 4, 1731, and on his return to Sweden, is asserted to have founded a Lodge at Stockholm. Of this Lodge nothing further is known, and it is presumed that it disappeared in consequence of a royal edict of October 21, 1738, forbidding Freemasonry in Sweden on pain of death.

The *Handbuch* informs us[2] that in 1736 Count Carl Fr. Scheffer was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Sweden, but of this worthy we know literally nothing, and can only infer

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Schweden; and Findel, Gesch. der Freim., 4th edit., pp. 596-608.

[2] Citing "Northouck's Constitutions," p. 428—a reference which, after collating *all* the "Books of Constitutions," I have been unable to verify.

that the decree of 1738 may possibly have put a stop to his activity. The edict, however, was withdrawn in the same year, and in 1740-45 we become aware of further traces of Freemasonry. In 1746 a Lodge existed at Stockholm, called "St John Auxiliary," in which year, on the birth of Gustavus III., and again in 1753, on that of the Princess Sophia, it struck commemorative medals. From that date we may look upon the Craft as firmly established in the country, although the Lodge in question—generally considered the Mother-Lodge of Sweden—was not regularly constituted until January 2, 1752, under Count Knutson Porse. Even at this early period the Fraternity was strong enough to found an orphanage (1753), which has since grown to a most prosperous institution, the just pride of the Swedish Craft. In 1753 also, H.M. Adolf Frederik himself founded and presided over a second Lodge in Stockholm, and Lodges arose at Gothenburg (1754), Stockholm and Helsingfors (1756), and at Stockholm again in 1757. The Swedish metropolis was next invaded by a Scots Lodge—1758—and in the following year there was a further addition to its roll—the Lodge "Union"—which conducted its proceedings in the French language. So that at this important date (1759) there were at least eight Lodges at work in the country.

According to Lawrie,[1] "the first Lodge in Sweden was erected at Stockholm in 1754, under a patent from Scotland." Here, however, he apparently only follows Smith,[2] from whose pages he copied very freely. Smith, it may be observed, goes a step further, and states that the Lodge of 1754 was, in 1783, the Grand Lodge of Sweden. But as in the same work he observes, with regard to some Lodges at Prague in Bohemia, that "they are all under the Constitution of Scotland, or at least, they call themselves *Scotch* Masons,"[3] the light thus shed upon his method of research will justify our believing, that in the *Scots* Lodge of 1758 we have the *fons et origo* of the alleged *Scottish* Lodge of 1754. To this it may be added, that the first *foreign* Lodge *on the roll* of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, was the "St Andrew's," chartered at Boston (U.S.A.) in 1756.[4]

In 1759 a Grand Lodge of Sweden was formed, of which Count Eckleff—who had travelled far and wide—appears to have been the chief instigator and first G.M. It was formally inaugurated on December 25. As regards the presidency of Count Eckleff, the facts are somewhat in dispute, it being variously maintained that he only gave way in 1773 to the Duke of Sudermania; that he merely exercised the office for a few years; and even that he was never G.M. of the Craft at all, but simply "Head Master" of the Scots Lodge. I much regret my inability to reconcile, or decide between, these discrepant statements, which, as we shall presently see,[5] are of great importance in relation to Zinnendorff's proceedings in Germany. It is further asserted, and with much probability, that Eckleff was a member of the Chapter of Clermont; that he modified the degrees of that body; and that he gradually introduced them into Sweden—thus forming the Swedish Rite. At that date, however, there is no indication of high degrees beyond one Scots Lodge, and the High Chapter was not erected until subsequently. Meanwhile we find traces of a very few Lodges in Norway, erected by the English Prov. Grand Lodge of Denmark. At the formal union of the two kingdoms, such of these as survived, came under the rule of the Swedish Grand Lodge.

In 1760, the first signs of the Clermont degrees making a distinct advance, are to be observed.

[1] 1804, p. 134. [2] The Use and Abuse of Freemasonry, 1783, p. 199. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., pp. 478, 479.
[3] P. 221. [4] *Ante*, Chap. XX., p. 470. [5] Chap. XXVII.

It does not appear, however, that the new Rite made any immediate progress, as in 1763 official documents still only speak of Freemasons, and make no mention of Knights.

In 1762—December 7—King Adolf Fredrik wrote to Baron Saltza, the G.M., announcing that he assumed the title of Protector, and that he was ready to bear a part in the expense of organising the Order. The King was W.M. of the second Stockholm Lodge.

It is curious to record, that in spite of the existence of this Grand Lodge, the G.L. of England, under Lord Blaney—April 10, 1765—issued a warrant to Charles Fullman[1] as Prov. G.M. of Sweden—but at all times English Masons have troubled themselves very little with what was going on abroad. It is of course possible, that the patent was granted at the request of brethren who were dissatisfied with the new Rite. Our records, however, are silent on this point. The result of the appointment was not very great. In the Lodge List of 1770[2] there appear under the Nos. 385-387, Lodges 1, 2, and 3 in Sweden, constituted in 1769. These were carried forward—still without names—as Nos. 250, 251, 252 (in 1792), until the Union of 1813, and then disappear. On comparing the Swedish lists, I am unable to find any Lodges constituted between 1762 and 1774, so that in these three English Lodges we are presented with a pretty little nut for future historians to crack.[3] About this time also (1765), Schubart came to Sweden to introduce the system of the Strict Observance, in which he was unsuccessful. The Swedish Rite rather aimed at a spiritual revival of the Order of the Temple, and the German at its material restoration.

It has been asserted that the influence of Swedenborg's writings was very powerful in moulding the doctrines of the Swedish Rite, which was remodelled and rearranged in 1766 in the following manner:—

It consisted of 9 degrees: 1°, 2°, and 3°, the true Craft grades; 4°, Scots Apprentices and Fellows; 5°, Scots Masters; 6°, Knights of the East and Jerusalem; 7°, Knights of the West, Templars; 8°, Knights of the South, Master of the Temple; 9°, Vicarius Salomonis. It is, however, doubtful whether the 9th degree existed before 1780. In the 8° the Templar legend is communicated:—"Shortly before his death Molay discovered to his nephew Beaujeu all the rituals, treasures, etc., of the Order of the Temple. With the assistance of nine Templars Beaujeu disinterred the corpse of the G.M., and being disguised as Masons they removed the remains in their aprons. Subsequently they adopted the apron as a distinguishing badge of their new organisation, and sought refuge amongst the fraternity of stone-masons."

It is of course quite possible to consider this crystallisation of the Clermont ideas as the result of Schubart's mission, although it scarcely took the form intended by him.

Under these circumstances, *i.e.*, possessing a special rite of its own, only lately established, it is somewhat surprising, that in 1770, the Grand Lodge of Sweden applied to that of England for formal recognition, acknowledging the illegality of its French charters, and that it was recognised as a Grand Lodge with power to constitute Lodges in Sweden only. Possibly, this step was the result of Fullman's exertions as English Provincial Grand Master, and the three Swedish Lodges which obtained English numbers in 1770, may have been three of the already existing Lodges at Stockholm? It is certain, however, that the incident produced no retarding effect upon the propagation of the Swedish Rite.

[1] Secretary to the British Ambassador at Stockholm (Constitutions 1767). [2] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, p. 65.

[3] In 1773, another English Lodge was warranted at Stockholm by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge (London). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., p. 470, note 6.

In 1771 Adolf Fredrik died, and was succeeded by Gustavus III., whose brother Karl, Duke of Sudermania, became Grand Master in 1773. In 1775 the King entered Grand Lodge as a member. His exact position is not easily defined, inasmuch as he was superior in dignity to the G.M., although the term Vicarius Salomonis was not yet in use. It is probable that under the name of Protector he exercised the highest control; and that this title, towards 1780, was merged in that of Vicar. Gustavus III. is charged with having made use of Freemasonry for political purposes, employing it—as a counterpoise to the influence and power of the nobility—to bring into prominence and power, talented men of humbler birth who were devoted to their Grand Master. However this may be, it is not to be disputed that in no other country has the Craft been so intimately controlled and directed by the Royal Family, and that it soon acquired the aspect of a State institution, a character which it now possesses in the highest degree. The events of 1776-81, during which for a time, the Duke of Sudermania occupied the post left vacant in Germany by the death of Von Hund, have already been narrated.[1] The fears of the Landgrave Karl, that political motives lay at the bottom of the movement, were probably not unfounded.

In 1777 the Grand Chapter was formed, and Gustavus became Vicarius Salomonis, thus putting the Cape-stone on the edifice of the Swedish Rite. In the same year Zinnendorff's acts in Germany were repudiated, of which more hereafter.[2]

On March 22, 1778, the first Provincial Grand Lodge was erected—for the provinces of Schonen, Halland, and Blekinge; and on July 16, 1779, a second for Gothenburg. The third body of the kind under the Grand Lodge of Sweden was instituted at Linköping in 1813.

The Lodge of St Magnus, No. 199, Gothenburg, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, November 6, 1780.

In 1780 the Rite was rearranged, and divided into three classes. I.—St John's Lodges, comprising the Craft. II.—St Andrew's Lodges, the Scots degrees, 4°, Elects or Scots Apprentices and Fellows; 5°, Scots Master or Grand Scots Elect; 6°, Stuart brothers or Knights of the East and Princes of Jerusalem. III.—Chapter, 7°, Confidants of Solomon, formerly Knights of the West; 8°, Confidants of St John; 9°, Confidants of St Andrew. Beyond this is a sort of 10°, composed of three steps of honour, Knights, followed by Commanders, of the Red Cross, and Vicar of Solomon. The ruling body of the Order is this 10th degree, and its officers are called the Grand Wardens of the Crown, Lamp, Sword, Square, Temple, the Standard, the Grand Chancellor, Treasurer, and Architects, and at the head of all is the Vicar of Solomon. Owing to the Christian colour of Freemasonry in Sweden, Solomon throughout is but a type of Christ, and his Vicar consequently becomes Christ's Vicar, a species of Protestant Pope. That the office is now always held by the King of the country is therefore only natural. The Rite having been remodelled, the King and upwards of 400 brethren met on the Stockholm Exchange, and with great pomp and solemnity invested the Duke of Sudermania with the attributes of Vicar and Grand Master conjoined, and the King himself, after promising the Craft his protection, clothed the G.M. with a splendid ermine mantle as his robe of office.

In 1781 Karl resigned the Provincial Grand Mastership of Germany, and in 1792 Gustavus III. was assassinated, his son, a minor, Gustavus IV., next ascending the throne. Being only twelve years old, his uncle Karl, the Vicar and Grand Master, was regent of the

[1] *Ante*, pp. 110-112.

[2] Chap. XXVII. (Grand National Lodge of Germany).

kingdom until 1796. Gustavus was initiated by him in 1793, but even after commencing to reign independently he made no effort to assume the direction of Masonic affairs. Indeed he never took any prominent part in Freemasonry, possibly owing to his aversion to his uncle, beyond in 1796 decreeing that in future all Swedish Princes were by birthright Freemasons.

On January 24, 1798, the Duke of Sudermania wrote a long letter to the Grand Lodge of England praying for a regular intercourse and mutual representation. This was presented in Quarterly Communication by the Baron Silverhjelm, April 10, 1799—and replied to by the G.M. of England, George, Prince of Wales, on May 8, 1799.[1] In spite of the great difference in ritual, the two Grand Lodges have ever since been in fraternal communion.

On March 26, 1803, the King issued a strict prohibition against the existence of all secret societies, from which, however, Masons were specially excepted. On March 13, 1809, he was dethroned, retired in exile to St Gall, and died in 1837. He was succeeded by his uncle, Charles XIII. (Duke of Sudermania), Grand Master and Vicarius Salomonis. Charles completed the Masonic political edifice by instituting—May 27, 1811—the Civil Order of Charles XIII., to be conferred on thirty members only, besides princes, of the 10th degree of the Swedish Rite, whereof 27 must be laymen and 3 in holy orders. The King himself to be always the Master of the Order. The insignia are a red enamelled cross, bound in gold, surmounted by a royal crown, worn on a red ribbon as a collar round the neck, and a smaller but similar cross, minus the crown, on the left breast. He then resigned the Grand Mastership in favour of his adopted son and heir, Bernadotte (Karl XIV.), retaining, however, the office of Vicarius. About this time, many complaints were made against Swedish Masons, for refusing to recognise brethren of German jurisdictions, except those of Zinnendorff's Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge, Royal York of Berlin, formally but unavailingly, protested in 1814; and it was not until 1863, that this intolerance was put an end to, by the action of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes. In 1818 Karl died, and was succeeded by Karl XIV. (Jean Bernadotte), who assumed the title of Vicar, and appointed his son Oscar to the Grand Mastership, which he had himself previously held from 1811. In the same year the Grand National Lodge of Berlin (Zinnendorff's) was supplied with the complete ritual, which it had never hitherto possessed, and mutual representatives were appointed. From that time their work and organisation became identical.

Little remains to be narrated. In 1844 Karl XIV. was succeeded by his son, Oscar I., who, already G.M., assumed the office of Vicar, and combined both dignities until his death in 1859. His son, Karl XV., then became Vicar, and appointed his brother, Oscar Fredrik, the heir-apparent, Grand Master. In 1868 our present English Grand Master, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, was initiated by the latter, who, mounting the throne as Oscar II., in 1872 became Vicar of Solomon. His admission into the Fraternity took place in 1848. The Grand Masters under the present king have been Count Sten Lewenhaupt, who was succeeded by Magnus Huss, and the latter by the Crown Prince Oscar Gustaf Adolf—initiated January 13, 1877—the present G.M. of the Swedish Craft.[2] Its Lodge roll at the present date comprises 5 Provincial Grand Lodges, 11 St Andrew, and 25 other Lodges.[3]

[1] Chap. XX., p. 488.

[2] For the names of all Swedish Mason Princes, see G. W. Speth, Royal Freemasons, 1885.

[3] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885.

DENMARK.

There are before me four accounts of the progress of the Craft in Denmark, which all agree most remarkably;[1] but in truth there is very little to narrate.

The first Lodge in Copenhagen was erected by Baron von Münnich, November 11, 1743, which, January 13, 1745, took the name of St Martin. Münnich was a member of the "Three Globes" at Berlin, but does not seem to have possessed any authority for his acts.[2] The Lodge applied for, and was granted a warrant by the Grand Lodge of England, October 9, 1749, as No. 204, and first appears in the Engraved List for 1750.[3] In 1756 it is shown as St Martin's Lodge, No. 139, but was not brought forward at the next change of numbers in 1770.

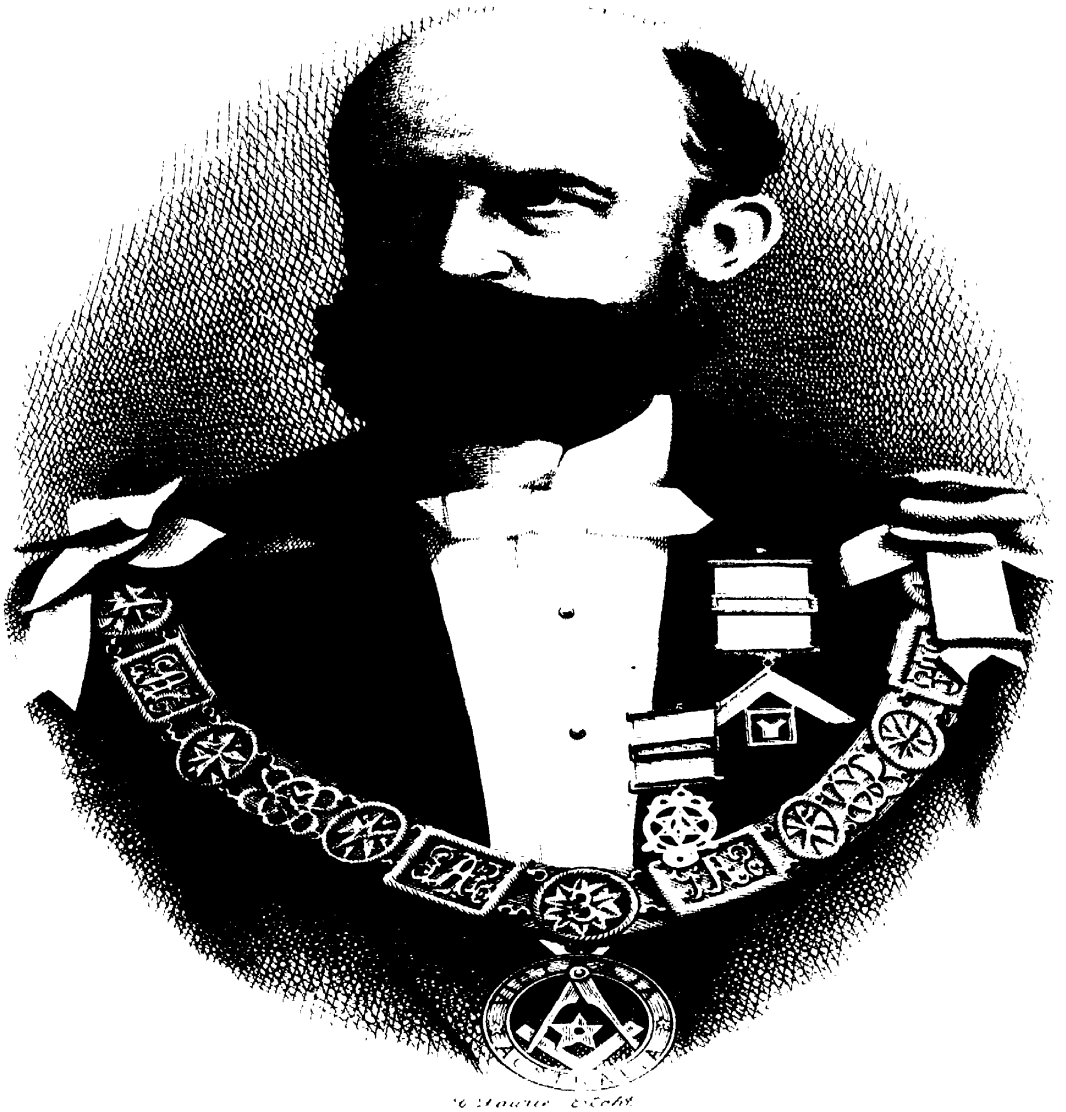
Hardly was it established when three members resigned and erected a second Lodge, Zerubbabel, on May 26, 1744. They forthwith applied to England for a warrant, but impatient of delay, betook themselves to Lüttmann in Hamburg, the English Prov. G.M. for Lower Saxony. As he also was too dilatory for them, they once more applied to England. Soon afterwards Lüttmann forwarded a dispensation, and on October 25, 1745, Lord Cranstoun signed their warrant. This was the "New Lodge, Copenhagen," No. 197, in the Engraved List for 1750, No. 130 in 1756, and which also drops out in 1770.

On October 2, 1747, a Danish brother, Von Dall, received a patent from the Scots Lodge, founded on the "Three Globes," to open a Scots Lodge in Copenhagen. This is probably the Lodge "Le petit nombre," which in 1753 applied to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a charter as a Grand Lodge, with the privilege of electing their own G.M. A *Provincial* commission was granted, the holder of which, and all Lodges erected by him, were required to acknowledge the G.L. of Scotland as their paramount superior.[4] The Lodge then acted as a G.L. for some time, but died out. In 1749 Lord Byron granted a patent to Count Danneskiold Laurvig[5] as Provincial Grand Master of Denmark and Norway, and a P.G.L. was erected, the deputy G.M. being the Russian Ambassador, Baron Korff. One or two other Lodges were probably instituted throughout the country, and we hear of a new one in Copenhagen in 1753, "the Three Ardent Hearts," constituted by the Three Globes of Berlin. That the degrees of the Clermont Chapter made some little way in the following years, is to be gathered from the fact that at Johnston's first Strict Observance Convent at Altenberg in 1764, Von Prangen appeared as a deputy from a Kiel Lodge. In 1765 the Strict Observance missionary, Schubart, appeared in Copenhagen, and managed to obtain Danish signatures to the act of Unquestioning Obedience, and the Provincial Lodge of Denmark at Copenhagen then took the rank and title of Prefectory Binin, under the immediate jurisdiction of Duke Ferdinand, and the special protection of the Landgrave Karl of Hesse. From that date the History of Freemasonry in Denmark is practically that of the Strict Observance; but some few details may be cited. In 1767 the first two Lodges, St Martin and Zerubbabel, united to form one—"Zerubbabel of the North Star"—working alternately in Danish

[1] Handbuch, *s.v.* Danemark; Findel, pp. 592-596; Latomia, vol. xxiii., Leipsic, 1864; and Heldmann, Die 3 Aeltesten Gesch. Denkmale, etc., 1819.

[2] Unless, indeed, the following passage from the Laws and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1836, introduction, pp. iv., v., refers to this Lodge. "The Lodge was raised to the dignity of G. Lodge of Denmark, having been erected in 1743 under the auspices of the G.L. of Scotland." But if Münnich's Lodge was warranted by Scotland, why did it apply to England in 1749? The supposition—an echo of Lawrie, who probably derived it from Smith (The Use and Abuse of Freemasonry, p. 199)—would also conflict with the former's statement respecting "le petit nombre." See the next paragraph but one above, and *ante*, p. 196.

[3] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, p. 56. [4] Lawrie, 1804, p. 184. [5] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333.



and German; but on November 18, 1778, a purely Danish Lodge was opened, "Frederick of the Crowned Hope," and Zerubbabel confined itself to the German language. In 1785 the modified S.O., or the Rite of the Beneficent Knights of the Holy City, was introduced in accordance with the resolutions of the Wilhelmsbad Convent; the first three degrees becoming once more almost purely English. The highest degrees, those of the Scots Directory, were not, however, established until 1819, and created so much opposition that the Altona Lodge erected a private Directory of its own. The Lodges at this time appear to have been practically independent of any real governing body.

In 1792 Duke Ferdinand died, and the Landgrave Karl became the sole head of the Danish Lodges. This event was succeeded on November 2, 1792, by a Cabinet decree of King Christian VII., officially recognising Freemasonry in his dominions on the sole condition that every Lodge should acknowledge Prince Karl as the Grand Master of the Craft.

Curiously enough, in the following year—February 6, 1793—a patent was signed by the Prince of Wales, appointing the same personage "*Provincial* G.M. of Denmark and Norway; his Danish Majesty's German Dominions; and also of such Lodges as had been under the immediate direction of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick."[1]

On Karl's death in 1836 the Crown Prince, subsequently Christian VIII., assumed the Protectorate, and under his rule the Craft prospered exceedingly. In 1841 the Crown Prince, afterwards Frederick VII., was initiated in the Odensee Lodge, Mary of the Three Hearts, and on his father's death in 1848, became Grand Master of the Danish Craft.

In 1853 the brethren at Helsingör and Altona introduced the Swedish Rite into their Lodges, and in 1855—January 6—a decree of the Royal G.M. made this Rite incumbent on all Danish Lodges. In the same year the two Copenhagen Lodges were fused into one, called "Zerubbabel and Frederick of the Crowned Hope." In 1857 the second grade, or the St Andrew Lodge, was instituted, first at Helsingör, and then at Copenhagen; and in 1859 the organisation was crowned by the constitution of the High Chapter at the castle of Frederiksborg, conferring only the seventh and two following degrees. This completed the formation of the Grand Lodge of the VIIIth. Province of the Temple, *i.e.*, Denmark.

In 1866, by the surrender of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, Denmark lost the Lodge at Altona; in like manner it had in 1814 lost the Norwegian Lodges; but it has since warranted three new Lodges, 1 at Aarhuus and 2 in Copenhagen.

At the head of the Craft is H.M. King Christian IX. as Protector; the Crown Prince Christian Frederick Wilhelm Karl is G.M., Vicarius Salomonis—and a Commander of the Swedish Order of Charles XIII. The Deputy Grand Master is J. P. Trap.[2] The roll of Lodges in 1879 comprised 2 St Andrew, and 7 other Lodges; and the Fraternity was estimated at 2800 members, thus giving an average of 300 per Lodge, a very large number, indeed, according to our English ideas. Abroad the Grand Lodge of Denmark has no daughters; the Lodges in the Danish colonies of St Thomas and St Croix being under the English, French, and Scottish jurisdictions.

HOLLAND.

The first appearance of the Craft in Holland was of a momentous nature, being no less than the admission into the Fraternity of Francis, Duke of Lorraine, subsequently Grand Duke

[1] Grand Lodge Records. *Cf. ante*, p. 105.

[2] Freemasons' Calendar, 1885.

of Tuscany, Co-Emperor of Austria and Emperor of Germany. Lord Lovell, G.M. of England, deputed, in 1731, Dr Desaguliers as Master, John Stanhope and John Holtzendorff, Esqs., as Wardens; the Earl of Chesterfield, Ambassador at the Hague; and three other brethren to hold a special Lodge at the Hague, in order to confer the first two degrees on the Royal candidate.[1] It is noteworthy that among these there is only one Dutch Mason, which will tend to disprove certain random statements, that several French and English Lodges already existed at that date in Holland.[2]

The first authentic record of a Dutch Lodge is the meeting on September 30, 1734, of the "*Loge du Grand Maître des Provinces réunis et du ressort de la généralité,*" with Count Vincent de la Chapelle as Master, at the Hague. This title, Lodge of the Grand Master, is remarkable, for it is difficult to understand whence any G.M. of that date derived his authority. The mystery is increased by the next notice, a paragraph in the Amsterdam *Saturdagsche Courant* of November 3, 1735, announcing that a second Lodge had been held at the Hague on October 24, 1735, in the Hotel *Nieuwen Doelen*, in the presence of the Grand Master Rademacher, and of the Dep. G.M. Kuenen. It was apparently called "Le Véritable Zèle." I can only suppose that these titles of G.M. and Deputy were self-assumed. Rademacher—Treasurer to the Prince of Orange—was cited before the courts on December 9-12 following, and constrained to promise never more to frequent Masonic assemblies. Kuenen translated Anderson's Constitutions into French[3] and German.[4] The *Handbuch* asserts that these two were Provincial and Deputy Provincial Grand Masters of the English Lodges in Holland. If so, both the Constitutions and Preston fail to notice the appointments, and it would be difficult to name many English Lodges as existing in Holland at that time, as the only one on our roll, previous to 1749, appears in the list of 1736, as constituted in 1735 under the No. 131. This may be the latter of the two cited above, and perhaps its warrant was granted to Rademacher. The two Lodges, however, soon closed, and did not reopen till 1744. On October 16, 1735, a Lodge, composed chiefly of Englishmen, held at Amsterdam, was pillaged by a mob, which occasioned a riot. This Lodge is also absent from the English Lodge lists, but the occurrence, together with the newspaper paragraph above referred to, caused the Government to issue a commission to inquire into the whole matter of Freemasonry. Their study of the Book of Constitutions appears to have been most minute, but their report, published November 30, 1735, was unfavourable, and a magisterial order was promulgated December 2, 1735, forbidding assemblies of the Craft. In spite of this order a Lodge meeting was held at Rotterdam on the 10th, and the members were promptly brought to book. Lawrie gives us a very touching account of the noble refusal of the brethren to unveil their secrets, and of their counter-proposal to initiate one of the magistrates, which being effected, the whole bench joined the Fraternity and became zealous members.[5] The facts apparently are, that out of respect for one of the chief members, himself a magistrate, and from the well-known

[1] Constitutions, *sub anno; ante*, Chap. XVII., pp. 353, 388. Preston most unaccountably only mentions the last and least important four of these seven Masons.

[2] The following sketch of Freemasonry in Holland is principally taken from the "Allgemeines Handbuch," being by far the fullest and most accurate known to me. Findel's account is more condensed, but very often supplies the exact day, where the "Handbuch" only gives the year. Rebold's is both superficial and inaccurate. A valuable contribution will be found in "Latomia," vol. xxiii., p. 144 *et seq.*

[3] Published at the Hague, 1736 and 1741.

[4] Published at Frankfort and Leipsic, 1741, 1743, 1744.

[5] *Cf.* Edit. 1804, p. 119; Smith, Use and Abuse, etc., p. 194.

integrity of the other members, together with the weighty consideration that the Emperor was himself a Freemason, the matter was quietly hushed up. However this may be, the prohibition of the Craft was soon withdrawn, for in 1740 the magistrates took its part against the intolerance of the clergy.

In 1744 the Hague Lodges reopened, and in 1749 the *Loge du Grand Maître* changed its title to the Union Mother-Lodge. In the same year (1749) we find from the Engraved List for 1750—those for 1746-49 are unfortunately missing—that a Lodge was warranted at Rotterdam, the Lodge of Orange, No. 202. The next Lodges of English origin were constituted at the Hague (probably the Royal), No. 223, in 1752; at Amsterdam, No. 234, November 30, 1753;[1] and at the same place the Lodge of Charity, No. 265, June 24, 1755; and the Lodge of Peace, No. 215, September 23, 1756. In Amsterdam there also existed a fourth Lodge, founded by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, "Concordia Vincit Animos," July 13, 1755, the only Lodge of Scottish origin ever warranted in Holland. This accounts for at most 8 Lodges—3 at the Hague, 1 at Rotterdam, and 4 in Amsterdam.

On November 8, 1756, the Deputy Grand Master, Dagran, of the Union Mother-Lodge at the Hague, issued invitations to thirteen other Lodges to constitute a Grand Lodge of Holland. We are therefore forced to conclude that the Union had warranted at least five Lodges, and that its designation of Mother was no empty title.

The 14 Lodges met December 25, 1756, and on the 27th constituted the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands, electing Baron Aerssen-Beyeren as Grand Master, and Baron von Boetzelaar as D.G.M.

In 1757 the former Mother-Lodge and the Royal Lodge at the Hague amalgamated under the title "Royal Union," which is still the foremost Lodge in Holland.

The same year witnessed an unsuccessful attempt to erect a Scots Lodge at the Hague, and the constitution by England of the Lodge of Regularity, No. 228, at Amsterdam on November 21.

In 1758—August 6—Count von Bentinck was elected the second G.M., and under his rule the English Constitutions were reprinted. He was succeeded—June 24, 1759—by the third Grand Master, Baron von Boetzelaar,[2] who held the office for 39 years. Up to this date the regulations of the Grand Lodge were probably our own book of Constitutions; but on July 27, 1760, new Statutes were approved, and published in 1762.

Resuming our examination of the English Lists, we find that in 1762 the following Lodges were warranted:—Royal Frederick, No. 271, Rotterdam, January 25; United Brothers, No. 284, Amsterdam, June 16; Virtutis et Artis Amici, Amsterdam, No. 288, September 16. Also in 1765, Perseverance, No. 359, Amsterdam; 1767, British Union, No. 400, Rotterdam, August 1; Three Pillars, No. 402, Rotterdam, August 21; 1768, Victory, No. 419, Rotterdam, March 17; and in 1769, the "Sun Lodge," No. 436, Flushing, February 3. From the date last given no English Lodge has been constituted in Holland.[3] A lengthy inquiry on the spot would probably be necessary to determine whether these Lodges were constituted in the first instance by the Grand Lodge of Holland, and merely *joined, i.e.*, were absorbed and legiti-

[1] This is probably "*La bien aimée*," which, however, claims to date from 1735; and is possibly the Lodge connected with Lawrie's romance.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XI., p. 496.

[3] The Atholl Grand Lodge also constituted a Lodge in Amsterdam in 1762 (*Ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 443).

mated by that of England; or whether they were totally independent of Baron Boetzelaar. Being in seaports only, I incline towards the latter alternative, and am strengthened in this conclusion by a letter from which I shall next quote.

On April 25, 1770, "the Provincial Master for foreign Lodges acquainted the Grand Lodge of England, that he had lately received a letter from Charles Baron de Boetzelaar, Grand Master of the National Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of Holland, requesting to be acknowledged as such by the Grand Lodge of England, whose superiority he acknowledged; and promising, that on condition the Grand Lodge of England did not in future constitute any new Lodge within his jurisdiction, the Grand Lodge of Holland should observe the same restriction with respect to all parts of the world where Lodges were established under the patronage of England;"[1] and concluding by requesting a firm alliance and annual correspondence. The request was acceded to. This certainly looks as if the numerous Lodges so lately warranted by England had somewhat alarmed our Dutch brethren, and will account for the sudden cessation of England's activity in the Low Countries. Many of those English Lodges were not renumbered in the 1770 list, and we may presume that they immediately joined the Grand Lodge at the Hague; but on the other hand five Lodges in Holland were retained on our roll until 1813, from which we may conclude that they preferred working under their English charters, and that at this early date England initiated the policy in these matters—ever since maintained by her—which is now the cause of querulous complaint on the part of the Grand Lodge of Quebec. The Lodges referred to were the Royal Frederick, British Union, Three Pillars, Victory, and Sun, all meeting at Rotterdam.[2]

German authorities maintain, that the compact with England was ratified May 16, 1770, by the English Prov. G.M. I cannot help believing that this is incorrect, as we do not know of any such individual, unless, indeed, Rademacher had really been appointed to the office in 1735, and was still living. I prefer to think that the ratification emanated from the Provincial Grand Master for foreign Lodges, a functionary under the Grand Lodge of England, first appointed about this time.[3]

In 1778, Prince George Karl of Hesse-Darmstadt pointed out to Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick the advisability of gaining over Holland to the Strict Observance. That country was still remarkably free from all perversions of Freemasonry, although, of course, individual members had been admitted to the various Rites during their foreign travels. Many were also members of the Knightly degrees of the Strict Observance. The result of negotiations which were now entered into was, that in 1779 a pact of unity was concluded between the Directory in Brunswick and one formed at the Hague, and that on March 18, 1780, a National Chapter of Holland was constituted with Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, and G.M. von Boetzelaar as Protector and Superior respectively.

The Dutch Craft was not, however, overridden as in other countries; the Grand Lodge at the Hague still retained its full power; the Chapter was merely an accessory. What the consequences might have been it is difficult to say; but the S.O. was already on the wane. It will be remembered that on September 19, 1780,[4] Ferdinand had issued a circular seriously

[1] Constitutions, 1784, p. 297.

[2] The "Freemasons' Calendar" for the next few years gives statistics, occasionally, of Dutch Freemasonry. Thus in 1776 it enumerates Lodges in 23 towns, in 1777 it gives 30 Lodges, and in 1778, 40 Lodges.

[3] Chap. XX., p. 474.

[4] *Ante*, p. 112.

questioning the very grounds of the whole movement. As a result, although Schwarz represented this Chapter at the Wilhelmsbad Convent, the system never made much progress in the Netherlands, and soon died out. Pure English Freemasonry thus once more assumed an undisputed supremacy.

On November 15, 1784, Grand Master von Boetzelaar celebrated the twenty-fifth year of his Grand Mastership, and in 1798—May 28—his rearrangement of the statutes was approved and accepted. He died a few weeks afterwards, and in the same year—June 24—was succeeded by Baron Teylingen as fourth G.M., who in turn was followed by Bijleveld, the fifth holder of that office, May 29, 1805.

At last, in 1807, the high degrees obtained a firm footing in Holland, and a code of laws was issued for their governance. The rite chosen was the French or modern rite of 4 extra degrees, of the Grand Orient of France. This is not to be wondered at, when we consider that Holland had submitted to France in 1795, when the Batavian Republic was established, and that in 1806 the bonds were drawn still closer by the appointment of Louis Buonaparte to the throne of Holland. Rather should we marvel that an oasis of good sense had so long resisted the Saharan sands of the fanciful high degrees, which had so encroached on the Craft elsewhere in Europe. The French aberration—ladies' lodges—had also found an entrance in 1801, but was peremptorily prohibited on June 10, 1810.

In the year last-named—June 24—Bousquet was elected sixth Grand Master. Louis abdicated the throne, and Holland became an integral portion of the French empire. This led to complications. The Grand Orient of France always maintained that only one supreme Masonic body could exist in each state, and some lodges established by it in Amsterdam conceived themselves justified in refusing to acknowledge the Dutch lodges until they were rectified by the G.O. Meanwhile—June 24, 1812—W. P. Barnaart was elected seventh Grand Master, and the dispute was brought to a climax by a circular of the G.O.—February 17, 1813—ordering the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands to submit and dissolve. This being met by a flat refusal—March 21, 1813—the Grand Orient immediately retaliated by warranting a number of lodges in various cities of Holland, the membership of which consisted chiefly of French officials. The strain was, however, suddenly eased by the French reverses of 1814: Holland reacquired independence, the French lodges were weakened by the withdrawal of the French officials, and May 29, 1814, the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands called upon these lodges to come in and accept Dutch warrants. Some complied, the others died out. The same year is marked by the commencement of troubles of which the high degrees were the cause. The Chapter was independent of the Grand Lodge, though composed chiefly of the same members, and had a G.M of its own. It occupied much the same position as our Royal Arch Grand Chapter does towards our Grand Lodge, and its meetings were always held on the days succeeding Grand Lodge communications. In 1814, Bijleveld, who had presided over the Grand Lodge, 1805-10, was Master of the Grand Chapter. On May 30, violent disputes arose over some contemplated changes in these degrees, into the details of which I shall not enter.

On March 30, 1815, the Austrian (French) Netherlands, or Belgium, became an integral portion of the kingdom of Holland; and—May 30—Reepmacher was elected eighth Grand Master. In the previous March the king had expressed a wish that the lodges in both divisions of his territory should be gathered under one Grand Lodge, and this

Grand Administration for the Northern Provinces resumed its title of Grand Lodge of the Netherlands. Since that time Freemasonry in Holland has enjoyed quiet and prosperity; no changes of organisation have been introduced, and few facts of first moment remain to be recorded.

On June 6, 1841, Grand Lodge celebrated the completion of the G.M.'s 25th year of office. Prince Frederick on this occasion paid into the hands of the Grand Treasurer 9000 florins for charitable purposes.

In 1847 several Amsterdam brothers petitioned for a warrant to constitute a Lodge called "Post Nubila Lux." They declared their adhesion to ten fundamental axioms, of which only a few have come to my knowledge. In these I am unable to perceive anything dangerous or unmasonic, but the Grand Lodge thought otherwise, and refused the warrant. I am not aware of their reasons—the sixth axiom, "futility of all high degrees," could hardly have influenced them, because no Lodge is bound to work these—but the petitioners having waited patiently for three years, at last established the Lodge—May 26, 1850—"by virtue of their inherent power." It is still working, and even flourishing, but never having been recognised by the Grand Lodge, is of course outside the pale of the Craft, and irregular.

The year 1851 witnessed the birth of Alexander, Prince of the Netherlands, the second son of King William III., and grandson of that Prince of Orange to whom I have already referred, who had meanwhile reigned as William II. from 1840 to 1849. He was initiated—July 26, 1876—in the Lodge "Royal Union," at the Hague, and became Prince of Orange on the death of his elder brother in 1879.[1]

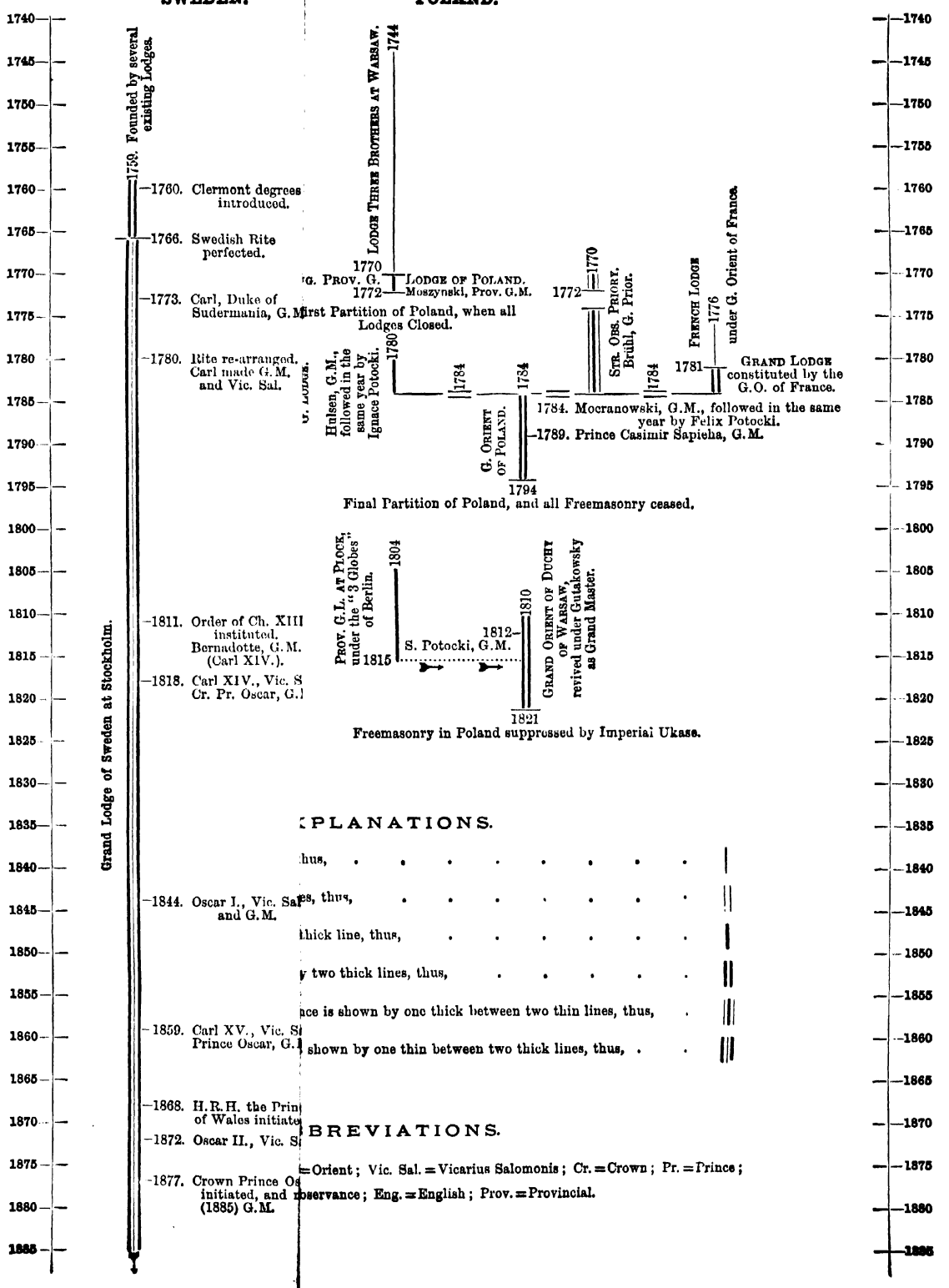
On May 19, 1856, the Grand Lodge celebrated its centenary of constitution, and in 1866 the jubilee of Frederick's Grand Mastership. On this occasion the munificent Prince presented, for the use of the brethren, the superb Masonic library of the late Dr Kloss, which—at a cost of £3000—he had purchased entire. This was a truly royal gift! The brethren marked their sense of the event by founding an orphanage—their Blind Asylum at Amsterdam, established in 1806, would be of itself creditable to the Craft in any country—for Freemasons' children. It was opened in 1869, and the Prince presented them for the purpose with a house and appurtenances of his own at the Hague. In 1876 his 60th year of office was celebrated, and he died in 1881 at the age of 84. He was succeeded as G.M. by his grandnephew Alexander, Prince of Orange—June 1882—who unfortunately died in June 1884.[2] at the early age of 33. No successor has yet been appointed.

The most striking feature in the history of Dutch Freemasonry is thus its stability and simplicity. Until 1807 it was altogether free from (so-called) high degrees; in that year it accepted the simplest and least pretentious of all supplementary rites, and even this is largely replaced by the still simpler additions to the Master's degree (1819). But these innovations have never been allowed to assert or exercise any superiority over, or in the Craft; English Masonry has ever been considered the essence of the organisation. We find no rival Grand Lodges springing up, no conflicts of jurisdiction, very few Lodges dying out, but a gradual and steady increase of numbers, and in 130 years only 10 Grand Masters.

The present (1885) status of the Craft is as follows:[3]—A Grand Master (office vacant), a Dep. G.M. for the Craft in general, and one each for the Chapter, the Master's degree (additions), the East Indies (Batavia), Surinam, Curaçoa, and South Africa. It comprises 80

[1] Speth, Royal Freemasons, p. 69. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 70. [3] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885.

PE. No. III.



EXPLANATIONS.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

= Orient; Vic. Sal. = Vicarius Salomonis; Cr. = Crown; Pr. = Prince; observance; Eng. = English; Prov. = Provincial.

Lodges, of which 22 are in South Africa (even in British colonies), 8 in East India, and 3 in America, the remaining 47 being in Holland. The greatest number in any one city is 5 (Amsterdam). The membership is estimated at 4000, or an average of 50 per Lodge.

LUXEMBURG.

The early Masonic history of this Grand Duchy is identical with that of Belgium till 1814, and with that of Holland till 1830. It may therefore be passed over with the exception of a single phenomenon, for which Thory is the sole authority, all other writers having copied from him. I give the passage *in extenso:*

"1774. Foundation of many lodges in France by the Grand Orient of Bouillon. This body, which no longer exists [1812], was resident in Bouillon.[1] The Duke of that name was its Grand Master under the title of Protector. It comprised amongst its members many distinguished men. The legend round its seal was *Godfredus, dei gratiâ, dux Bullonensis, Protector.*"[2] This is absolutely all that is known of this Grand Lodge.

In 1830, however, Luxemburg reacquired its independence. At that date there existed one lodge, *Enfans de la Concorde* (May 9, 1803), and one Chapter of the French rite (1815), both constituted by the Grand Orient of France. On May 3, 1844, the Lodge declared itself a *Loge centrale*, and in 1847 warranted a daughter Lodge at Echternach. At the same time the Chapter assumed the title of Metropolitan Chapter. But as the French Constitutions forbade one Lodge to exercise authority over another, it became necessary to erect a central authority. A Supreme Council (*not* A. and A.S.R. 33°) was established December 7, 1849, consisting of the Masters and Wardens of all these bodies, and of the deputies of each of the Lodges, together with the representatives of absent members, and of other Grand Lodges—in all, twenty members. The Master of the Chapter is *ex officio* G.M. This miniature G.L. is in communication with all the other Continental Grand bodies, and duly recognised, but is scarcely known in England.[3] In 1865 its Chapter numbered 33 members; and of its two Lodges, the elder 68 and the younger 32. Exactly 100 Masons, ruled over by a Grand Lodge of their own! No new Lodges had been formed in 1879, and I have no later information.[4]

BELGIUM.

The history of Freemasonry in that part of Europe now known as the kingdom of Belgium may be divided into four well-defined periods, every political change of status producing a transfer of Masonic jurisdiction. From the Peace of Utrecht (1714) to the French Revolution we have to deal with the Austrian Netherlands; from thence to 1814, with a French Province under the Masonic control of the Grand Orient; from 1814 to 1830 Belgium was merged in the kingdom of Holland, the effects of which union have already been depicted; and from 1830 Belgium must be treated as a separate and independent kingdom, under its own Grand Orient. The annals of the Belgian Craft are consequently far from exhibiting the stability so noticeable in those of the United Provinces of Holland, and its earliest history is very obscure. It is true, that the accounts presented by Findel and the "*Handbuch*" are delightfully

[1] This town is now in Belgium, in that part of the former Duchy forming the present Belgian province of Luxemburg.

[2] Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 113.

[3] The *Freemason's* and the *Cosmopolitan* Calendars do not even mention it.

[4] I believe no previous history of Freemasonry has deigned to notice this Grand Lodge at all. The above facts are extracted from the invaluable *Handbuch*.

simple and concise, and at a first glance appear to present no difficulty of any kind. But this effect is produced by treating all statements as well-known facts, by dwelling on no questions, and by avoiding any hint at a *crux*. A critical study of the subject, however, brings us face to face with many and grave difficulties. Yet how dexterously Findel's opening sentence evades them—"Although oppressed and much harassed, Freemasonry in the Austrian Netherlands had, with varied fortune, preserved its existence, so that in 1785 sixteen daughter lodges —one at Antwerp, four at Brussels, and three at Ghent [and apparently eight others elsewhere] —were working under the United Provincial Lodge, which refused to join the Grand Lodge at Vienna." Our author never even suggests that it might be difficult to show where, when, how, and by whose authority this Provincial Lodge took its existence. He prefers to assume that we know all about it—which I for one do not. Neither does he inform us who constituted these 16 Lodges, nor what became of them. I intend to be more candid with my readers, and plainly point out all difficulties; neither shall I attempt to hide my own ignorance. It is possible that a prolonged search in Belgium itself might clear up many matters, though it is hardly creditable to our own Masonic rulers that the means of doing so are not nearer at hand. England undoubtedly had much to do with Freemasonry in the Low Countries; and had our Grand Lodge paid less absorbing attention to its festivals and processions, and a little more to its records and archives—had it been less lavish in creating Provincial Grand Masters, and more diligent in insisting upon their responsibility to the home authorities, we should probably find all the information we require in the official documents at Freemasons' Hall. But, alas, the archives of the oldest (and richest) Grand Lodge in the world, the virtual parent of every Freemason in existence, the most stable Grand Body of the Craft, which has never been disturbed by internal convulsions, political revolutions, or military invasions, afford us scarcely a *scintilla* of evidence with regard to the proceedings of its offshoots beyond the seas.

All historians inform us, on the authority of a document printed in the *Annales Maçonniques des Pays-Bas*, that a Lodge was warranted at Mons on June 21, 1721, by G.M. Lord Montague. Being unable to obtain that work, I accept the statement under reserve, and merely remark that our English Constitutions and early writers ignore the occurrence. Rebold goes even further, and assures us that the Lodge in question developed into an English Provincial Lodge for the Austrian Netherlands.[1] It may be so; I can only point out that our early writers know nothing of a Prov. G.M. before 1769.

Another Lodge is stated to have existed at Ghent in 1730, and it is asserted that the Craft increased and multiplied so exceedingly in Belgium, that in 1736 the clergy induced the Emperor, Charles VI., to issue an edict of suppression throughout the Netherlands. As a consequence, the Fraternity were unable to meet openly. Even when Francis of Lorraine—the Imperial consort of Maria Theresa—began to rule in 1740, his influence was only sufficient to secure a bare toleration of Freemasonry; and indeed, in 1764, a year before his death, an edict was issued suppressing the Craft throughout his entire dominions. But, although the only other Lodge to which I find any reference at this epoch, is one at Brussels, the Unity, 1757-94, I am inclined to attribute this want of evidence to the enforced reserve of the Fraternity, and to believe that there was a considerable increase of Lodges; not only because everybody says so—of itself a very poor reason—but because the war of the Spanish Succession, 1742-48, and the Seven Years' War, 1755-62, filled the lowlands with

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 627.

British troops; and it is at least a reasonable conjecture that the Masons among them[1] may have held meetings, initiated the inhabitants, and left permanent Lodges behind them. The Duke of Cumberland, who commanded at Fontenoy in 1745, is stated by "Multa Paucis" to have been initiated in 1743. But at last, in 1765, we gain solid ground. From the Engraved Lists, we find that an English Lodge, No. 341, was constituted at Alost in Flanders, June 5, 1765; another, No. 427, at Ghent, July 1768; and a third, No. 394, at Mons, January 20, 1770. In 1769 the Duke of Beaufort, G.M. of England, appointed the most noble Francis Bonaventure Jos. Dumont, Marquis de Gages, Provincial Grand Master for the Austrian Netherlands.[2] In 1780 Joseph II. commenced to reign as Emperor of Austria and Germany. He was the son of Francis of Lorraine, and though not himself a Freemason, granted the Fraternity at first, full, and afterwards, restricted liberty. Subsequent to the appointment of the Prov. G.M., and previous to Joseph's accession, we find many Lodges erected; for instance, at Tournay 1770, still existing; two at Liège, 1775 and 1776; two at Spa, 1778; and at Namur—De la Parfaite Union—by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, February 9, 1770.[3] The charter of the last named was confirmed by the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Austrian Netherlands, August 28, 1777. I think we shall not go far astray, if we assume that the Provincial Grand Lodge cited by Findel was none other than the *English* body—bearing the same name—constituted by the Duke of Beaufort in 1769, and that consequently Belgian Freemasonry from its birth to the French Revolution was purely and solely British. We may further assume, that favoured by the new Emperor's appreciation of the Craft, the Lodges increased after the year 1780 in a yet greater ratio; and had the Prov. G.M. of that era been mindful of his duty, we should now find traces of them in our Lodge lists.

In 1784 there existed in each province of Austria a Provincial Grand Lodge, viz., Bohemia, Galicia, Lombardy, Austria proper, Siebenburgen, Hungary, and the Netherlands. The first six of these formed a Grand National Lodge of Austria; the seventh did not join the association. But if it is borne in mind, that the Lodges under the former, were almost entirely devoted to the Zinnendorff or Swedish Rite (Grand National Lodge of Berlin), of which we meet with no trace in Belgium, it will be understood why the Low Countries did not join in the movement, and our conviction will be strengthened that the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Netherlands was an English offshoot. According to Findel its jurisdiction at this time extended over 16 Lodges.[4] But their membership had greatly altered. All the leaders of the national party were of the Fraternity, and so far from the clergy being averse to the Craft, at Liège the Bishop himself was a member in 1770, and the officers all belonged to the upper priesthood. The Lodge *L'heureuse rencontre* of Brussels in 1786 consisted of 42 members, among whom were the Marquis de Chasteler, Van der Noot, the Dukes of Ursel and Arenberg, and the Princes de Ligne and Gavre. The feeling in Masonry at this time was distinctly national and anti-Austrian.

On January 9, 1786,[5] the Emperor issued an edict restricting the Craft to three Lodges in

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 105.

[2] G.L. Minutes, April 25, 1770.

[3] Constitutions, G.L. of Scotland 1836; see also Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* It is not stated by whom the first four were constituted.

[4] Edit. 1878, p. 587.

[5] Findel and the "Handbuch" agree in this date, but under the heading "Austria" the former gives the date as December 1, 1785, and the latter as December 11. I can only suppose that the edict took some few weeks to travel to Brussels, hence the later date.

each provincial capital of his empire, and wholly forbidding it in cities where no provincial government existed. In consequence of this, 11 Lodges in Belgium had to close, although it is asserted that one Lodge each in Maestricht, Liège, Tournay, and Spa continued to meet secretly. The edict was in no way intended to be oppressive;[1] but in May 1786, the Emperor became alarmed at the national sentiments of the Craft in Belgium, and closed all the Lodges—except three in Brussels. In 1787,[2] anticipating the outbreak of the Revolution in France, he resolved to close even these last Lodges, which brings us to the end of the first period of Belgian Masonry.

Of the 16 former Lodges, only 5, one each at Namur, Tournay, Liège, Brussels, and Ostende, lived through 1793. With 1795 and French supremacy, the Belgian Fraternity came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient of France. These five Lodges were still existing in 1814. But between 1799 and 1813 the Grand Orient warranted no less than 28, of which 22 were active in 1814. It is noteworthy that in 1811, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Heredom in France (Royal Order of Scotland) constituted a Chapter at Brussels, and that many of the French high degrees were introduced. The French or modern rite became so firmly established as to be still extensively worked. In all respects the Masonry of this period may be considered identical with that of France, and need not therefore occupy any further share of our attention.

At the opening of the third period—January 1, 1814—we thus find 27 regular Lodges at work. Relieved of the supremacy of the G.O. of France, these Lodges felt the expediency of constituting a Grand Lodge of some kind, but apart from the inherent difficulty of reconciling so many rites, there was also to be considered the future status of the country, which had not then been determined by the Congress of Vienna. Of course the Scots Lodges essayed to obtain the upper hand. A Council of the 25°—Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret—in the Lodge *Amis Philanthropiques* of Brussels announced itself — December 10, 1814 — as the Supreme Authority, but its pretensions were put on one side. Then, in November 1815, three Brussels Lodges of the "Rectified" Strict Observance, and two Scots Lodges of the same city met — appointed a committee of 15 to prepare a scheme, and in 1816 four projects in all were reported upon. That of the *Amis Philanthropiques* was selected, and all Belgian Lodges were summoned to consider it. These met on February 1 and March 15, 1817, in Brussels, but failed to agree. The Scots Masons alone knew their own minds, and consequently in 1817 the Lodges of the Strict Observance—*rectified* Rite—erected a central body; and on March 1 of the same year a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° was formed. On May 5, 1817, the circular (already mentioned) of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands was issued, and this was followed by the institution of a temporary Grand Lodge, June 24, the appointment of a joint Belgian and Dutch committee, August 30, the report of this committee, September 20, and its adoption on December 11. In 1818, April 11, the Grand Lodge of Administration for the Southern Provinces (Belgium) was duly inaugurated. From this date again I may content myself with the observation that what has been already written regarding Dutch Masonry applies to Belgium, and need only further add that from 27 the Lodges had increased after April 11, 1818, to 30, and on June 19, 1820, to 33. Many, however, of the high degree rites obtained a footing which was denied to them in Holland.

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XXVIII. (Austria).

[2] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 627.

In 1830 Belgium acquired its independence, and on December 16, 1832, the former Grand Lodge of Administration called upon the Belgian Lodges to rally round it as a Grand Lodge. The meeting took place February 25, 1833, but many Lodges must have meanwhile died out during the political disturbances, because of the 33 Lodges of 1820, only 15 are accounted for. Of these only 4 appeared in answer to the call, and constituted the Grand Orient of Belgium on May 23. It not being considered expedient to elect a G.M. at the moment, J. de Freune was appointed to rule as Grand Warden. A carefully worded circular—April 1, 1833—secured the adhesion to the G.O. of all the Lodges except nine, which were accordingly declared irregular, January 4, 1836. Some died out, four joined the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands, but returned to their previous allegiance, with the exception of one (at Ghent), which still remains apart, and under Dutch jurisdiction. The Grand Orient was then placed under the protection of King Leopold I., who had been initiated in the Lodge of Hope, Berne, in September 1813, and though never present in Grand Lodge, took a warm interest in the Belgian Craft. On December 13, 1833, the Belgian Lodges were permitted to cumulate any or all rites, that is to say, whilst remaining true to the Grand Orient, as far as related to the Craft, they were at liberty to apply to any or all of the other Grand bodies for charters of Chapters, Councils, etc., which were then grafted on these Lodges. The result has been curious. There are, for instance, Lodges in which are wrought not only the ceremonies of the Craft, but also the A. and A.S.R. 33°, the French Rite of seven degrees, the Scots Philosophic Rite, long since extinct in France, its birthplace, and the Rite of Heredom or Royal Order of Scotland. Some, as in Brussels and Antwerp, bring into play more than one of these. The Rites of Memphis and Misraim also obtained a footing for a time, but have died out. The Supreme Council 33°, however (established 1817), has gradually acquired control over the supplementary degrees, and is acknowledged as the head of all those outside the Craft, so that, with many rites, there are only two Grand bodies which exist side by side and work together in perfect harmony, even occupying the same premises.

Baron von Stassart was elected Grand Master March 1, 1835, and installed on May 3 ensuing. In 1838—January 19—the Statutes of the Grand Orient (in 15 articles) were agreed to. They refer solely to the Craft, and ignore all other (so-called) degrees. The organisation is very similar to that of the United Grand Lodge of England. On June 10, 1841, the G.M. resigned, and—July 11, 1842—Defacqz d'Ath was appointed in his stead, with Verhaegen as deputy. In 1854 d'Ath in turn resigned, and was succeeded by Verhaegen.

Unfortunately, ever since Belgium became a kingdom, the Craft has been traduced and persecuted by the Ultramontane clergy of the country—which has resulted in a not unnatural but, nevertheless, wholly indefensible retaliation.

In 1854—June 24—Verhaegen made a speech, in which he attempted to show, that the prohibition of political and religious discussion in Lodge was not a landmark of the Craft, but merely a Grand Lodge ordinance, and as such, could be repealed; and that as far as Belgium was concerned, should thenceforth cease to be enforced. The motion was carried by acclamation, and the Belgian Craft has since then been marked by a strong anti-clerical, even anti-religious tendency. This led to the rupture of friendly relations with the Grand Lodges of Hamburg, December 16, 1854; Dresden, November 13; Three Globes of Berlin, December 7; the Sun at Baireuth, January 24, 1855; the two other Berlin Grand Lodges, January 7; and the Grand Lodge of Sweden, 1855. Even in Belgium it produced a breach, as many Lodges

placed themselves under the sole authority of the Supreme Council, which had protested against the act. In 1860 no less than thirteen Lodges owned allegiance to the A. and A.S.R. 33°.

On December 8, 1862, Verhaegen died, Van Schoor being provisionally appointed, and fully installed, as his successor in 1866. He was followed in 1869 by Van Humbeeck, in 1872 by August Couvreur, in 1875 by Henri Berger, and in 1878 by Couvreur once more. In 1874 the Grand Orient managed to explain its proceedings regarding religion and politics to the satisfaction of Germany, and representatives were again exchanged. The Lodges must also have returned to their allegiance, because in 1879 the G.O. ruled over 14 Lodges, and the Supreme Council over none. But the latter had grafted Chapters, etc., on 6 of the Grand Orient Lodges, and constituted one Chapter in Ghent without a Lodge basis. At the present moment Count Goblet d'Alviella is the G.M., with 17 Lodges under him. The Grand Commander of the Supreme Council is Van Humbeeck, with Chapters in 3 Lodges, and two Chapters unattached.[1] As already stated, other rites are also worked, but under the authority, singularly enough, of the Supreme Council 33°.

Russia.

According to Russian tradition, Freemasonry in that country even precedes the era of the Grand Lodge of England (1717), for it is gravely asserted that Peter the Great was initiated by Sir Christopher Wren, and that before the close of the seventeenth century there existed a Lodge at St Petersburg, with Lefort as Master, and Gordon and Peter himself, as Senior and Junior Wardens respectively. This claim I shall not seriously discuss, though I record it, as being of possible interest to the school of Masonic writers whose canon of belief is expressed by the maxim of Tertullian, upon which I have dilated in an earlier Chapter.[2] To proceed, therefore, with our historical inquiry. In 1731—January 24—Captain John Phillips was appointed Prov. G.M. of Russia and Germany, etc.;[3] but we need not therefore assume that Lodges already existed in those countries. On the other hand, there appears some reason to believe that in 1732 or 1734 General Lord James Keith, who had entered the Russian service in 1728, was W.M. of a Lodge at St Petersburg.[4] In 1740 Keith was appointed Prov. G.M. of Russia by his brother, John Keith, Earl of Kintore, G.M. of England,[5] so that under Phillips' rule we have very little evidence of progress. Keith appears to have been more successful, for the writer in "Latomia" confirms on fresh documents Nettelbladt's previous assertions, that in 1750 a Lodge, "Silence," was at work in St Petersburg, and a second, "North Star," in Riga.[6] These were followed by others, of which the traces are lost. A subsequent Grand Master, Böber, informs us, however, that all operations were still conducted in the greatest secresy, which may account for the curious fact that the existence of these Lodges was never transmitted to the Grand Lodge of England. We must also bear in mind that, with very rare exceptions, our English Provincial Grand Masters on the Continent, never kept their superiors fully informed with regard to the state of Freemasonry in the districts under their charge.

[1] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885. [2] Chap. XVI., p. 256. [3] G.L. Min. [4] Latomia, vol. xxi., 1862, p. 114.

[5] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333. Keith had been present in Grand Lodge at the election of his brother to the Grand Mastership, March 28, 1740. Cf. *ante*, Chap. XVII., pp. 389, 393.

[6] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 115.

In 1762 Catherine II. commenced her long reign, and the necessity for secresy no longer existing, the position of the Craft improved. It may be presumed that the Society hitherto had been more or less under English influence, but about this time great innovations forced themselves into favour. The earliest of all appears to have been of purely Russian origin. Count Melesino, a Greek by birth, was W.M. of the Lodge "Silence" in St Petersburg. In that Lodge the Melesino Rite—which spread throughout the empire, and even beyond its borders—was perfected, probably by the talented Master himself. It superimposed four degrees on the Craft, and it is not improbable that in the 7°, "*Magnus Sacerdos Templariorum*," Starck found the inspiration for his Clerical Rite.[1] In April 1782 Melesino retired from Masonry and to Moscow alleging political motives as his reason; whilst, on the other hand, Nettelbladt thinks he acted from prudence, fearing that the Grand Lodge would ultimately overshadow and destroy his rite, and preferring to suppress it himself. In either case, it ceased with his absence from the scene.

In 1765 the Strict Observance made its entry into Russia. The first Lodge under this system was founded by the Lodge at Wismar (Starck's), and soon after a Chapter was erected at St Petersburg, with Lüder as G.M. Members, whose names will occur hereafter, were Professor Böber, Count Bruce, Prince Dolgorucky, Prince Gargarin, Prince Kurakin, etc. In Courland and Riga there were other Chapters.

In 1768 Starck, accompanied by Von Prangen, came to St Petersburg for the second time; and on June 23 formed a secular Chapter there, "Phœnix," of the Strict Observance, adding thereto—September 20, 1768—a Clerical Chapter, possibly based on the Melesino Rite, with which Starck may have become acquainted during his former residence in 1763-65. Disputes, however, arose—October 22—and on November 17 Starck was excluded. In the following year—November 16, 1769—the Lax Observance Lodge, "Constancy," went over to the S.O. Rite, uniting with the "Phœnix," and we hear no more of the Clerical Chapter after December 12, 1769. Starck shortly after left Russia, and the Clerics were retransferred to Wismar.[2] But the Strict Observance still remained strongly represented among the Russian Rites.

In 1771 the Zinnendorff system obtained a footing in Russia. Zinnendorff, as we shall see in the next Chapter, had procured—by somewhat irregular means—a part of the Swedish Ritual, and, seceding from the Strict Observance, had established a new rite in Germany. *George* Reichel and *George* Rosenberg were the introducers of the rite into St Petersburg. Reichel came first, and established the Lodges Apollo at St Petersburg, 1771; Isis at Revel and Harpocrates at St Petersburg, 1772; and a military Lodge in 1773. Rosenberg, a former Prussian captain of horse, joined him in 1774, bringing, without Zinnendorff's knowledge, the complete rituals, etc.; revived the "Apollo," which had become dormant; founded another, "Horus," and in 1776 "Latona." In these proceedings they were assisted by their brothers, *Charles* Reichel and *William* Rosenberg.[3]

Meanwhile the Craft had also been at work under the tutelage of the Grand Lodge of England. Of this period we have fortunately an almost contemporary account.[4] In June

[1] Chap. XXIV., p. 105.

[2] Latomia, vol. xxi., pp. 117-119; *cf. ante*, p. 105.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 306, 307.

[4] Freemasons' Calendar, 1777, 1778.

1771 some English merchants at St Petersburg erected the Lodge of Perfect Union,[1] which was numbered 414, and dated June 1, 1771, in the Engraved Lists.[2] The "Freemasons' Calendar" terms this the first *regular* Lodge, and speaks of the number of Russian nobles who were at that time Masons. One of them, Senator Yelaguin, had made fruitless efforts to procure a patent of Grand Master in Berlin and Hamburg, and in 1772 sent Louquin to England on a similar mission.[3] The Duke of Beaufort, G.M., granted him a patent as Prov. G.M. for all the Russias,[4] and this resulted in the formation of the following Lodges:—No. 466, Nine Muses; No. 467, Urania; No. 468, Bellona—all at St Petersburg; Mars, No. 469, Clio, No. 470, at Jassy and Moscow respectively, all in the year 1774. Putting on one side the Strict Observance and Melesino's Lodges, we thus find two distinct Rites in use at the same time—Zinnendorff's and the English. Yelaguin, however, wanted a ritual, and as England has never furnished copies of its ceremonies, he applied to Reichel and Rosenberg. Now, although these Masons hailed from the Grand National Lodge at Berlin, they must have been desirous of closer relations with Sweden, the original fount, for they advised Yelaguin to apply to Stockholm.[5] It is probable that Yelaguin's high position impressed the Grand Lodge of Sweden with the idea, that the only chance for its system to survive was under *his* protection; at any rate, in 1775, it counselled Reichel and Rosenberg to effect a fusion, and to acknowledge the Senator as Provincial Grand Master. The result was that Yelaguin accepted the Swedish Ritual, and Reichel called upon his Lodges to join with those of the Senator. Harpocrates, Horus, Latona, and Nemesis (1776) agreed, and on September 3, 1776,[6] a National Grand Lodge of Russia, under G.M. Yelaguin, was erected. Melesino took office in this Grand Lodge, which, as well as Yelaguin's original Lodge "Nine Muses," met in the Senator's own house on the island Yelaguin. But differences soon arose. George Rosenberg and his Lodge "Apollo" never joined the Grand Lodge; Reichel, who had quarrelled with Rosenberg, withdrew from Freemasonry altogether; Prince Trubitzkoi, who had previously applied in vain to the Grand National (or Zinnendorff) Lodge for a Grand Master's patent, jealous of Yelaguin's preferment, retired to Moscow with the Lodges Osiris, Isis, and Latona. Among the notabilities who here gathered round him, may be

[1] An official copy of its minute-book from June 13, 1771, to May 30, 1772, made for the perusal of the G.M. of England, is preserved in the archives of our Grand Lodge, and plainly shows that the Lodge was at work before receiving its warrant; that although composed largely of English Masons it recognised and granted the following additional degrees: Scots Master, *Elu*, and Philosopher; and that although a warranted Lodge, it admitted visitors of unchartered Lodges under certain restrictions. It contains also the copy of a letter from G. Sec. Heseltine, February 29, 1772, presented by Louquin, announcing the appointment of Yelaguin as Prov. G.M., and resolutions to honour him as G.M. of all future Lodges, but to refuse him any authority over themselves. In the midst of the quarrel which ensued this interesting book breaks off. But the minutes of the Committee of Charity, October 28, 1772, inform us that the Lodge was directed to submit.

[2] For these and the following Lodges, see "Four Old Lodges," p. 66 *et seq.*

[3] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 307.

[4] Grand Lodge Minutes, February 28, 1772. The records of the *other* Grand Lodge of England contain the following:—"June 30, 1773.—Heard a letter from G. Sec. M'Dougall, setting forth that an application had been made to the G. Lodge of Scotland for them to confer a masonical mark of distinction on his Excellency the Senator Yellegan (*sic*), Grand Master of Russia, and requesting the opinion of this Grand Lodge to be transmitted, with any Forms they may have made use of on the like occasions." Resolved, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland had power to confer such distinction (Grand Lodge Minutes, Schismatics or *Ancients*).

[5] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 308.

[6] Pollick, in his history of Russian Freemasonry, erroneously gives the year as 1783, and Findel follows him.

mentioned as of future interest, the Princes Dolgoruky and Gargarin.[1] We thus see that Yelaguin's governing body had little chance of permanent success; nevertheless, in the following years, two more Russian Lodges were added to the English roll—those of Liebau, Courland, No. 524, 1780; and Astrea at Riga, No. 504, 1787.[2]

This want of consistency gave rise to fresh complications. Sweden at that time was still ambitious of retrieving its place as a great power, which it had lost on the death of Charles XII. In 1777 Gustavus III. of Sweden, himself a Mason, visited St Petersburg, and a Grand festival was held in Rosenberg's independent Lodge (Apollo) on June 26 and 27, on which occasions the Masonic supremacy of Sweden was announced as desirable.[3] The Russian ambassador at Stockholm, Prince Kurakin, in alliance with *George* Rosenberg strove for the same object. *William* Rosenberg was Secretary to the Russian Embassy, and in communication with his brother and Prince Gargarin. Kurakin was admitted to the highest degrees of the Swedish Rite, and promised by Karl of Sudermania a patent for a national Grand Lodge, Swedish Rite, provided he could induce a sufficiency of Lodges to concur in the project.

In 1777 Kurakin returned, raised Gargarin, Melesino, and others to the highest Swedish degrees, and seduced many of Yelaguin's Lodges towards the end of 1778. Böber also, as a deputy of Rosenberg, founded a new Lodge in Revel. The consent of Karl of Sudermania having been obtained, these steps were followed—May 25, 1779—by the erection of a Swedish Provincial Grand Lodge of Russia, with Prince Gargarin as G.M., and of a Grand Chapter—December 24, 1779. The new Lodge also assumed the same title as Yelaguin's, *i.e.*, National Grand Lodge.[4]

At the head of the Russian Strict Observance at this time was Count Alexander Mussin-Puschkin-Bruce.[5]

The erection of Gargarin's Grand Lodge was followed by a circular from G. Sec. Böber —June 26, 1779—directed to all Lodges except Melesino's, threatening to place them under a ban unless they joined within six weeks. The real object of the circular was the extinction of the former Zinnendorff Lodges. It will be remembered that at this time Sweden had disclaimed all knowledge of Zinnendorff.[6] The result was not as complete as was desired. With the exception of Böber's own Lodge, all the German speaking Lodges of the eastern seaboard remained true to Yelaguin, whilst those of the Strict Observance refrained from joining the new power. It consisted of 11 Lodges—6 in St Peterburg, 3 in Moscow, 1 in Revel, and 1 (military) in Kinburn. The Grand National Lodge of Gargarin might, however, have ultimately obtained complete success, but for two reasons. Rosenberg and Gargarin quarrelled, and on March 15, 1780, Karl of Sudermania was created Vicarius Salomonis of the IXth. Templar Province,[7] which, according to Swedish pretensions, included Denmark and Russia. This attempt at political supremacy, through the instrumentality of the Craft, which had already alarmed the Lodges of Denmark and Germany, produced the same effect in Russia. The bodies acting under Yelaguin and Gargarin respectively, were alike unanimous in protesting; and the latter, thoroughly discouraged, betook himself to Moscow November 10, 1781. This caused the downfall of the Gargarin Grand Lodge, which then dissolved, and disappears from the scene.[8]

[1] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 310.

[2] Constituted by Yelaguin January 4, 1785—confirmed by the Grand Lodge of England August 21, 1787.

[3] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 311.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Handbuch, *s.v.* Mussin.

[6] *Ante*, p. 111.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[8] Latomia, vol. xxii., pp. 225-230.

In April 1782, secret societies were forbidden throughout Russia; the Freemasons were not included, but Melesino, foreseeing the probable victory of Yelaguin's G.L., now left almost supreme, took advantage of the edict to gracefully withdraw from the contest, and retired to Moscow, directing his Lodges to close their doors, in obedience to the law.[1]

From this time to the beginning of the French Revolution Yelaguin reigned practically unchallenged. The last Lodge warranted by him was at Sckloff in 1791.[2] In 1794 Catherine allowed her immediate attendants to perceive that she would be glad to see Freemasonry restrained for a time, in view of the political movement throughout Europe. She did not actually forbid it, but the sovereign's desire was at once complied with, and all Lodges were closed throughout the empire by command of the Grand Master. He himself died shortly afterwards, which brings us to the close of the first distinct period in Russian Freemasonry.

As a curiosity I shall give two versions of an occurrence of 1784, extracted, without comment, from Lawrie and Thory.

[3] A petition was received from several Scottish Masons who had been commissioned by the Empress of all the Russias to settle in her capital, requesting a charter of erection for a Lodge at St Petersburg, under the name of the Imperial Scottish Lodge of St Petersburgh, which was unanimously granted

[4] The Empress of all the Russias invites the Grand Lodge of Scotland to send deputies to St Petersburg in order to establish there a Scotch Lodge under the name of Imperial Lodge. Grand Lodge hastens to defer to the wishes of this sovereign. Constitutions are accorded.

Catherine died in 1796, and was followed by Paul I., said by some writers to have been a Mason; indeed, it is even asserted that Catherine herself witnessed his initiation. The hopes which the Craft had placed in his presumed goodwill to Freemasonry were destined to be overthrown. Reinbeck, who travelled in Russia in 1805, published his "Bemerkungen" in 1806; and gives the following account.[5] Paul called a meeting of well-known brothers to decide whether the Lodges should be reopened or not. The project was opposed by some few influential members and statesmen, and it was decided to wait awhile. Then appeared on the scene the Maltese Knight Count Litter, and persuaded the Emperor to favour the Maltese Order at the expense of the Craft.[6] The result was, that an edict appeared in 1797 forbidding secret meetings, and although Freemasonry was not specifically mentioned, Paul caused all the Masters of Lodges known to him to give their hand and word that they would open no Lodges. These were in return made Knights of Malta, and on December 16, 1798, Paul declared himself Grand Master of that Order.

In 1801 the liberal-minded Alexander ascended the throne, but here again the expectations of the Craft were disappointed, for he renewed the decree against secret societies. I am not disposed to believe Thory's romantic account of his conversion and initiation by Böber in 1803,[7] having made up my mind never to depend upon the former in the absence of corroboration; but it is evident that some time before 1804 Alexander had let it be understood that he

[1] Handbuch, *s.v.* Melesino.

[2] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Yelaguin.

[3] Edit. 1804, p. 235.

[4] Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 159.

[5] I follow the extracts given by Findel and the "Handbuch."

[6] It must be remembered that as the Zinnendorff, Swedish, and Strict Observance Systems each professed to be a continuation of the Order of the Temple, the Maltese Knights were in some degree justified in looking upon the Craft as being in organised rivalry with their own Order.

[7] Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 218.

would not interfere with the meetings of the Craft; for in that year, according to the "*Freiburger Taschenbuch*"[1] of 1816-1817, the members of the former "Pelican" reconstituted their Lodge under the title of "Alexander of the Crowned Pelican;" and many other Lodges followed their example. The "Pelican" increased to such an extent that in 1809 it was divided into three Lodges, working respectively in Russian, German, and French, according to the Swedish Rite. These three then formed a Grand Directoral Lodge, "Wladimir," and were joined in 1811 and 1812 by two French Lodges in St Petersburg, and in 1813 by the Lodges in Revel and Cronstadt. This Grand Directory was composed in part of the holders of the superior degrees, and partly of the Lodge representatives. Böber was its G.M. from 1811 to 1814, and was followed in 1815 by Count Basil Mussin-Puschkin-Bruce—not to be confounded with Count Alexander of the same name, the former head of the Russian Strict Observance. From the composition of this Grand Lodge, it might have been foreseen that the simple Masters would soon fall out with the *high degree* Masons. About this time Fessler, who had already so powerfully contributed to lead back German Freemasonry to its English origin and simplicity, arrived at St Petersburg, and many Lodges reverted to the ceremonies of the Craft.

In March 1815 the Directory unanimously resolved to acknowledge all rites which were recognised anywhere by a regular Grand Lodge—a tremendous blow for the partisans of the Swedish Rite; but when in June it proceeded with a revision of its statutes, the impossibility of reconciling opposite views of Craft government became apparent. The result was the dissolution of the Directory, and that on August 30, 1815, four Lodges erected the Grand Lodge "Astrea." Its organisation was so like our own Grand Lodge as to need no description: it will only be necessary to remark that—confining its attention exclusively to the Craft—it agreed to leave every Lodge free to adopt such degrees beyond the Master's as it might prefer.[2] Count Mussin-Puschkin-Bruce was elected Grand Master. It almost immediately afterwards warranted a new Lodge, and in October was joined by the most important Lodge of all, the Pelican.

From the remains of the Directory, two dissenting Lodges erected in 1815 a Swedish Provincial Grand Lodge of Russia, but in 1819 this body could only count 6 subordinate Lodges, whereas at the same date the Grand Lodge "Astrea" ruled over 24. Of these 24, however, 7 worked according to Schroeder's Ritual (the Hamburg modification of the English ceremonial), 2 according to Yelaguin's (Zinnendorff), 6 by the rectified S.O., 8 by the Swedish Ritual, and 1 according to Fessler's modified English rite. In 1818 a Grand Chapter was established, to control the working of the entire set of degrees of all these rites, beyond that of Master Mason.

In 1820 Kuschelerv was elected G.M., to whose subsequent course of action the ingratitude of the viper in the fable—towards the countryman who had nurtured it in his bosom—presents the fittest and only parallel. He was a bigot of the most pronounced type, and suddenly addressed a paper to the Emperor, showing the danger to the State, of the Craft as then constituted, and maintaining the necessity either of its suppression or of such modifications as would have entirely deprived it of its chief characteristics.[3] The Czar chose the former alternative, and issued a Ukase—August 1, 1822—closing all Lodges, and forbidding them at any future time to reopen. The Fraternity obeyed without a murmur, the decree is still in force, and thus perished Freemasonry in the dominions of the Czar of all the Russias.

[1] I quote from the extracts in the "Handbuch."

[2] In this respect it also followed the example of our own Grand Lodge in 1813. [3] Findel, Gesch. der Freim., p. 621.

POLAND.

The clearest, fullest, and best history of Freemasonry in Poland, was contributed as long ago as 1818, by an anonymous Polish brother to the first edition of Lenning's "Cyclopædia." The *Handbuch* (1868) has not been able to add anything thereto, Findel avowedly has only condensed it, and an extended course of reading has not enabled me to do more than find an occasional corroboration in other works. It may be safely affirmed that such a thoroughly exhaustive encyclopædic article is seldom to be met with.

It would appear that previous to 1739 some nobles at the Court of King Frederick Augustus II. had assembled as Masons, in Lodges at Warsaw, probably without regular constitutions, and that these Lodges were all closed in that year in consequence of the Bull of Clement XII.[1]

A few years afterwards the Craft began to move once more. Lodges were established (still without known charters):—1742, at Volhynien; 1744, the "Three Brothers," at Warsaw; 1747, at Lemberg; 1749, the "Good Shepherd," at Warsaw—of which the Master, Thoux de Salverte, was commissioned by it to travel and open Lodges elsewhere. In 1755 General Le Fort held a Lodge at Dulko.[2] Many of these Lodges erected others. In 1762 the "Three Brothers" was very powerful, but fell into decay. In 1764 Stanislaus Augustus ascended the throne after a stormy interregnum, and efforts were made to revive the Craft, which has suffered more from political disturbances in Poland than in any other country. The "Three Brothers," Warsaw, was resuscitated in August 1766 by Count Augustus Moszynski, and closed in October, by his successor, Count Frederick Aloys Brühl—in order to introduce new laws—but reopened on January 12, 1767, with the addition of a Chapter of High Degrees. Brühl returned to Dresden in 1768, and Moszynski resumed the lead. The Lodge was then—June 24, 1769—declared to be a Grand Lodge, with Moszynski as Grand Master. One of its first acts was to warrant a Lodge in Hungary. Its own members constituted themselves into two Lodges for Moscow, the "Three Brothers" and the "Unity," working respectively in German and French. I may observe, however, that so far all was highly irregular, each movement being merely the arbitrary act of an unauthorised individual. Nevertheless the Grand Lodge did its best to improve matters by communicating the results to foreign Lodges, and in 1770 received a letter from De Vignolles at the Hague, the Prov. G.M. for foreign Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England, acknowledging Moszynski as Prov. G.M. of Poland. As a Provincial Grand Lodge of England, the legality of its former proceedings was assured, and as such it was proclaimed June 24, 1770. In the same year this Provincial Grand Lodge constituted four new Lodges.

Meanwhile, in 1770, Brühl[3] had joined the Strict Observance, and been made Prior of Poland and Lithuania, which district was declared to form a diocese of the Order of the Temple. Any strife between the two systems was, however, prevented by the unhappy political events immediately succeeding, for in 1772 took place the first partition of Poland, and not only did all Lodges there become dormant for the time, but the Provincial Grand

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 477, note 3; and XXVIII., *s.v.* Italy.

[2] The "*Handbuch*" calls it a Strict Observance Lodge, which must be an error; it was probably a Lodge working the Templar degrees of the Chapter of Clermont.

[3] Handbuch, *s.v.* Brühl. It was at this nobleman's seat in Kohlo that the Strict Observance Convent of 1772 was held; *cf. ante*, p. 105.

Lodge closed never to reopen. This may be considered the end of the first epoch of Polish Freemasonry.

In 1773 the Craft again revived, but a wonderful multiplicity of rites and systems ensued and continued for some years.

The first on the scene was Count Brühl, who, returning to Warsaw in 1773, introduced the Strict Observance in the former Warsaw Lodges, "Three Brothers" and "Unity," and constituted a third in the same city, January 29, 1774, which last threw out an offshoot —or fourth Lodge—in Krakaw in 1778. All these acknowledged the rule of Ferdinand of Brunswick, with Brühl as their intermediate superior.

On April 30, 1773, several Masons, among whom may be named Baron Heyking, Count Hülsen, and Thoux de Salverte, erected a *quasi*-Masonic body with mystical tendencies, which ultimately survived as the Lodge of the Good Shepherd, and, February 6, 1780,[1] was reconstituted as Catherine of the Pole Star, by the Mother Lodge, Royal York of Berlin, at that time a private Lodge under the English Constitution, but which had by almost imperceptible degrees taken up the position, and occasionally assumed the style, of a Grand Lodge. Hülsen was its W.M., and its members formed themselves into a Scots Lodge, and as such applied to the Grand Lodge of England, through the Royal York Lodge, for a Provincial Grand Lodge Charter. Baron Heyking had been appointed deputy for Poland by the "Royal York" on November 24, 1779, and ordered to constitute Lodges wherever advisable and possible.[2] The result of his efforts was 3 Lodges in Warsaw, 1 in Posen, 3 in Wilna, 1 in Dubno—all in 1780. The Rite in use at that time was practically the English one.[3]

The third Masonic power on the scene was the Grand Orient of France, which—November 15, 1778—warranted a Warsaw Lodge, erected there by a French merchant in 1776.

An offshoot of "Catherine," under the title of the "Pole Star" and the leadership of Prince Poninski, deserted to the Strict Observance in 1779. There were consequently at this period three systems at work—all struggling for the mastery.

Hülsen was succeeded in the chair of "Catherine of the Pole Star"—December 27, 1779—by Count Potocki, who set himself to work to reduce this chaos into order. He circulated an invitation of the "Royal York," acting in England's name, calling upon the Lodges to form a Grand Provincial Lodge of Poland, and in 1780 obtained the suffrages of the majority of Lodges. Heyking was sent to the Grand Lodges of Germany, and Le Doules to that of Russia to facilitate matters. The other systems represented in the country did their best to frustrate his efforts. Brühl especially raised the Warsaw Strict Observance Lodge "Three Helmets" to a Mother-Lodge, and constituted three new ones; and in 1781 the French Lodge announced itself as a Grand Lodge in virtue of a patent from the Grand Orient of France, dated May 14. This induced the Lodge, Catherine of the Pole Star, to divide its members into three Lodges for Craft purposes, but claiming to act as a Grand Lodge in its entirety under the guise of a Scots Lodge.

At length in August 1781, Lodge Catherine received a London patent as a Provincial Grand Lodge, which had been signed by the Duke of Manchester, G.M., August 4, 1780.[4]

[1] Hauptmomente der Geschichte der Grossen Loge von Preussen, Royal York, Berlin, 1849, p. 73.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74.

[4] According to a MS. note in the Engraved List for 1778 (Grand Lodge Library), the commission was dated *April* 4, and not *August* 4, 1780.

As Count Hülsen was therein named as G.M., Potocki gave way for the time, but on December 27, 1781, Ignaz Potocki was unanimously elected Grand Master.

This event was duly announced throughout the country and abroad, and conduced almost immediately to the extinction of the Strict Observance Lodges. New statutes were submitted for approval—January 7, 1783; and conformed in all points with Anderson's Constitutions. Potocki's departure abroad delayed their ratification, but his deputy—Wilkorski—and the representatives of 13 Lodges, worked steadily at the completion of the Masonic edifice. Meanwhile Heyking's efforts had procured directions from the Grand Orient of France—November 17, 1781—to its Lodges in Poland to join the Provincial Grand Lodge, and the result was that—February 26, 1784—the Provincial Grand Lodge was converted into an independent Grand Orient of Poland, and inaugurated as such on March 4 following.

It is rather curious that on February 8, 1784, the Provincial Grand Lodge and its 12 daughter Lodges affiliated with the "Eclectic Union" of Frankfort-on-the-Maine.[1] This is, however, an indirect proof that the system of working was at that time essentially English.

The first Grand Master of the National Grand Orient was Andrew Mocranowski, installed March 18, 1784; and in the same year were constituted, a Lodge in Constantinople, a Russian military Lodge at Kiow, and various others, some of which were raised to the position of Provincial Grand Lodges. Unfortunately the G.M. expired after a very few months' tenure of office, and in his place was appointed—December 27, 1784—Count Felix Potocki, who was installed February 2, 1785, being thus the second of his family who officiated as G.M. of Poland.

It will be unnecessary to follow in detail the progress of the Grand Orient, or to enumerate the Lodges and Provincial Grand Lodges which it warranted in the course of the next few years; it will suffice to state that they were numerous, and that the Fraternity prospered exceedingly. A few salient data may be cited. A Grand Chapter, to rule the high degrees, was erected February 19, 1785; and on December 17, Potocki was re-elected G.M. During the night April 24-25, 1786, Freemasons' Hall in Warsaw was burnt to the ground, entailing great loss on the brotherhood. January 4, 1787—Potocki was again elected, and Stanislaus Potocki commissioned to place himself in correspondence with foreign Grand Lodges, particularly those of England and France. January 24, 1788—Potocki was continued in the chair, although very negligent of his duties; in the same year he resigned; and—January 11, 1789—Prince Casimir Sapieha was chosen in his stead. But once more political events exerted a baneful influence over the Polish Craft, and produced a state of coma. In 1792 Russia and Prussia effected a second partition of the unfortunate kingdom, and finally in 1794 it was wholly dismembered. This occasioned the closing of the Grand Orient and of all Polish Lodges, and we thus arrive at the end of the second distinct epoch in the history of Polish Freemasonry.

From 1794 to 1811, Poland, a part of which Napoleon had in 1806 formed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw under the house of Saxony, was a veritable "Tom Tiddler's ground" for the three Prussian Grand Lodges, who constituted or reconstituted the following Lodges:—the Grand National Lodge, 6; the Three Globes, 9; and the Royal York, 1. On October 4, 1804, the Three Globes erected at Plock a Provincial Grand Lodge and a Scots Directory for the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. On October 23, 1807, the Grand Orient of France entered into competition, and—July 18, 1808—warranted a Lodge in Warsaw.

[1] George Kloss, Annalen der Loge zur Einigkeit, Frankfort, 1842, p. 197.

In 1807 the Duchy fell under Saxon rule, and a new state of affairs arose. Former Polish Lodges reopened successively in 1809 and following years, and among others, on March 22, 1810, the former Provincial Grand Lodge, "Catherine of the North Star." Almost immediately afterwards the former Deputy Grand Master, Gutakowski, declared the Grand Orient revived. Foreign Grand Lodges were informed of the fact, and many of the Lodges constituted by them gave in their adhesion to the national authority. January 30, 1811—Gutakowski was elected G.M. of the Grand Orient of Poland, and—November 5—the few Lodges not acknowledging its authority, were summoned for the last time to affiliate themselves. Gutakowski died December 1, and was replaced—March 1, 1812—by Count Stanislaus Potocki, the third Polish G.M. of that family. Meanwhile, the one extraneous Grand Chapter (French) had amalgamated with the Polish Grand Chapter, so that on June 24, 1812, the Grand Orient was proclaimed as the sole supreme authority. As a matter of fact, however, there still remained aloof, the Provincial Grand Lodge—under the Three Globes—at Plock, with its daughters.

Once more, in consequence of political events, the Grand Orient and its daughter Lodges were closed—January 30, 1813—after a most prosperous but very brief career. But this time the sleep was not protracted, for in October the Warsaw Lodges were again at work, and the Grand Orient being still dormant, the direction of affairs was undertaken by the Grand Chapter. The interval had witnessed Napoleon's crushing defeat at Leipsic, on which occasion the gallant Prince Poniatowski lost his life in the Elster—October 19. A solemn funeral Lodge was held in his honour, March 12, 1814—the Grand Master resumed the gavel on his return—August 30, 1814—and was re-elected April 22, 1815. May 3, 1815—the former Grand Duchy of Warsaw was finally allotted to Russia. September 20—the Provincial Grand Lodge at Plock (under the Three Globes of Berlin), erected 1804, and its daughter Lodges joined the Grand Orient; and—November 13, 14, 1815—the exterior of Freemasons' Hall was splendidly illuminated to celebrate the visit of the new ruler of the country, the Czar Alexander of Russia.

Little remains to be narrated. Potocki was re-elected year after year, and the Craft prospered, so that in 1818 the Grand Orient numbered on its roll 1 Sovereign Chapter, with 2 subordinate High, and 8 subordinate Low, Chapters—these constituted the Inner Orient.[1] There were also 17 Lodges directly dependent upon the G.O., and the Provincial Grand Lodges of Lithuania, Plock, and Volhynien, with 7, 3, and again 3 Lodges respectively—which collectively, *i.e.*, the 30 Lodges last enumerated, constituted the Outer Orient.

Unfortunately the Fraternity either lent itself to political intrigues of a revolutionary tendency, or was at least suspected of so doing. In consequence the Czar Alexander issued his rescript of suppression to the Minister of the Interior on August 12, 1821. This was promulgated by the Viceroy, November 6, and the further progress of Polish Freemasonry was thus suddenly arrested. We have already seen that barely a year elapsed before their brothers in Russia suffered a similar fate.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 93.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FREEMASONRY IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

GRAND LODGES—HAMBURG—ECLECTIC UNION—THREE GLOBES OF BERLIN—NATIONAL OF BERLIN—ROYAL YORK OF BERLIN—SUN OF BAIREUTH—SAXONY—CONCORD OF DARMSTADT—INDEPENDENT LODGES—EXTINCT GRAND LODGES — HANOVER — SILESIA — KÖNIGSBERG — RATISBON — BRUNSWICK—BODE'S—BADEN, GRAND ORIENT AND GRAND NATIONAL UNION—WESTPHALIA—HESSE CASSEL—OTHER MASONIC UNIONS.

THE Fraternity of Freemasons in Germany is at present divided in its allegiance amongst eight Grand Lodges. There are also five perfectly regular and recognised Lodges "who are a law unto themselves." Besides these, many Grand Bodies of the Craft have lived their span and died, and without some allusion to their former existence, a history of German Freemasonry would be but an account of its present state. I therefore propose to do my best, in my fast dwindling space, to describe all these communities, and shall conclude this branch of our inquiry, by referring to various combinations of German Masons, past and present, which do not come under the heading of Grand Lodges. With regard to existing Grand Lodges, I believe the reader will grasp the subject more firmly if I consider these, not simultaneously, but separately, although I shall thereby be obliged to go over the same series of years eight consecutive times. The Chart given with this Chapter will serve, however, to present them in their contemporaneous aspect.

GRAND LODGES.

I. The Grand Lodge of Hamburg.

Of all the German Grand Lodges this deserves the first mention, and for two reasons,—its earliest beginnings can be carried farthest back along the stream of time, and in the purity and legitimacy of its English origin, it is only equalled by the Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union, at Frankfort, which, however, falls slightly behind it in point of antiquity.

The earliest date connecting the Craft with Hamburg, is contained in a speech delivered January 30, 1765, by Dr Jaenisch, then Prov. G.M., who declared that his appointment as such dated from the time of his departure from London between 1718-20.[1] I can only attempt to explain this assertion by supposing that at this very early period Jaenisch had received some verbal permission to make Masons on the Continent; anything more definite or formal is inconceivable.

[1] Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, p. 555.

The next reference to Hamburg occurs under the administration of the Duke of Norfolk, when a Monsieur Thuanus[1] was appointed in 1729 Prov. G.M. for the circle of Lower Saxony. This person, however, is no more heard of; therefore his influence, if ever exercised, must have been of a very fugitive character.

In 1733 the Earl of Strathmore is stated to have granted to eleven German Masons a deputation to open a Lodge at Hamburg.[2]

The minutes (in French) of an anonymous Hamburg Lodge have been preserved, dated December 6, 1737. According to these, the meeting was held under the presidency of Karl Sarry, English Provincial Grand Master of Prussia and Brandenburg. This gentleman's name is not mentioned in our English records, but he may have had some reason for assuming the above title nevertheless. The Lodge in question is usually considered to have developed into the Absalom. If so, it performed the unnecessary act of obtaining a fresh charter, because it was almost certainly already warranted in 1733, for in the Engraved List for 1734 we find No. 124 at Hamburg without a date, and in the later List for 1740, as No. 108, constituted in 1733. There can therefore be little doubt that it was the Lodge of the eleven German Masons, as above. On October 23, 1740, Lodge Absalom at Hamburg was warranted as No. 119,[3] the dates and numbers both showing that the Lodges were considered distinct in England. If one Lodge was a continuation of the other, it is somewhat difficult to account for these two warrants, and the consequent loss of seniority. I am inclined to think that when, in 1740, Lüttmann was appointed Prov. G.M. of Hamburg and Lower Saxony, he applied for a warrant for a new Lodge—Absalom—and that the old Lodge gradually died out. The latter had been ruled in turn by Brothers Carpser, Von Oberg, and Lüttmann himself. The most remarkable incidents of the existence of this old Lodge are, that on March 7, 1738, it drew upon itself the very short-lived prohibition of the magistrates,[4] and in the same year sent a deputation to initiate the future Frederick the Great.[5]

Lodge Absalom was warranted October 23, 1740, and on the 30th Lüttmann received his patent as Prov. G.M.[6] He was also the W.M. of Absalom, but having perfected and opened the Provincial Grand Lodge in 1741—the highest Masonic authority in Germany—he resigned the chair of the Lodge in 1742, and accepted the position of Treasurer.[7] Even Marschall, the Prov. G.M. of Upper Saxony, did not disdain to occupy a Warden's chair in this Lodge whilst residing at Hamburg.

The first act of the Provincial Grand Master, was to legitimate an existing unchartered Lodge in Hamburg, under the name of "St George," September 24, 1743. This Lodge first appears in our list of 1744 as No. 196. The constitution of a Lodge in Brunswick followed in 1744; at Copenhagen, 1745; Hanover, 1746; Celle, 1748; Oldenberg, 1752; Schwerin, 1754; and at Hildesheim, 1762.[8] The last two received English numbers, but the subsequent history of all was very soon divorced from that of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. Scarcely was the Provincial Grand Lodge established before Scots Masonry made itself felt. In 1744 Count Schmettau, who had carried the Scots degrees to Berlin, introduced them to Hamburg, and erected the Scots Lodges "Schmettau" and "Judica," of which Von Oberg and Von Rönigk,

[1] Constitutions 1756, p. 333. By many writers called Du Thom.
[2] Preston, edit. 1821, p. 213.
[3] Engraved List, 1756.
[4] Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, p. 555.
[5] *Cf. post*, p. 241.
[6] Constitutions, 1756, p. 334.
[7] W. Keller, Gesch. der Freim. in Deutschland, 1859, p. 82.
[8] Handbuch, *s.v.* Hamburg.

the Masters of St George and Absalom, became respectively the Scots Masters.[1] At the same time many surreptitious Lodges sprang up, and in 1749 there even existed a clandestine Tyler's or Serving Brother's Lodge, in which other serving brethren were initiated.[2] In 1747 there was at Hamburg an African Lodge,[3] which, although it passed away and left no trace, has been viewed as a forerunner of Von Koppen's Rite of African Architects, 1768-97.[4]

Lüttmann (a dyer), who resigned in 1759, and had ceased to exist in 1764,[5] was followed—November 20, 1759—by Gottfried J. Jaenisch, M.D.—born 1707; initiated in Lodge Absalom, December 18, 1743; and died May 28, 1781.[6] The latter's patent as Prov. G.M. was signed by Lord Aberdour;[7] but he was scarcely installed before, in 1762, he associated himself with the degrees of the Clermont Chapter introduced by Rosa from Berlin. The way was thus prepared for the Strict Observance.

In the first month of 1765, Schubart[8] arrived in Hamburg, where he consorted with Bode, who had been present at Johnstone's Altenberg Convent. The rule of the Strict Observance, which required *noble* birth of its candidates, proved no bar to Schubart's success in this notably plebeian city, for Hund was induced to sanction Schubart's proposition whereby enhanced fees not only ensured knighthood, but also ennoblement. A prominent Hamburg Mason at this time was Joh. Gottfr. von Exter, M.D.—born in Bremen 1734—who was made a knight (together with Jaenisch) by Schubart January 11, 1765. The Templar missionary promised to raise Hamburg to the position of an independent Prefectory. Accordingly, on January 30, Jaenisch appeared in the Provincial Grand Lodge, dissolved all Lodges formerly warranted by its authority, closed the P.G.L., declared the Strict Observance Rite the only true one, reconstituted the Lodges Absalom and St George, and proclaimed Hamburg as the Prefectory Ivenach.[9] Bode, who had been made in the Absalom Lodge—February 11, 1761[10]—became for a time a leading light in the S.O. The Chapter, which had been formed of 12 members, grew in the space of a few weeks to 29.[11] The generality of the Fraternity proved, however, by no means enthusiastically disposed towards the new Rite; for in 1768 the two Hamburg Lodges were practically dormant and the Grand Lodge closed,[12] a state of things which permitted other systems to force an entrance.

In 1768 Rosenberg—already mentioned in connection with Russia—erected in Hamburg the Lodge of the Three Roses, and Sudthausen that of Olympia, both according to the Swedish Rite. But Zinnendorff, who had cast off the Strict Observance in 1767, and founded his own rival Swedish Rite in 1768, came to Hamburg in 1770, and reconstituted these two Lodges under his own system; and in 1771 founded two others, the Pelican, and Red Eagle, in Altona, a suburb of Hamburg.[13] At the head of Olympia, afterwards "the Golden Sphere," was J. Leonhardi—not to be confounded with Leonhardi of Frankfort—who was for many years Zinnendorff's representative in the Grand Lodge at London.[14] The first two Lodges took part in the formation—June 24, 1770—of Zinnendorff's[15] Grand National Lodge. Meanwhile, in spite of the efforts of the Prov. G.M. for Foreign Lodges, De Vignolles,

[1] Handbuch, *s.v.* Hamburg. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ante*, p. 81 (Chart No. I.).
[5] Handbuch, *s.v.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] Constitutions, 1767. [8] *Ante*, p. 104.
[9] Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, p. 558. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 559. [11] *Ibid.*
[12] Handbuch, *s.v.* Hamburg. [13] *Ibid.*
[14] For Leonhardi's actions in London see Centennial History of the Pilgrim Lodge, No. 238 (1879, Karl Bergmann). This Lodge was founded in 1779 by Leonhardi in order to strengthen Zinnendorff's position with the Grand Lodge of England. [15] *Post*, p. 251.

who seems to have been the only English Mason who thoroughly understood the character of Zinnendorff's usurpation, the Grand Lodge of England had recognised the sole authority in Germany of the Grand National Lodge at Berlin—November 30, 1773—so that when Jaenisch at length attempted to resume his duties as English Prov. G.M., he found that his patent had been annulled by Lord Petre May 31, 1773.[1]

In 1774 fourteen brothers deserted Zinnendorff's Lodges, and were constituted by Jaenisch as a Strict Observance Lodge under the name "Emanuel,"[2] thus forming the third Lodge of the system which had once been the Provincial Grand Lodge, and was destined to become so again. This Lodge was of course not immediately registered in England, and first appears in the list for 1792, as No. 508, with the note "have met since 1774." In the same list (1792), Lodges Absalom and St George, who were "dropped out" at the closing up of numbers in 1770, reappear.

The year 1774—September 8—witnessed the initiation in this Lodge Emanuel, of Fried. Ludwig Schroeder, one of the most prominent reformers of German Freemasonry, who was born at Schwerin March 3, 1744. Space will not allow me to attempt a biography, and I must content myself with a very few facts. Schroeder's public career as an actor and dramatic poet is well known, and in his later function of *impresario* he was at least equally successful. At a comparatively early age he was enabled to devote his well-earned leisure to the reform of the Craft, and here also success attended him. He was Master of the Emanuel Lodge 1787-99; Deputy Prov. G.M. of Lower Saxony, 1799-1814; and G.M. of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg from 1814 until his death, September 3, 1816.[3] His first acts as a Freemason showed no promise of his future career, for in 1774, being then only an apprentice, he opened a clandestine Lodge in Hamburg, "Eliza of the Warm Heart," which lasted until 1777.[4]

In 1776 the Princes Karl of Hesse and Ferdinand of Brunswick[5] founded the Lodge Ferdinand Caroline in Hamburg, the fourth Lodge of the Hamburg system.[6] In 1792 this Lodge received the English No. 509, with the date of 1776.

In 1778 Bode was W.M. of Absalom, and Dresser, of St George. This latter not being acceptable to the brethren, who under the S.O. rules were powerless to remove him, the Hamburg Fraternity seized the occasion of Karl's presence in Altona—then a town of Denmark, although apparently a suburb of Hamburg—to offer him the presidency of all four Lodges. This he accepted—March 28, 1778—but disappointed the brethren in his choice of a deputy; so the ruse having failed, the Chapter was induced to influence him to resign the office in 1780, accepting the title of Protector, and allowing the Lodges, *pro hac vice*, to choose their own Masters. Dresser, as will be easily understood, was not re-elected.[7]

Meanwhile, the Hamburg Fraternity had grown tired of the Strict Observance, which was itself moribund. On May 28, 1781, Jaenisch died, and was succeeded by Dr von Exter, under whom—by amalgamation—the *four* Lodges became *two*, and renounced the Templar Rite. Exter, however, was won over by the New or Gold Rosicrucians, and announced himself as a

[1] In G. Sec. Heseltine's letter to Jaenisch of this date, demanding the immediate return of his patent, the latter is deservedly reproached, not only with regard to former acts of negligence, but for having made an illegal use of the document, for the furtherance of the "Sect of the Strict Observance" (Nettelbladt, p. 778). The proceedings of Zinnendorff, however, *in whose favour the letter was issued*, were no less illegal and far more reprehensible.

[2] Handbuch, *s.v.* Hamburg. [3] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* [4] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Hamburg.

[5] *Ante*, p. 105 *et seq.* [6] Handbuch, *s.v.* Hamburg.

[7] Keller, Gesch. der Freim. in Deut., etc., pp. 169, 170.

G.M. under this system, with Dresser as Deputy. Through the latter, Hamburg was nearly induced by the Wetzlar brotherhood to join the newly-formed Eclectic Union as a third Directoral Lodge; but the negotiations were interrupted by his death. At this period Aug. Graefe, a former Prov. G.M. of Canada, arrived in Hamburg as the representative in Germany of the Grand Lodge of England. He was a strong opponent of Zinnendorff, although accredited to his Grand Lodge by a patent dated March 24, 1785,[1] and strongly encouraged a return to first principles, holding out hopes of the Provincial Grand Lodge being revived.[2]

In 1783 Hamburg was invaded by Eckhoffen with a Lodge of Asiatic brothers,[3] and in 1785 Schroeder returned from Vienna,[4] his influence soon making itself felt throughout the Hamburg Craft.

In 1786, the negotiations with England being now complete, and Zinnendorff disowned, the two Hamburg Lodges redivided into the original four, and on August 24 Graefe installed Von Exter as Prov. G.M. of Hamburg and Lower Saxony.[5] Exter's patent was dated July 5, 1786.

In 1787 Schroeder was elected W.M. of Lodge Emanuel, and soon after was intrusted with the revision of the Statutes. He completed his work in 1788, and laid the first stone of his reform by establishing the Old Charges of 1723 as the foundation of all Masonry. But whilst bent on cutting down extravagance on the one hand, he was equally energetic in preventing extreme measures on the other; and it must be ascribed to his influence that a proposal made in 1789 to forego rites and ceremonies of *all kinds* was rejected.[7]

But this return to English Freemasonry was naturally distasteful to Karl of Hesse, Ferdinand's coadjutor, in the direction of the *rectified* Strict Observance. He therefore, in 1787, erected a Lodge, "Ferdinand of the Rock," at Hamburg, which was of course looked upon as clandestine, as were also at this time the Zinnendorff Lodges. The latter, however, have always held their own in Hamburg, which is at the present time the seat of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Mecklenburg, under the Grand National Lodge of Berlin. In September 1790, Bode, who had migrated to Gotha, issued a circular proposing a General Union of German Lodges—an attempt which will be again referred to. The circular failed to shake the allegiance of a single Hamburg Lodge, but it possibly had the effect of stimulating Schroeder to further measures, for we next find that—at his instigation—the Scots Lodges and degrees were abolished in 1790-91, thus leaving nothing but pure English Freemasonry. This step was followed in 1795 by the adhesion of Lodge Ferdinand of the Rock, which in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1798 appears as No. 562, with the words "have met since 1788" in a parenthesis.

At Exter's death—April 12, 1799—Beckmann became Prov. G.M., and Schroeder Deputy.[8] The latter, who had previously revised the Constitutions, now turned his attention to the Ceremonial, and, having discovered what he imagined to be the earliest diction, recast it in a form more applicable to the times. The result was a simple yet impressive Ritual, differing little from our own, which was approved and accepted by the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, April 29, 1801.[9] Its daughter Lodges had meanwhile increased from 5 to 9.[10]

In 1802 Schroeder procured the acceptance of what, until quite lately, was the distinguish-

[1] Grand Lodge Records. [2] Keller, pp. 199, 200. [3] *Ante*, p. 81 (Chart No. 1.). [4] Findel, p. 497.
[5] Keller, pp. 200, 201. [6] Grand Lodge Records. [7] Findel, pp. 497, 498. [8] Nettelbladt, etc., p. 598.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 600. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 601.

ing feature of the Hamburg system, viz., the *Engbund—i.e.*, Select Bond. It was intended to forestall any hankering after High Degrees by rendering it possible for Master Masons to become historically acquainted with all the High Degrees of the various Rites. At the same time, to raise its value as a distinction, it was not open to *all* Master Masons, and possessed its own means of recognition, etc. Certain Grand Officers and all Masters of Lodges were *ex officio* members, and in each Lodge a certain number of the Master Masons were admitted. The Hamburg *Engbund* was a sort of Grand *Engbund* for all the private ones, and a further selection from each *Engbund* conducted the correspondence with the others. This second division was called the Correspondence Circle. The members as such exercised no influence over their Lodges, and their intention was, by research into all the usages and fallacies of the High Degrees, to demonstrate their uselessness and absence of historical basis.

Under its new guise the Provincial Grand Lodge of Hamburg prospered for some years, until in 1811 the success of the French arms, and Napoleon's Interdict, rendered it impossible to continue the connection with this country. On February 11, 1811, therefore, the Provincial Grand Lodge declared itself independent, under the name of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg.[1] At that time its sway was exerted over 12 Lodges.[2] The remainder of its history is uneventful enough, and may be briefly recorded.

Beckmann died—June 28, 1814—and was succeeded as G.M. by Schroeder; at whose death—September 3, 1816—Beseler was elected, and, at his resignation, Schleiden, July 28, 1825. In 1828 W. H. Göschen[3] was appointed the first representative at the Grand Lodge of England. In 1834 Schleiden resigned, and was succeeded by Moraht. On December 6, 1837, Lodge Absalom held its centenary festival, and in 1838 the Grand Lodge of England appointed H. J. Wenck as its first representative at Hamburg. Hamburg has ever since been most closely allied with England, and its representative has often enjoyed the special honour of being appointed Grand Secretary for German Correspondence. Moraht died February 13, 1838, and was succeeded by Dav. Andr. Cords, under whom the Constitutions were revised in 1845. The latter was followed by his former Deputy, Dr H. W. Buek, in 1847, and under this G.M. the Constitutions were again revised in 1862. The 150 years' jubilee of Freemasonry was held in 1867.

In 1869 it was considered expedient that the historical acquirements of the *Engbund* should no longer be reserved as the special privilege of a select few. The Grand *Engbund* was therefore dissolved, and reconstituted as a private *Engbund*, open to all Master Masons; and the daughter associations followed suit. They have since existed as purely literary Masonic societies; but the want of the previous cohesion and superior direction had so seriously hampered their efforts, that in 1878 the Lodge at Rostock made proposals for re-establishing the former organisation.[4] The result is unknown to me. The completion of Dr Buek's twenty-fifth year as G.M. was celebrated by the Grand Lodge, June 24, 1872. He then resigned, and was followed by Glitza. In 1874 and 1875 the Grand Lodge of Hamburg recognised the coloured Lodges of Pruice Hall in Boston and of Ohio, and in 1877-78 the Constitutions underwent a last revision.

In 1878 the Grand Lodge of Hamburg ruled over 32 Lodges, of which 5 were in that city and 19 in other parts of Germany, 8 being abroad. In Hamburg itself there existed 9 other

[1] Nettelbladt, etc., p. 613. [2] Findel, p. 499.

[3] A member of the Pilgrim Lodge, No. 238, London; founder of the firm Frühling & Göschen; and father of the ex-Minister Göschen. [4] Findel, p. 501.

Lodges owing allegiance to other German Grand Lodges. The total number of Masons under the Grand Lodge was 3726, an average of 116 per Lodge.[1] Since then two foreign Lodges have been added, one at Bucharest and another at Vera Cruz.[2] With a solitary exception,[3] Hamburg is the only German Grand Lodge which warrants Lodges outside the Empire; it ignores the American theory of Grand Lodge sovereignty, possessing no less than three Lodges in New York itself. The Pilgrim Lodge in London, works in German according to the Hamburg or Schroeder Ritual, but under the rule of the Grand Lodge of England.

The history of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg may be thus briefly summarised:—1730, Du Thom, Prov. G.M.; 1733-40, anonymous Lodge; 1740-65, Provincial Grand Lodge of Hamburg and Lower Saxony under Lüttmann and Jaenisch; 1765-82, a part of the Strict Observance system; 1782-88, under Exter, indoctrinated with the fancies of the New Rosicrucians, though always—it must in fairness be recorded—inclining more and more towards a return to the practice under the Grand Lodge of England; 1786-1811, Provincial Grand Lodge once more; from 1811 to 1885, Grand Lodge of Hamburg.

II. The Mother Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union, Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

Reference to the high antiquity of the origin of this system has already been made, but it claims emphatically the first place in an English Mason's regard for two other reasons—the filial persistency with which it adhered under most difficult circumstances to its connection with England, and the strong common sense which, under every allurement, kept it practically free *at all times* from the blighting influence of High Degrees, Strict Observance, and other "Masonic Aberrations." The Lodge "Union" of Frankfort and its allies have never ceased for one moment to work in the purely English, and *only* Freemasonry of three degrees. Individual members have taken "accessory" degrees, and have even been commissioned by the Lodge to join other Rites in order to report upon their value, and—have always reported adversely! The history of this body affords no mysteries to be cleared up; its minutes are full and complete from the earliest one to the latest; its records are admirably preserved; every statement—on their authority—rests on documentary evidence, and from 1742, literally no question is open to doubt. The annals of the Eclectic Union have been written by three of its own members—Kloss,[4] Keller,[5] and Karl Paul,[6] and as to facts do not differ in the slightest degree. As our present guide I select—on the score of convenience—the last in date, Paul. His account is compiled in chronological order, and therefore no difficulties of verification can be experienced.

Frankfort, from its position as a free town of the Empire, the seat of Germany's largest banking houses, the coronation city of its Emperors, and the place of meeting of the Imperial Diet, enjoyed obvious advantages for the early propagation of Freemasonry. Evidence, indeed, is not wanting of informal meetings of the Craft at a very early date.[7] But the first indications of a permanent Lodge are the records of fines inflicted, as *per* cash-book of the Union Lodge under date of March 1, 1742. In the same year—March 29—by-laws were drawn up

[1] Handbuch, *s.v.* Hamburg. Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885. [2] *Post*, p. 250.

[4] Annalen der Loge zur Einigkeit, 1842. [5] Gesch. des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, 1857.

[6] Annalen des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, 1883. The "Handbuch" also gives a parallel account, *s.v.* Frankfurt and Eklektisches-Bund.

[7] *E.g.*, the alleged initiation of Von Hund, *circa* 1742 (*ante*, p. 101).

and signed by the members, June 27. On the last date the Lodge was formally constituted by General de Beaujeu, Marquis de Gentils, and Baron von Schell, styling themselves G.M. and Grand Wardens *pro tempore*. I have been unable to ascertain by what right they assumed to represent the Grand Lodge of England in this matter; but even if the offices were self-conferred, we may perceive in this very irregularity itself a striving after the regularity which has since so honourably distinguished this Lodge. That the act (if a usurpation) was soon afterwards condoned, may be gathered from the charter granted by Lord Ward, G.M.—February 8, 1743[1]—which recites that Brother Beaumont, oculist to the Prince of Wales, having assured "us" that the Lodge had been constituted *in due form* under the name of Union, and as a daughter of the Union Lodge in London, we do hereby recognise it, etc., and order that the members of either Lodge be considered equally members of the other. Its first Master was Steinheil, and its first Warden De la Tierce, who in 1742 produced one of the earliest translations of Anderson's Constitutions (1723) for the use of the Lodge.[2] In the Engraved List, 1744-45, it is depicted as a Union of Angels,[3] and its date of constitution is acknowledged, June 17, 1742, with the number 192. Its proceedings were conducted in French until 1744, when it was resolved to work alternately in German and French.

In 1743 Count Schmettau, whose name has several times been mentioned, established a military Lodge in Frankfort, which amalgamated with the "Union"—January 17, 1744—and in 1745 the "Union" assumed the powers of a Mother-Lodge by constituting the Lodge of the Three Lions at Marburg, which was not, however, registered in England at the time, and appears first in the Engraved List for 1767 as No. 393.

In 1746—October 24—the Lodge resolved to close its doors, owing to the paucity of attendance and other reasons, and was reopened August 16, 1752, by Steinheil. In 1758 a constitution was granted to a very short-lived Lodge at Mayence, and the occupation of Frankfort by the French army gave rise to several irregular Lodges in the city. The Lodge strove its best to preserve order, but ineffectually for some time, until it at length singled out for mutual support and assistance a Lodge which had grown up in the Swedish regiment, "Royal Deux Ponts," quartered at Frankfort. On May 12, 1761, it constituted the Lodge "Joseph of Union" in Nuremberg, and—May 29, 1762—legitimated the Royal Deux Ponts Lodge. The invitation of the Berlin "Three Globes"—March 8, 1765—to join the Strict Observance, was declined, and also a proposal to pay Schubart's expenses in order that he might instruct them in the new Rite. The Daughter-Lodge at Nuremberg was, however, at this time won over to the Templars, although it did not formally sever its connection with Frankfort till two years later—1767. The greatest blot on the history of the Lodge Union, is its refusal from a very early date to recognise the eligibility of Jewish candidates, an error nevertheless which it amended much earlier than many other German Lodges. In 1766 it refused a warrant to Cassel, because Jews were among the petitioners. At this period J. P. Gogel, a former W.M. of the Lodge, whose commercial pursuits often called him to England, was commissioned to petition for a Provincial Grand Lodge patent for Frankfort, which was granted by Lord Blaney, G.M.—August 20, 1766—to J. P. Gogel, Prov. G.M. of the Upper and Lower

[1] A copy of the warrant will be found in the Appendix. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., pp. 467, 495. [2] *Ante*, p. 83.

[3] Hence possibly the *English* title, which occurs in no German document, and does not appear in the Engraved Lists, when these cease to be *pictorial* (1770). The "Signs of the Houses" were frequently misinterpreted. Chap. XX., p. 467.

Rhine and of Franconia. Gogel produced his patent in Frankfort—October 28—and the P.G.L. was accordingly constituted on the 31st, with the Lodges Union of Frankfort, Marburg, Deux Ponts, and Nuremberg as daughters. On this occasion Gogel declared that he invested the Lodge "Union" with his personal rights, and that no Prov. G.M. should in future exercise the office for more than two or three years. In this he exceeded his powers, because a Provincial patent is always a personal distinction, a Prov. G.M. not being elected by the Province, but appointed by the Grand Master; and as events proved, the well-meant intentions of Gogel were incapable of realisation. The *officers* of the P.G.L.—D.G.M., S. and J. Wardens—were the Masters of the Union, Marburg, and Nuremberg Lodges respectively; but the *members*, at first all Master Masons, and afterwards Wardens—present and past—were drawn from the Union only. Out of the latter, each of the other Lodges might select a representative. It will be seen, as we proceed, that the Union, and subsequently the other Lodges *in* Frankfort, were always exceptionally favoured—a feature which, in a modified form, even yet exists. Among the first members of the P.G.L. were Karl Brönner, Peter F. Passavant, and F. W. Möhler.

In 1767 the Nuremberg Lodge threw off its allegiance, and joined the Strict Observance, whose emissary, Schubart, had arrived in Frankfort in December 1766. His propaganda failed to influence the Provincial Grand Lodge or its daughter, "Union," but he succeeded in erecting, in February 1767, a Lodge of the "Three Thistles" at Frankfort, which for many years proved a thorn in the side of the brethren.

According to his promise Gogel resigned—October 23, 1768—but was re-elected—November 10, 1770—Möhler serving as G.M. in the interim. The former, on his return from England in 1772 constituted a Lodge at Strassburg, which almost immediately afterwards seceded to the Strict Observance. In the same year the Deux Ponts Lodge also joined the enemy.

In December 1772 Prince Ludwig George Karl of Hesse, an enthusiastic convert to Von Hund's system, addressed a letter to the Provincial Grand Lodge, expatiating on the advantages of the new Rite, invited the Grand Lodge to join him, and quietly proposed that Gogel should abdicate in his favour! The offer was naturally declined.

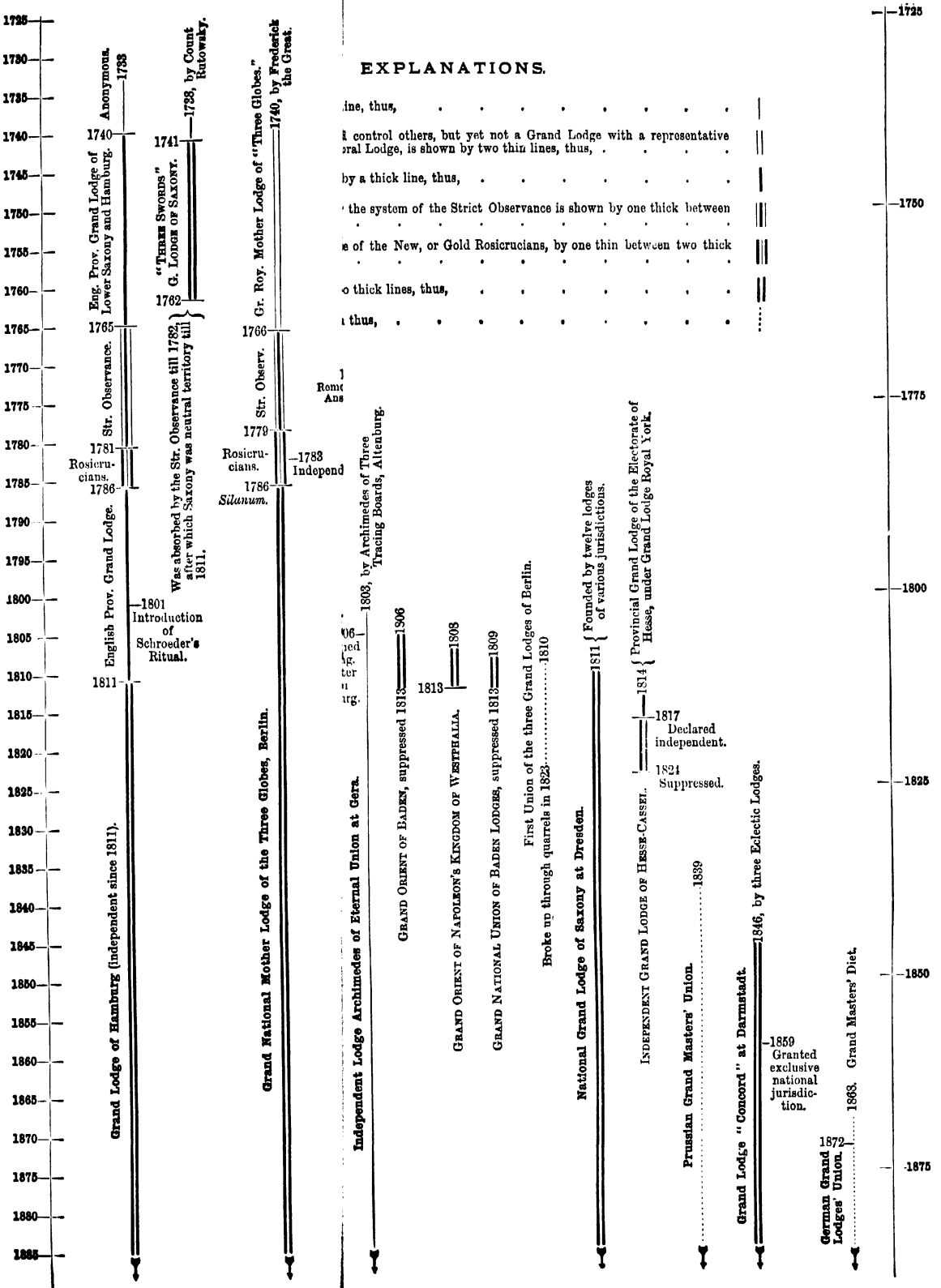
On November 30, 1773, Zinnendorff concluded his compact with England, by which all the existing German Lodges were handed over to him;[1] this treaty was not communicated at once to Frankfort, and whatever excuses England might have urged in extenuation, so far as regarded Hamburg, which had strayed from the right road, its action was not only uncalled for, but highly discreditable in the case of Frankfort, the truest daughter our Grand Lodge ever had cause to rejoice over. No excuse whatever can be pleaded, except the profound ignorance of the Grand Lodge of England—or, it may be, of its Secretary, James Heseltine—with regard to the true state of the Craft abroad, an ignorance which, in the opinion of all dispassionate inquirers, will heighten rather than extenuate, the grave error I have related.

In 1774 the Marburg Lodge formally threw off its allegiance, leaving the Union as the sole support of the Provincial Grand Lodge. In spite of this isolated position Gogel accompanied a letter of inquiry respecting the arrangement with Zinnendorff by a contribution of £30 for

[1] The Provincial Grand Lodge at Frankfort, however, was given the choice, during Gogel's life, of either retaining its then existing position, or of making terms for a Provincial Grand Patent with Zinnendorff. In either case, after Gogel's death, the district was to revert to the newly erected National Grand Lodge for all Germany, *i.e.*, Zinnendorff's—Prince Ferdinand, Prov. G.M. of Brunswick, was granted the same alternative.

No. IV.

EXPLANATIONS.



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Freemasons' Hall and £4 for the Charity. At the same time he pointed out that the only truly English Lodge in Germany was the Frankfort Lodge, and that both the Zinnendorff and Strict Observance systems were something totally different. This and further protests on Gogel's part only produced an answer from England in 1775, in which, after praising Frankfort as the best and only support of true Freemasonry, he was nevertheless advised to come to some arrangement with Zinnendorff. It being quite evident that under these circumstances England would not acknowledge a successor to Gogel—in whose name the Provincial patent was made out, on which Frankfort based its claims—it was determined that he should not resign his office as at first intended. Freemasonry in Frankfort, however, languished, and between 1775 and 1777 no sittings of Grand Lodge were held. From 1777-80 negotiations, initiated by the Landgrave Karl of Hesse, were carried on with this Prince, who held out special inducements to Frankfort to join the Strict Observance. Gogel, Brönner, Passavant, and Küsstner were advanced to the highest degree of this Rite as a test, and—advised against it! The negotiations then fell through at the last moment. Knigge, with the teachings of the Illuminati, failed even to obtain a hearing from the Lodge in 1780, although here again several brethren—for example, Küsstner, Brönner, J. P. von Leonhardi, Pascha, Noël, Du Fay, etc.—gave the Society a trial. The Prov. G.L. refused to yield to, or capitulate with, Zinnendorff, and with its daughter "Union" plodded on its lonely road.

In 1782—March 12—Gogel died; on the 17th, Peter F. Passavant was elected G.M.; on the 18th, Pascha, who was about to leave for London, was commissioned to apply for a new Provincial patent, made out this time in the name of the Lodge, and not in that of the G.M., and to procure a solution to several other questions. In London he failed to obtain the ear of Grand Lodge, except through J. Leonhardi, W.M. of the Pilgrim Lodge, who, as Zinnendorff's representative, was scarcely likely to assist him. The utmost concession offered to Pascha was, that like the Berlin "Royal York," the Frankfort "Union" should content itself with the position of an English constituted Lodge, independent of any German superior. The result is not surprising. The Frankfort Fraternity decided—November 24, 1782—to assert, maintain, and exercise its acquired rights as the Provincial Grand Lodge for the Upper and Lower Rhine and Franconia, omitting the title "English." They contended—and with much force—that the right of assembling as a P.G.L. had been granted to them, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and therefore could not be revoked, except by mutual consent, or on cause shown, that the Frankfort body had been guilty of misconduct or neglect.

It will be remembered that it was precisely at this period that Von Hund's Templar system received its *coup-de-grace* at Wilhelmsbad, and German Freemasonry entered upon a transition state. From the consequent confusion emerged the Eclectic Union. In order to thoroughly understand this movement, we must for the moment turn to the free city of Wetzlar-on-the-Lahn, in Rhenish Prussia. In that city the Frankfort "Three Thistles" warranted in 1767 a Strict Observance Lodge, "Joseph of the Three Helmets." To this was added the Scots Lodge, "Joseph of the Imperial Eagle"—a mother Lodge, which warranted a whole string of S.O. Lodges. The Templar Chapter was in 1777 transferred from the unfruitful soil of Frankfort to Wetzlar, at its head being Von Ditfurth. On the decay of the Templar system, the Scots Lodge assumed the position of an independent Provincial Grand Lodge. Von Ditfurth then conceived the idea of the Eclectic Union, and communicated with Brönner of Frankfort, who revised his suggestions—considerably improving them—and at a meeting of the Frankfort

Provincial Grand Lodge—February 9, 1783—sketched out the future lines of the proposed body. The result was a joint circular to all German Lodges from the two Provincial Grand Lodges in question, dated March 18 and 21, 1783. The daughter Lodges—one at Wetzlar excepted—to the number of 14, immediately gave in their adhesion to the new organisation, viz., at Wetzlar, Munich, Augsburg, Neuwied, Münster, Lautern, Cassel, Rothenburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, Salzburg, Wiesbaden, Brünn, Giessen, and Bentheim-Steinfurth.

On August 24, 1783, after due consideration, the Union Lodge also joined, and in December of the same year, the Strict Observance Lodge of the Three Thistles (at Frankfort) rejected the rectified Templar Rite, and amalgamated with the Union Lodge.

The success of the new organisation was such, that by 1789 no less than 53 Lodges had expressed a desire to be enrolled under its banner, including Lodges in Copenhagen, Warsaw, Kiew, Naples, etc.; but a great number of these could not be accepted for political and other reasons, and many others had soon after to be closed on similar grounds.

The chief features of the Eclectic Union were as follow:—Perfect equality of all Lodges among themselves, and entire independence of any superior authority—Masonry, by common consent, held to be composed of three degrees only—uniformity of ritual in those three degrees—every Lodge free to superimpose any fancy degrees it chose (hence the term Eclectic), but the degrees so conferred, and the members thereof, were to enjoy no recognition as such in the Lodge—the W.M. to be elected, and himself to appoint the other officers—the bond of union to consist in the regular communication to each Lodge of every other Lodge's proceedings—the Provincial Lodges of Frankfort and Wetzlar to be the two centres, undertaking this work of distribution under the name of Directorial Lodges—the Master Masons of other systems, to be admitted as visitors to the Lodges, without any recognition of professedly superior degrees of which they might be in possession—warrants of Constitution to be granted in the name of the Eclectic Union by either of the Directorial Lodges, etc. The permission to add High Degrees soon lapsed by non-user, and was subsequently withdrawn, even before the Statutes were definitely altered; with the result that an attempt, a very few years afterwards, to introduce the Royal Arch into Frankfort was summarily suppressed. The Wetzlar Lodge also from the first took a less leading position than Frankfort, and gradually died out. In 1783 the Ritual was revised, conformably in all essentials with the English Rite, save that it insisted upon the candidate being a Christian—an enactment which was the cause of much trouble.

In 1784, the Harmony and Concord, and, in 1785, the Compasses, Lodges, at Trieste and Gotha respectively, joined the Eclectic Union.

In 1785, Graefe, of whom mention has already been made in connection with Hamburg, offered his services to Frankfort, and negotiations with England were commenced.

On May 21, 1786, Passavant died, and was succeeded as Provincial Grand Master by J. P. von Leonhardi. At this date the roll of the Union showed 25 Lodges, 7 of which, however—probably for political reasons—were unnamed in the published list.

Through Graefe's exertions, a compact was entered into with England—March 1, 1788—reinstating the Provincial Grand Lodge.[1] The clauses of most interest to this sketch are §1, granting the Lodge permission to elect its own G.M. every two or three years; §2, promising on the part of London not to issue warrants in the jurisdiction of Frankfort, except

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XX, p. 481. The terms of this compact are recorded in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, November 26, 1788, and will be found in the Appendix (*post*).

in cases where the Provincial Grand Lodge could not grant them; §6, Frankfort Lodges might obtain English registry on payment of the usual fees.

The last minute of the Wetzlar Lodge which reached Frankfort is dated July 11, 1788, and expresses a wish to conclude a similar treaty with England. But the Lodge was already moribund, and the desire was never realised.

On January 13, 1788, new statutes were passed by 30 Lodges, of which 8 by desire were unnamed. It is noteworthy that the Provincial Grand Lodge was still formed exclusively of members of the Union Lodge, every other Lodge being allowed—as before—to appoint one of these as its representative.

Leonhardi's patent as Prov. G.M. of the Upper and Lower Rhine and Franconia, signed by Lord Effingham, Acting Grand Master, is dated February 20, 1789;[1] on its receipt the installation festival was held, October 25, 1789; and Kloss remarks that no less than 29 Lodges sought and obtained English registry.[2] A careful comparison of our Lodge lists, however, shows at most 10 Lodges. These are, according to the numeration from 1792 to 1813, Nos. 456, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, and 588. On December 5, 1789, Leonhardi was elected Prov. G.M. for a second term.

The peculiar position of the Grand Lodge as a Directorial Lodge of the Union, and at the same time a Provincial Grand Lodge under England, gave rise to some apprehensions respecting the future independence of the private Lodges. Bode cleverly seized this incident to lend colour to his circular issued November 24, 1790, by the Eclectic Lodge at Gotha, calling on all Eclectic Lodges to rearrange themselves under a new organisation with the title of "German Masonic Union." As a result the Gotha Lodge was very naturally erased from the roll of Eclectic Lodges. In the same year the Lodge at Carlsruhe closed for political reasons, and that at Giessen on account of quarrels among its members. The Lodge at Nuremberg, "Three Arrows," protested against Gotha's exclusion, because it had been effected without the assent of the other Lodges or hearing Gotha's defence; ultimately in 1792 it severed its connection with the Eclectic Union, and joined the Gotha or Bode's Union.

In 1790 a few members of Lodge Union attempted to introduce the Royal Arch. Although they kept the Chapter entirely separate from the Lodge, they met with decided opposition from the other brethren, and the degree was soon suffered to lapse. After many years we hear of it again. In 1842 the three surviving members of this stillborn Chapter deposited a sealed case in the archives containing the statutes, rituals, and documents, to be opened after their deaths. On August 30, 1791, Von Ditfurth, of Wetzlar, resigned his office of Prov. G.M. and also that of W.M. of his Lodge, from which time Frankfort has reigned supreme without even the shadow of a rival.

Leonhardi resigned his office—October 19, 1792—and was succeeded—February 6, 1793—as Prov. G.M. by Johann Karl Brönner.[3] During this year the Lodge at Kaufbeuren closed for political reasons. These made themselves also felt in Frankfort, so that—June 8, 1793—Brönner closed the Grand Lodge. On the 9th the French troops entered the city, and although the private Lodges still showed some slight activity throughout the occupation, the G.M. did not reopen Grand Lodge until October 29, 1801. Of all the former Eclectic Lodges only seven survived these eight troublous years—those of Aix-la-Chapelle, Altenburg, Frankfort,

[1] G.L. Records. [2] Kloss, Annalen der Loge zur Einigkeit, p. 238. [3] Confirmed by patent, Dec 6, 1793

Hildesheim, Münster, Rudolstadt, and Krefeld; and of these only the Frankfort "Union" had remained faithful to the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union.

Unfortunately this long slumber had induced the English Lodge "Royal York," at Berlin, which in 1798 had constituted itself a Grand Lodge, to consider the Provincial Grand Lodge of Frankfort as extinct, and in consequence—December 4, 1801—it warranted a Frankfort Lodge, "Socrates of Constancy." Brönner protested against this infraction of jurisdiction, and in his appeal to England in 1805 complained of being left for three years without any replies to his letters. This letter also was left unanswered, for which perhaps the wars may be responsible; but the consequent strained relations between Frankfort and Berlin prevented the former joining a union which the Royal York, the Grand Lodge of Hanover, and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Hamburg had formed among themselves.[1] This Lodge Socrates remained as a stumbling block for many subsequent years.

Between 1803 and 1805 the Grand Lodge was once more closed, to which act many reasons, political and otherwise, contributed. Meanwhile the Nuremberg Lodge (formerly of the Eclectic Union) had endeavoured to induce Frankfort to accept Schroeder's Ritual.[2] The P.G.L. of Frankfort once more, in spite of England's neglect, showed her filial allegiance by declining—February 27, 1805—to accede, being unable to take upon herself the responsibility of eliminating the obligation without superior permission. This subject also formed part of Brönner's letter already alluded to.

In 1806 Frankfort became a Grand Duchy, with Karl von Dalberg over it as Prince Primate (*Fürst Primas*). Brönner petitioned for permission to prosecute Masonic work, and closed the Provincial Grand Lodge until a reply was received. This arrived—verbally transmitted—July 2, 1808, to the effect that as Prince Primate he must ignore their labours, but as Karl von Dalberg he would permit them.

On July 12, 1808, the Grand Orient of France warranted a Lodge in Frankfort, composed chiefly of Jews, under the name of the "Nascent Dawn." This Lodge also was a source of trouble and vexation in later days.

But the Provincial Grand Lodge was strengthened in 1808 by the re-awakening of the Ulm Lodge, in 1809 by the revival of the Lodges at Carlsruhe and Freiburg, and by a new Lodge at Heidelberg. In this same year the above Lodges at Carlsruhe and Freiburg, together with an old Lodge at Heidelberg, joined in erecting a National Grand Lodge, Union of Baden, without, however, seceding from the Eclectic Union; merely ceasing to own allegiance to the Provincial Grand Lodge as such. On May 3, 1811, a compact was made with the Lodge Socrates, in view of its adhesion to the Provincial Grand Lodge, that the latter should in future be composed of members of the Socrates and Union Lodges equally, but that the G.M. should always be elected from the Union. The Lodge Socrates accordingly entered the Eclectic Union—May 12, 1811. June 24, the Lodge Joseph of Nuremberg, which had been constituted by the "Union" in 1761, and had seceded to the Strict Observance in 1767, took advantage of its jubilee to join the Eclectic Union.[3] *Per contra* the Ulm Lodge was compelled to close by a royal decree.

Brönner died March 22, 1812, and was succeeded as Grand Master by Jean Noë Du Fay.

[1] *Post*, "Other Masonic Unions" (I.). [2] *Ante*, p. 228.

[3] This Lodge is distinct from the Nuremberg "Three Arrows," which joined Bode's schism in 1792.

April 4, 1813, a new Lodge was warranted at Offenbach; but a Grand Ducal decree of February 16 of the same year, closing all Lodges in Baden, robbed the Eclectic Union of its daughter Lodges in Freiburg, Heidelberg, and Carlsruhe.

A decree of the Prince Primate of April 30, 1813, detrimental to the progress of Freemasonry, had little time allowed it in which to take effect; the events of 1814 being still more detrimental to the Prince himself.

1814 witnessed a revisal of the Ritual, in which the oath was ordered to be recited but not taken. With the exception of a few exclusively Christian allusions, this Ritual remained in force until 1871.

1816 brought an accession of strength in the Lodges Ernest at Coburg and St John the Evangelist of Concord at Darmstadt. A new Lodge was constituted at Giessen May 29, 1817, and on the 25th of the same month a Lodge at Worms warranted by the Grand Orient of France in 1811 was affiliated. In 1817 also, a quarrel arose between the Frankfort Provincial G.L. and the Grand Lodge of England. The Lodge Nascent Dawn, chiefly Jewish, warranted by the G.O. of France in 1808, sought a new constitution. The Jewish element rendering a resort to the Provincial Grand Lodge futile, the brethren applied to the Landgrave Karl of Hesse, who at once enrolled them among the rectified Templar Lodges, and even forced upon them a Scots Lodge with the peculiarly Christian degrees of that Rite. As a natural consequence, the Lodge split up. The Christians retained Karl's warrant for the Lodge "Karl of the Dawning Light," whilst the Jews applied to the Duke of Sussex, and were constituted as the "Nascent Dawn." Both Lodges were treated by the Provincial Grand Lodge as clandestine, and much bitterness arose. The Grand Lodge of England, however, in this case had clearly acted within the meaning of § 2 of the 1788 compact,[1] although perhaps more time for reflection ought to have been granted to the Prov. G.L. The latter body, however, by its notorious prohibition of Jewish members, had put itself quite out of court.

In 1818 a new Lodge at Mayence was warranted, but seceded to the Royal York Grand Lodge in 1821.

Du Fay died February 24, 1820, and on August 5 Leonhardi, under whom the compact of 1788 was made with England, was elected G.M. for the second time, and it was fated that under him also the broken bonds which he had himself reknit should be finally severed. It was resolved—August 5, 1821—to make one more effort to obtain redress from England for its alleged encroachment, and this having failed, it was agreed—January 13, 1822—to renounce the English supremacy. Accordingly—March 27, 1823—the Provincial Lodge assumed the title of "The Mother Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union," and notified this act to the Masonic world by a circular of November 14, 1823. All allusions to a mere directorial Lodge, *primus inter pares*, were apparently dropped for ever.

The Grand Lodge commenced its new career with a following of 9 Lodges.—In Frankfort, 2—Union, Socrates; in Nuremberg, 2—Three Arrows, Joseph; and 1 each in Darmstadt, Giessen, Coburg, Offenbach, and Worms.

Leonhardi, who resigned March 3, 1826, and refused a re-election on account of his advanced age, died November 23, 1830. Constantine Fellner succeeded him as G.M.

On May 2 following Dr George Kloss was first elected a member of the Grand Lodge. This celebrated Mason, skilful physician, diligent Masonic student and historian, was born at

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 284, note 1.

Frankfort July 31, 1787, admitted to the Fraternity at the age of 18 as a Lewis—September 28, 1805—by the Lodge Union, of which he was elected W.M. in 1828. His Masonic works have been so repeatedly quoted in these pages, as to render any further allusion to them unnecessary. As a Masonic critic, he was emphatically *facile princeps*, and owing to the strength of his convictions acquired by the study of Masonic documents, it is easy to conceive that from the moment of his entering Grand Lodge, that body would have no peace until it renounced its errors, at the head of which Kloss naturally placed the exclusion of Jews—as he doubtless would have done in the case of any members of a particular race or religion—from the benefits of the Craft.

With the altered position of the Grand Lodge there remained no valid reason why the G.M. should be elected from the members of the Union Lodge only. The Socrates Lodge now commenced to agitate for a *status* in all respects equal to that of the Union, and in 1828 a revision of the constitutions was commenced, but the work lasted many years.

Owing to the religious intolerance of the Grand Lodge, its territory was once more invaded by the Grand Orient of France, which—December 2, 1832—warranted a Lodge, "Frankfort Eagle," largely composed of Jews. In the following years a strong feeling favourable to the Jewish Lodges and to the Landgrave Karl's Lodge, "Karl of the Dawning Light," sprang up in the Fraternity, and was reflected by the younger members of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Officers, who were all old members, finding themselves powerless to stem the current, resigned in a body—November 14, 1834—and on December 23, Johann Friedrich Fiedler was elected G.M., with Kloss as his Deputy. The Landgrave Karl died August 17, 1836, and his Lodge almost immediately afterwards began to negotiate for admission to the Union. On September 24 following, Fiedler died, and—March 3, 1837—Kloss was elected G.M. In 1839 one of Karl's Lodges—in Alzey—joined the Eclectic Union.

1840 witnessed two important steps. On March 9 it was resolved to admit Jewish brothers as visitors. This being the date of Kloss's retirement from office, he could at least congratulate himself that the battle was half won. He was succeeded as G.M. by Gerhard Friedrich, D.D. The second step was the conclusion of the negotiations with the Lodge "Karl of the Dawning Light," and its admission to the Eclectic Union, September 27, 1840.

The centenary festival of the Union Lodge was held June 27, 1842, when, as already stated, the documents of the long-forgotten R.A. Chapter were deposited in the archives, and the proceedings were graced by the presentation of Kloss's "Annals of the Union Lodge"—an invaluable mine of Masonic lore—compiled for the occasion.

Dr Kloss was re-elected G.M. May 12, 1843, and under his inspiration the Grand Officers made a vigorous effort to render the G.L. ordinances less sectarian in their tenor, but unsuccessfully, as the motion was adjourned *sine die*—December 4, 1843.

But although most of the Eclectic Lodges were tending towards a more enlightened view on this subject, the newly-joined Lodge, "Karl of the Dawning Light," showed itself strongly conservative. It still insisted on working the Scots Degrees, and allowed itself great licence with the Eclectic Ritual. This led to expostulations, recriminations, and strife, and finally to its exclusion, July 2, 1844. The Lodges at Darmstadt and Mayence took the part of Lodge Karl, and seceded in September 1845; and these three then united in order to found the Grand Lodge of Concord at Darmstadt on a purely and rigidly Christian basis. The gap caused by the absence of these Lodges was only partially filled in the same

year by a new warrant for a Lodge "Of Brotherly Truth" at Hamburg, granted to nine dissenting brothers of the "Golden Sphere" (Zinnendorff rite).[1]

A most necessary statute, the "Reorganisation Act," was at length passed, December 27, 1845. The arrangements which chiefly interest us were, that the high degrees were absolutely forbidden; the Grand Lodge was composed of two representatives from each Lodge, to be chosen by them from subscribing members of the Frankfort Lodges (at this time only two, Union and Socrates)—they were, however, permitted in lieu of this to depute two of their own members; the G.M. and the Grand Officers were to be elected for a term of three years from among the representatives.

June 17, 1846, Gerhard Friedrich was again elected G.M.[2] In the following year—October 1—the Grand Lodge was reorganised, as provided by the above Act, and the voting for G.M. resulted in the election of Franz Fresenius, of the Socrates Lodge—the first holder of that office who was not a member of the Union Lodge.

December 15, 1847, twelve more brethren of the "Golden Sphere" Lodge in Hamburg, were granted an Eclectic constitution as the "Lodge of the Brother-Chain."

At length, early in 1848, the last relic of intolerance was cast aside, and the ritual purged of its specifically Christian requirements. This resulted in immediate negotiations with the Jewish Lodge "Nascent Dawn," which, however, did not bear fruit for some months. The other Jewish Lodge, "Frankfort Eagle," joined the Grand Lodge of Hamburg in the same year. On July 15, 1848, Past G.M. Fellner died.

The revision of the Statutes—November 13, 1849—is of interest, as, by a clause which insisted that country Lodges should choose their representatives, one from each Frankfort Lodge, the whole power was once more thrown into the hands of the metropolitan Fraternity. It was also decided to elect the G.M. alternately from the two Frankfort Lodges.

Meanwhile, the members of the Lodge "Karl" had altered their views since assisting at the birth of the Darmstadt Grand Lodge. A few of them formed a new Darmstadt Lodge in Frankfort, "Karl of Lindenberg;" but the Lodge "Karl" itself, with the majority of the brethren, rejoined the Eclectic Union, June 30, 1850.

In the same year—December 2—Dr J. W. J. Pfarr was elected G.M., after whom—November 28, 1853—came Fresenius once more, and then Pfarr again, December 1, 1856.[3] The most important event of these six years was the death of Dr Kloss, February 10, 1854.

In 1858 a constitution was granted to Wiesbaden—May 2—and the Statutes of Grand Lodge were revised in December, so as to place "Karl" on an equality with the other two Frankfort Lodges; the G.M. to be elected from each Lodge alternately every two years.

In 1859—January 13—the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt ordered all Lodges in his dominions to rally round the Darmstadt Grand Lodge. This entailed the loss of four Lodges to the Eclectic Union.

In the following year—March 23—the Grand Lodge was reconstituted under the new Act, and Dr George Dancker elected G.M. The roll comprised ten Lodges—Union, Socrates, and Karl, of Frankfort; Joseph and Three Arrows, of Nuremberg; Brotherly Love and Brother-Chain, of Hamburg; Ernest, of Coburg; Libanon, of Erlangen; and Plato, of Wiesbaden. These still exist, and four more have been added.

[1] *Ante*, p. 226.

[2] Died October 29, 1862.

[3] Pfarr went out of office in 1860, and died January 16, 1864. Fresenius also died in the same year, July 17.

December 6, 1861, Johann Kaspar Bauer[1] was elected G.M.; December 4, 1863, Julius Fester;"[2] and January 12, 1865, Dr Dancker[3] once more.

In 1866 Frankfort became an integral part of the Kingdom of Prussia, in which, according to an unrepealed law, no Lodges are allowed to exist except those dependent upon one of the three Grand Lodges at Berlin. There was therefore much danger of the Eclectic Union being dissolved by the authorities. This, however, was obviated by the prudent and patriotic course of action pursued by its members. Under closely analogous circumstances—and presumably for reasons which did not apply in both cases—the Grand Lodge of Hanover was extinguished; but the law, although in force, has not been applied as regards Frankfort.

In 1867—December 6—Hermann Hörster (of Lodge Karl) was elected G.M., and December 3, 1869, Heinrich Weismann, under whom—December 8, 1871—the Statutes were once more revised; the Grand Lodge still consisting of Frankfort brethren as members, but country Lodges were to depute two of their own members as representatives, with votes in certain cases, and a consultative voice in all. The G.M. was to be elected for three years from the Frankfort Lodges only, dropping the rule of alternation. On January 26, 1872, Grand Lodge was reconstituted under the new Act, and Weismann re-elected.

A new Lodge was warranted at Hanau, April 20, 1872, and January 10, 1873, the English Lodge at Frankfort, "Nascent Dawn," which had been the chief cause of the local declaration of independence, joined the Eclectic Union, entering at once into all the privileges of the other three metropolitan Lodges.

Karl Oppel was elected G.M. December 4, 1874. In 1877 a regular correspondence was resumed with England; and, May 26, 1878, the Darmstadt Lodge, "Karl of Lindenburg," at Frankfort, was affiliated. Revised constitutions were passed on September 21, 1879; G. E. Van der Heyden was elected G.M. January 21, 1881; and in 1882—February 17—the most recent of the Eclectic Lodges was warranted at Strassburg.

The latest event of interest was the Centenary Festival of the Eclectic Union, held March 18, 1883, and which was graced by the distribution of the lucid and detailed annals of that body, from the pen of the Grand Secretary, Karl Paul.

H. Weismann was elected G.M. December 7, 1883; and Alexander Knoblauch, who at present holds that office, December 12, 1884. The subordinate Lodges number 14, of which 5 are in Frankfort, 2 in Hamburg, 2 in Nuremberg, and 1 each in Erlangen, Hanau, Coburg, Strassburg, and Wiesbaden. In 1878 the membership of the then existing 13 Lodges amounted to 1396, or rather exceeding 100 per Lodge.

The "epoch-marking" dates of the Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union are:—1742, constitution of Lodge "Union;" 1746-52, state of dormancy; 1766, erection of English Prov. G.L.; 1775-77, temporary closing of P.G.L.; 1782, first period of independence; 1783, formation of the Eclectic Union; 1789, reinstatement of the P.G.L. at Frankfort; 1793, Provincial Grand Lodge closed in anticipation of the entry of French troops; 1801, reopened with one daughter only, and territory invaded by the G.L. "Royal York;" 1803-5, P.G.L. suspended; and again, 1806-8, whilst awaiting Karl von Dalberg's approbation; 1808, invasion of jurisdiction by G.O. of France; 1809, loss of Lodges by the formation of the G.O. of Baden; 1814, abolition of the oath; 1817, invasion of jurisdiction by the G.L. of England and Prince Karl of Hesse; 1823, declaration of independence and proclamation of the G.L. of the Eclectic Union, with 9

[1] Died July 12, 1882. [2] Died August 29, 1873. [3] Died April 26, 1877.

daughter Lodges; 1834, first success of the enlightened party in G.L.; 1840, Karl's Lodge absorbed, and Jewish question partly settled; 1845, loss of Lodges by formation of the G.L. of Darmstadt; 1848, Jewish question solved and Jewish Lodges absorbed; 1859, loss of Lodges by forced union with Darmstadt; 1866, incorporation of Frankfort with Prussia; 1883, Centenary Festival.

III. The Grand National Mother-Lodge of the Prussian States, called "of the Three Globes."[1]

In pursuing the history of this Grand Body, none can fail to be struck by a feature to which attention has already been directed in the case of the Eclectic Union, viz., the absence of a representative form of government. This, however, is only a natural consequence when a Grand Lodge is established before the birth of *any* of the private Lodges, which it is destined to control — the daughter Lodges, in all such cases, accepting the inferior and dependent position usually accorded to them, as a necessary adjunct of their constitution. When, on the other hand, several Lodges, with equal rights, join in establishing a ruling body or Grand Lodge, the representative form of government seems to follow as a matter of course. The relations between a Mother-Lodge and her daughters may be likened to those between England and her Crown colonies; whilst those between Grand and private Lodges—which follow the English precedent—are in closer approximation to the system of government of the United States. But in like manner as the power of our own House of Commons, at first restricted, has gradually increased, so do we find that under Grand Lodges—even where the sway is most despotic—something approaching a representative system is in gradual course of introduction.[2]

Individual Masons doubtless existed in Prussia at an early date, but the introduction of Freemasonry into that State, may without exaggeration be attributed directly to Frederick the Great, as during the lifetime of his father, who had conceived an aversion to the Craft, no open assemblage of Masons could possibly take place. In July 1738, the King of Prussia and the Crown Prince Frederick, being on a visit to the Prince of Orange at Loo, the conversation at table took a Masonic turn. The King attacked the Order violently, but Count Albert Wolfgang of Lippe-Bückeburg took its part so successfully as to awake in the Crown Prince a desire to join the Craft. Great secresy was naturally essential in the carrying out of such a project. Count Albert undertook the arrangements, and as the King had announced his intention of visiting Brunswick during the annual fair, it was resolved that the ceremony of initiation should be performed in that city. The duty was confided to Von Oberg, Master of the then anonymous Lodge in Hamburg,[3] who, with the secretary, Bielfeld, and a Baron von Löwen, travelled to Brunswick, and on August 11 met by arrangement the Count of Kielmansegge and F. C. Albedyll from Hanover, and also Count Albert. Count Wartensleben

[1] The archives and minutes of this Grand Lodge are complete from September 13, 1740, to date, with the exception of a short period in 1765. In 1840 O'Etzel, the G.M., compiled a history of the Grand Lodge based upon these minutes, so that, as far as actual facts extend, its accuracy is unimpeachable. This was revised and continued in 1867, 1869, and 1875; and the Constitutions ordained in 1873 that every initiate should in future be presented with a copy. I have carefully collated "the history" with many accounts by other writers, whose works will be quoted whenever used, but otherwise the following sketch is given on O'Etzel's authority, and may easily be verified by the dates affixed. The edition employed is "Geschichte der Grossen National-Mutter-Loge zu den drei Weltkugeln," etc., Berlin, 1875.

[2] See *ante*, Chap. XXIII., and *post*, Freemasonry in the U.S.A.

[3] *Ante*, p. 225.

joined the Prince as a second candidate. During the night August 14-15, 1738, the Prince and his friend came to the hotel where the Hamburg brethren were staying, and after midnight the two candidates were received in due form, no difference being made as regarded the Prince in compliance with his own special request. The brethren then separated and returned home as quickly as possible, because, as Bielfeld wrote, "there is here one crowned head too many, who, if he discovered that we had initiated the Prince, his son, might in his ill-humour fail in the respect due to the Most Worshipful Masters."[1]

Von Oberg afterwards erected and presided over a Lodge in the Prince's castle of Rheinsberg, and when he left for Hamburg in 1739, Frederick himself assumed the chair. At his father's death—May 31, 1740—Frederick openly acknowledged himself as a Mason; and—June 20, 1740—presided over a Lodge in the Royal Palace of Charlottenburg, with Bielfeld and Jordan as his Wardens. On that occasion the following candidates were initiated by the King in person:—his two brothers, August Wilhelm and Heinrich Wilhelm; his brother-in-law, Karl, Margrave of Brandenburg-Onolzbach; and the Duke of Holstein-Beck. At a subsequent date he initiated the Margrave of Brandenburg-Baireuth. This Lodge was called the "Royal Lodge," but ceased to work about 1744, when the outbreak of war diverted Frederick's attention to other matters.

Immediately after his accession Frederick empowered Jordan, the secretary of his Lodge, to erect a Lodge in Berlin for the convenience of the numerous Masons there resident. Its first meeting was held September 13, 1740, and it took the name of "The Three Globes." This Lodge, which is now the Grand Lodge of the same name, was therefore founded simply on the King's authority, who, from the very first, assumed all the privileges of a Grand Master in his own dominions. Until the day of his death he was always considered as such, although his active participation in the affairs of the Craft terminated in 1744. The names of some of the affiliates and initiates of the Lodge during its first year of existence are of interest in the history of Freemasonry in Germany. For instance, Baron Schmettau, already mentioned in connection with Scots Masonry; Bielfeld, secretary to the Prussian Embassy at London, an honoured visitor of our Grand Lodge, March 19, 1741,[2] and who, July 21, 1741, was able to assure the "Three Globes" that England readily looked upon the King as the natural Grand Master in his dominions, which was, of course, equivalent to acknowledging the regularity of the Three Globes' constitution; the Marquis de Gentils, who, June 27, 1742, styled himself English S.G.W. *pro tempore*, and helped to found the Union Lodge at Frankfort;[3] and Ch. Sarry, who, on December 6, 1737, had presided over the first Hamburg Lodge as Provincial Grand Master for Prussia and Brandenburg,[4] where at that time no Lodge existed. Other notable members were Prince William, the Duke of Holstein-Beck, the Margrave Karl of Brandenburg, Count Waldburg (also a visitor at the Grand Lodge of England, March 19, 1741), and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern,[5] initiated December 21, 1740.

The first code of by-laws was drawn up and accepted November 9, 1740. In October a deputation from the Lodge initiated Karl Frederick, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, and the "Three Globes" issued its first warrant of constitution to a Lodge, "The Three Compasses," in that prince's chief city.

[1] Handbuch, *s.v.* Friedrich II. [2] Constitutions, 1784, pp. 243, 244. [3] *Ante*, p. 231. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[5] Subsequently known as Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbuttel. *Cf. ante*, p. 105.

In 1742, Schmettau having made several Scots Masters, these formed themselves into a Scots Lodge, "Union," November 30, 1742. Although the membership of this Lodge was restricted to Masons of the "Three Globes," it never attempted, like the French Scots Master Lodges, to exercise any control over the Craft.

From 1742 to 1744 six warrants of constitution were granted, some of which were for localities beyond the confines of Prussia. It was therefore only natural that—June 24, 1744—the Lodge should assume the title of "Grand Royal Mother-Lodge of the Three Globes." It did not cease, however, on that account to continue working as a private Lodge. Frederick the Great was nominally Grand Master, and in September 1747 the Duke of Holstein-Beck, Governor of Berlin, was elected Vice or Deputy G.M.—a step designed to strengthen the Lodge, which had meanwhile somewhat deteriorated. These offices, however, were rather ornamental than useful, as the real power in the Lodge was still vested in the Master. The changes in that office I cannot pause to tabulate, but may mention that Von Printzen—initiated March 18, 1748—who was elected Master of the Lodge, May 5, 1749, held the post until June 5, 1752, and became the foremost figure in its early annals.

December 9, 1754, a second Lodge was constituted at Berlin, under the name of *La Petite Concorde*, but with very limited powers. It soon felt the inconvenience of this arrangement, and took advantage of some irregularities in the election of the officers of the Mother-Lodge—May 28, 1755—to protest and declare itself independent. Lord James Keith, who was then Governor of Berlin, and professed to be Deputy G.M. of all English Lodges in North Germany,[1] interfered to prevent the "Concord" being closed by force, and promised it an English constitution. Although the Mother-Lodge had meanwhile warranted, in 1746, five, and, in 1751, two Lodges, matters were far from satisfactory, and in May 1757, Von Printzen was once more called to the direction of affairs. His first efforts to restore peace between the Three Globes and the Concord were, however, only partially successful. In 1758 the latter also erected for itself a Scots Lodge, under the name of "Harmony."

In the same year Gabriel de Lernais, a French prisoner of war, appears upon the scene. The Three Globes granted him a warrant for a French Lodge, without the right of initiating. This Lodge "Fidelity" died out after the exchange of prisoners. De Lernais also induced Von Printzen to give his powerful support to the Clermont Degrees, and, (*circa*) 1758, these two erected a Chapter—"Knights of Jerusalem"—which—June[2] 19, 1760—assumed the title of "Premier Grand Chapter of Clermont in Germany," with Von Printzen as Chief. This Chapter exercised no supremacy over the Lodges: it was, and remained until the advent of the Strict Observance, outside the real work of the Craft. Rosa, as already related, somewhat modified the ritual, and established subordinate Chapters in many cities.[3]

Besides four other Lodges, the Three Globes warranted—August 10, 1760—the Berlin Lodge of the "Three Doves," now the Grand Lodge Royal York.

In 1761 the Lodge Concord constituted a daughter Lodge at Magdeburg, which was at once denounced as clandestine by the Mother-Lodge of the Three Globes. Von Printzen, however, took measures to obviate any such untoward occurrences in future, and by his efforts the "Masonic Tribunal" was established, of which he became G.M., April 22, 1761. Each of the three Berlin Lodges furnished one officer to this Tribunal, which was designed to decide all

[1] *Ante*, p. 214. [2] Or *July*; *cf. ante*, p. 95. [3] *Ante*, pp. 94 95.

matters that might arise between them. The "Concord" returned to its allegiance as first daughter of the Grand Mother-Lodge, with a more liberal warrant conferring extended powers: its daughter was recognised as legitimate, and its Scots Lodge amalgamated with that of the Three Globes.

In 1763, however, a member of the Lodge "Friendship" (the new name of the Three Doves) was excluded by the Tribunal for six months for a Masonic offence. This proceeding caused so much friction that the G.M. and officers of the Tribunal resigned; and as no fresh ones were elected, the Tribunal ceased to exist. Von Printzen, however, continued for years to be referred to as G.M., probably out of respect for his character. In 1762 and 1763 eight new Lodges were constituted—the last sign of activity for some years, for the time was now fast approaching when the Three Globes and its daughters were to merge into the system of the Strict Observance.

It will be remembered that in 1763 Schubart was named Deputy G.M., and superseding Rosa in his missionary efforts, was appointed by Von Hund his Delegate-General in November of that year.[1] In 1764 he returned to Berlin to convert the Fraternity there, and finally so far succeeded that the new Statutes accepted by the Three Globes—November 20, 1764—are decidedly fashioned on the lines of the Strict Observance. His success was all the easier because Rosa's Clermont Chapters had to a certain extent prepared the way. On January 13, 1765, Von Hund granted a warrant to Krüger to open a Strict Observance Lodge in Berlin. In 1765, also, the Lodge Friendship acquired an English patent, and separated from the Three Globes,[2] ultimately developing into the Grand Lodge—Royal York of Friendship.

At this period Zinnendorff appears upon the scene. He was already a member of Von Printzen's Jerusalem Chapter, and in June 1765 was elected Master of the Three Globes. On August 24, 1764, he signed the Act of Strict Observance at Halle, was knighted by Von Hund on October 3, and made Prefect of Templin (*i.e.*, Berlin) on the 6th, with Krüger as second in command. The two together carried the Berlin Lodges with them, and—January 13, 1766—Von Hund constituted the Three Globes a Scots or Directoral Lodge, with power to warrant Strict Observance Lodges. The daughter Lodges all naturally went over to the new system, with the exception of the Royal York, which had placed itself under the Grand Lodge of England. Zinnendorff, however, made himself enemies, acted in a very arbitrary manner, used the Lodge funds—so it is averred—for his own purposes (see next Section), and was therefore not re-elected at the expiration of his year of office. He was succeeded in June 1766 by Krüger, who in July procured the acceptance of the Strict Observance Ritual, and the formal renunciation by the Lodge—August 9—of the Clermont Degrees.

On November 16, 1766, Zinnendorff formally notified to Von Hund his renunciation of the Strict Observance, and six months later—May 6, 1767—all things being in readiness for the foundation of his own rite, he resigned membership of the Three Globes. The members of that Lodge were evidently by no means agreed as to their future proceedings, for in the same year (1767) another notable member, Köppen, also seceded, and founded a rite—that of African Architects—which only came to an end at his death in 1797.[3]

In 1769, Köhler became Master of the Three Globes, and Krüger, Head Scots Master (the Scots Lodges of the Strict Observance controlled those of the Craft), and in accordance with the rules of the Templar system both offices were declared permanent.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 95, 104. [2] *Cf.* Chap. XXVII.—Grand Lodges (V.). [3] *Cf. ante*, p. 81 (Chart No. I.).

In the following year—February 24—the Mother-Lodge constituted the Berlin Lodge of the "Flaming Star," of which C. A. Marschall von Bieberstein was Worshipful Master.[1] This Lodge, with the Three Globes and the Concord, now formed one body, as it were, under the Scots Lodge—so much so, that in 1787 the Berlin Masons did not know to which Lodge they belonged, and steps had to be taken to remedy the confusion.

November 16, 1770, the Crown Prince—afterwards Frederick William II.—wrote to the Lodge of the Strict Observance—*i.e.*, the Three Globes—assuring it of his protection.

In 1772 Krüger and Wöllner attended the Kohlo Convent, at which the S.O. system was reorganised. Each national division of the Order acquired a Grand Lodge to rule the Craft; the National Grand Master and the Head Master of the Scots Lodge acting together formed the Scots Directory, ruling all degrees, including the 4th; the Supreme Grand Master, *i.e.*, Duke Ferdinand, presided over all the separate Directories; the higher or knightly degrees were subject to the Prov. G.M., Von Hund. Prince Frederick Augustus of Brunswick (nephew of Ferdinand) was made National Grand Master of Prussia; and the "Three Globes," in accordance with the new arrangements, took the title of "Grand National Mother-Lodge of the Prussian States," which it has ever since retained.

In 1773 the former G.M., Von Printzen, died; and in the following year the Lodge Frederick of the Three Seraphim was constituted in Berlin. May 2, 1775, Krüger resigned, and the National Grand Master, Prince Frederick Augustus, appointed as Head Scots Master, Wöllner, who was imbued with the alchemical and mystical mania of the day, the effects of which tendency will soon be apparent. In 1775 two new Lodges (one "Silence," in Berlin), and in 1776 two others, were constituted. This brings us to the date of Von Hund's death (November 18, 1776), and to a new period in the history of this Grand Lodge.

Many causes combined to produce dissatisfaction with the rite of the Strict Observance about this time. Wöllner himself had become allied with the New or Gold Rosicrucians,[2] and naturally influenced his *entourage;* the idea of a Templar restoration had ceased to attract or to retain favour; the object of the Duke of Sudermania in desiring to succeed Von Hund was looked upon with suspicion; and the position of the Mother-Lodge was after all only a secondary one. The consequence was, that no deputies were sent from Berlin to the Convent at Wolfenbüttel in 1777, and—July 5, 1779—it was resolved in Grand Lodge to cease working the high degrees, but not formally to disassociate the Lodges of the jurisdiction from the Strict Observance. The G.M., Prince Frederick Augustus, informed the subordinate Lodges of this resolution by a circular—April 7, 1780—which contains very palpable allusions to a hermetic society, and announces the formation of a 5th degree, immediately succeeding the Scots Masters, the very existence of which was to be kept secret from all those not admitted to it. The four "at present" imperfect lower degrees were to be retained till the *Unknown Superiors* should send them corrected rituals. Theden was to be the only one entitled to confer this 5th degree, but Wöllner, as Head Scots Master, was to direct the whole system, etc. From that moment, although it would be incorrect to describe the Three Globes system as a Rosicrucian one, inasmuch as the hermetic leaders at no time controlled whole Lodges, yet

[1] One relative, *C. G.* Marschall—Von Hund's predecessor—founded the Naumburg Lodge; and another, *H. W.* von Marschall, was appointed by Lord Darnley, in 1737, Prov. G.M of Upper Saxony. Other members of this family have also been prominent Masons. *Cf. ante*, pp. 100, 101.

[2] *Ante*, p. 115.

it may safely be averred that the Rosicrucian degrees were extensively practised by a very large number of individual Masons selected from these Lodges, and that the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes became the centre of the Rosicrucian Fraternity. From 1777 to 1781 five new Lodges were warranted, one each year.

In 1780—June 26—a first step towards a representative system was made by a resolution conferring honorary membership of Grand Lodge on all acting Masters of subordinate Lodges.

The meeting of the Wilhelmsbad Convent—and with it the practical subversion of the Strict Observance—took place in 1782. This furnished an opportunity for the Three Globes to avow its principles. In a circular of November 11, 1783, it declares its independence of all superior authority, but is willing to honour Duke Ferdinand, as before, in the capacity of Grand Master; it refuses, however, to conform to the rectified Templar system, but offers to recognise as legitimate all Masons of every system as far as concerns the first three degrees (always excepting the Illuminati), and counsels all Grand Lodges to follow its example. Not a word, however, does the circular contain of their own special "vanity," the hermetic degrees.

The next few years present little of importance. In 1783 three Lodges were warranted, in 1784 Theden became W.M. of the Three Globes, and in 1785 Bieberstein was elected Scots Head Master. In 1786, however, two important events occurred—Frederick the Great died, and the *unknown* Rosicrucian Fathers ordered a general *Silanum*, so that the two prominent disciples of this folly, Wöllner and his pupil, Frederick William II., had to content themselves with prosecuting their researches unaided; and for the next few years the Lodges worked only the original three degrees, with a Scots degree superadded. In 1787 one new Lodge was warranted, and in 1788 the first list was published, showing 16 active subordinate Lodges, with 763 members. 1790 saw the end of the mutual interdiction between the Lodges under the "Three Globes" and the National (or Zinnendorff) G.L., which was succeeded by a pact of tolerance and amity. In 1791, in order to remedy the evil caused by the continual absence from Berlin of the G.M., Prince Frederick Augustus of Brunswick, Wöllner was elected his Deputy. Wöllner, however, was now a Minister of State, and his scanty leisure was devoted to alchemical studies, so that not much advantage accrued from this step. More to the purpose was the appointment of a commission—January 4, 1794—to formulate a Grand Lodge constitution and ordinances, and a resolution to re-elect all officers yearly, thus effacing the last reminiscence of the S.O. system. In 1796 Theden resigned on account of his advanced age, and Zöllner was elected W.M. of the Three Globes.

In the same year—February 9—Frederick William II. granted the Grand Lodge his special protection, together with all the privileges of a corporate body. The greater part of the ensuing year was taken up in devising a scheme for a governing body, and in formulating constitutions for the entire system; but the work was at length concluded November 22, 1797. It will be necessary to consider these constitutions at some length, as they form the groundwork of all subsequent legislation. The G.M. and Dep. G.M. were deprived of all authority, and became mere figureheads to whom a certain amount of outward honour and deference was shown, but who were not even required to sign warrants, which were to be issued by the Grand National Mother-Lodge. The Grand Lodge became the legislative body, and was composed of 36 active members chosen from the Berlin Lodges. Seven of these formed a species of acting committee, with the style of a Scots Directory, the president taking

the name of Head Scots Master. This Directory represented the Lodge before the law, and was entrusted with the administration of affairs; all resolutions of the Grand Lodge required its ratification, and all its acts required the assent of the Grand Lodge. To a certain extent its president even took precedence of the corresponding dignitary of the Grand Lodge. Its members were to be Scots Masons. In matters of dogma it took the name of Inner Orient, and was entrusted with the preservation of the purity of ritual, etc. As regards ritual, only three degrees were acknowledged. Four higher steps were, indeed, instituted—the first being derived from the old Scots Lodge—and in these the history of the Craft, the dogmas of Freemasonry, and the *arcana* of the "High Degrees" were unfolded. They were not, however, *degrees*, although membership of each was preceded by a ceremony, and they exercised no influence over the Lodges; they more nearly approached close literary societies, and were attached to individual Lodges provided the consent of the W.M. could be obtained, and each particular Lodge of this class was considered as a branch of the Berlin Lodge. The arrangement in fact was not unlike the Hamburg *Engbund*. It will be observed that the Provincial Lodges had no share in the government of the Craft.

In 1798—October 20—there appeared a royal edict suppressing all secret societies. The three Grand Lodges in Berlin, however, and Lodges holding under them, were expressly exempted from its provisions; but Lodges erected in Prussia by other Grand Lodges were declared illegitimate. The names of all members were to be handed to the police authorities yearly. The G.M. and the Dep. G.M. were asked whether their names should be also cited, and whether they would accept the accompanying responsibility. They declined and resigned their posts in February 1799.

During the ten years 1788-98 six Lodges were warranted, and the number of active Lodges had increased to 20, with a total membership of 941.

In 1799—March 7—it was determined not to elect any special National Grand Master, but to consider the W.M. of the Three Globes as such *pro tem.* Zöllner therefore thenceforth took the title of Grand Master. June 24.—New statutes were agreed to; these must not be confounded with the constitutions. All German Grand Lodges make a distinction between the two, although it is at times somewhat difficult to explain the difference. In 1801—February 10—the special constitutions of the Inner Orient[1] received final approbation; and, November 1, 1804, the Constitutions were revised; the Grand Lodge to consist of 11 Grand Officers and 36 active members.

In 1804—September 12—Grand Master Zöllner died, and was succeeded by Guionneau. A *past* G.M., Prince Frederick Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, died November 8, 1805.

In October 1806 the French troops entered Berlin, and the Lodges there under the Three Globes system were ordered to suspend work. The committees of the Grand Lodge continued, however, to meet and transact all necessary business. It was even during this interregnum, that the first steps towards a closer union of the three Berlin Grand Lodges were taken, for on December 12, 1807, a committee was instituted consisting of four deputies of each Grand Lodge, to consider and arrange matters of common interest and profit. This led to the "Masonic Union of the Three Grand Lodges of Berlin"—January 6, 1810—which was dissolved in 1823.[2] Unfortunately one of the first acts of this committee—April 2, 1808—was to confirm the already existing ordinance that a Jew could not be initiated,

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 93, 223.

[2] See *post*, "Other [German] Masonic Unions" (III.).

nor could a Jew already made a Mason elsewhere be affiliated. His right to visit was left undecided. This Jewish question was now beginning to make its importance felt, and I shall have to revert to it on several occasions, as we proceed.

The Berlin Lodges resumed work December 16, 1808. During the preceding ten years 40 Lodges had been added to the roll, but owing to a few dropping out, the total of active Lodges had only risen from 20 to 55, with a membership of 3694, or an average of 67 per Lodge as compared with 47 in 1798.

The formation of the Grand Lodge of Saxony, at Dresden, in 1811, withdrew the Lodge at Bautzen from the jurisdiction of Berlin. That Grand Lodge was, however, liberal enough to permit former Lodges to retain their peculiar rituals, and thus it came about that in 1812 a pact was entered into between the "Three Globes" and Dresden, by virtue of which this Lodge remained under Berlin in all matters regarding ritual and work, but otherwise passed under the jurisdiction of Dresden. This peculiar position of a Lodge owing obedience to two Grand Lodges at one and the same time, subsists to this day, but it is, as far as I know, a unique case.

In 1812—November 26—the Constitutions underwent their septennial revision, the chief alterations being that the Provincial Lodges were granted a sham representation, and allowed to appoint a Berlin member of the Grand Lodge as their proxy, which was an unsatisfactory concession to a demand for a seat in that body for every Master of a Lodge; that the number of members of Grand Lodge might be raised in consequence of this demand for representation as high as 7 by 7, *i.e.*, 49; that the membership was never to be less than 5 by 5, or 25; and that 3 by 3, or 9, formed a quorum of the Grand Lodge.[1]

1817 is the year given by O'Etzel for the initiation by a deputation from the "Three Globes" of Prince Frederick, second son of the King of Holland, and subsequent G.M. of the Netherlands. I have already pointed out that there must be a mistake somewhere in the dates connected with this prince.[2]

In the last ten years 39 Lodges had been added to the roll, but a great many must have become extinct, since from 55 active Lodges in 1808, the total had only risen to 74 in 1818, with 6545 members, an average of 88-89 per Lodge.

In 1821 the Czar's edict closing the Polish Lodges, caused a loss of several Lodges to Berlin; and the revision of the Statutes in 1825, once more enforced the regulation that a Jew could neither be initiated, affiliated, nor received as a visitor. It may also be observed, that in 1821, O'Etzel, the subsequent Grand Master, joined Lodge Concord, and was elected a member of the Grand Lodge in 1822.

From 1818 to 1828 fifteen Lodges had been constituted, and the total number of active Lodges amounted to 87, with a membership of 6842, or an average of 78 per Lodge—somewhat less than before.

In 1829 the National Grand Master, Guionneau, died, and was succeeded by Rosenstiel, who also dying—March 18, 1832—was followed by Poselger.

In 1836 an Amsterdam Lodge protested in a most dignified manner, on account of a refusal to admit some of its members as visitors, by reason of their Jewish faith. The Lodge disclaimed any intention of dictating to the Grand Lodge respecting its choice of members, but insisted that a person, once made a Mason, should be treated as a brother, and that the Grand Lodge

[1] This curious "squaring" of the odd numbers is still in vogue in this Grand Lodge. [2] *Ante*, p. 206.

was incompetent to go behind his certificate and inquire into his religious belief. The protest, however, produced no immediate effect.

In 1838, G.M. Proselger resigned on account of ill-health, and O'Etzel, who had entered the Directory in 1836, was elected in his stead. Proselger died shortly afterwards, February 9, 1838. The periodical revision of the Constitutions produced no change of more than passing interest. In this year the Grand Lodge acquired, for ten Frederichsd'or, the apron and gavel of Frederick the Great. Since 1828 six new Lodges had been added to the roll. The total number, as against the 87 of 1828, was only 88, with 7225 members, an average of 82 per Lodge. In 1839—December 28—there was formed a Grand Masters' Union of the three Berlin Grand Lodges, and one of its first acts—May 22, 1840—was to initiate Prince William of Prussia, the present Emperor of Germany.[1]

In 1840—September 13—the Grand Lodge held its centenary festival, on which occasion it was presented by the Master of the Lodge "Horus"—on the roll of the Royal York—with the sword used at the initiation of Frederick the Great at Brunswick in 1738; whereupon it was resolved, that the W.M. of Lodge Horus, although under another jurisdiction, be *ex officio* an honorary member of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes.

The revision of the Constitutions in 1843, raised the possible number of members of the Grand Lodge to 7 by 9, or 63; and the revised Statutes of 1841 once more excluded the Jews even from visiting—the Grand Master's Union making this ordinance incumbent on all three of the Prussian Grand Lodges in 1842. As a last resort H.R.H. the Protector was appealed to, and—April 26, 1843—delivered himself to the same effect. In 1848 a Cologne Lodge affiliated a Jewish brother, and appointed him to office: the Lodge was erased.

O'Etzel[2] resigned office in 1848, and was succeeded as G.M. by Messerschmidt. In the preceding ten years, 12 new Lodges had been warranted or revived. The total of active Lodges was 96, with 8589 members—an average of 89-90, showing a steady increase both of Lodges and members.

A revision of the Constitutions being due in 1849, the Lodges were requested to vote with regard to the admission of Jews as visitors. Out of 71 Lodges which replied, 56 voted for and 15 against their admission. After this expression of opinion the Grand Lodge, nevertheless, only approved the resolution by 19 to 16 votes. It called upon the Directory to say whether this was one of those resolutions which required to be passed by a two-thirds majority. The Directory answered that it was a dogmatic question, requiring to be submitted to them as the Inner Orient, and sided with the majority. The result was that—July 11, 1849—all Masons subject to a Grand Lodge recognised by the Three Globes were declared admissible as visitors, and thus the first step towards placing Jewish, on a level with Christian, Masons was at last conceded. The quorum of the Grand Lodge was raised from nine to one-third of its active members.

On Christmas Day, 1850, O'Etzel—or rather *Von* Etzel, died, the latter prefix having been granted to him by Royal decree in 1846.

Since 1848 only four new Lodges had been warranted, and some of the Lodges in Hanover had been forced to join the Grand Lodge of that country at King George's desire. The total number of active Lodges in 1858 was 94, with 9744 members—an average of 104 members per Lodge.

[1] *Ante*, p. 247. [2] The historian of the "Three Globes," and one of its most enlightened and influential Grand Masters.

In 1861, E. E. Wendt, English G. Sec. for German Correspondence, succeeded in establishing a correspondence between the Three Globes and our own Grand Lodge, and at length, in 1867, some approach to a representative system was inaugurated. At the Annual Conference in May, at which proposed alterations of the Statutes were usually discussed, the Masters of Provincial Lodges were for the first time invited to attend, and did so to the number of 20.

In 1868—February 20—it was resolved to present every initiate with a copy of O'Etzel's "History of the 'Three Globes,'" a most liberal and praiseworthy arrangement.

In May—7th and 8th—the question, whether Jewish Masons were to be admitted, was again raised. Their affiliation or initiation was rejected by 54 votes to 20; but it was resolved to receive them, if actual subscribing members of a regular Lodge, as *permanent* visitors (a position much resembling honorary membership in England) by 54 votes to 24.

In this year the total number of active Lodges was 106, with a membership of 11,271, or an average of 106 per Lodge, the warrants granted in the previous ten years being 14.

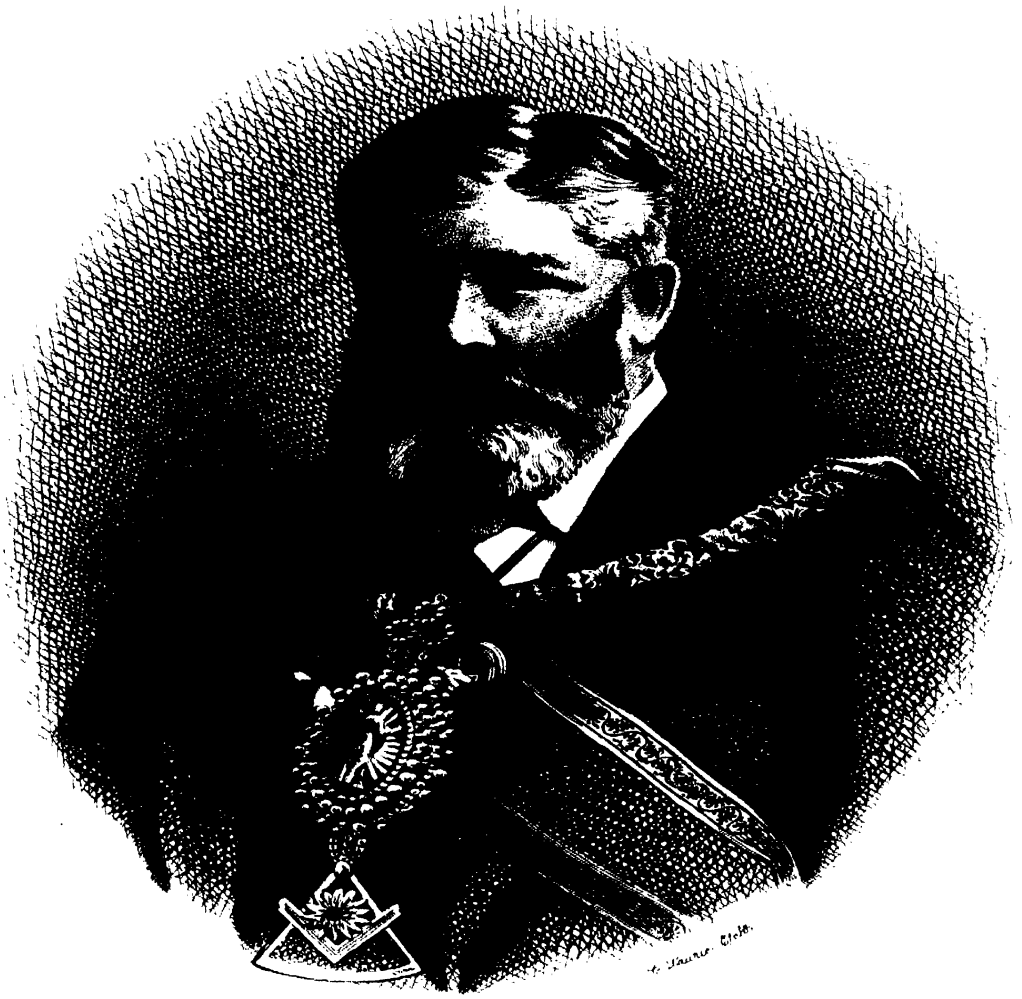
In 1869 representatives were for the first time exchanged with England, and in the May Conference the Jewish question was adjourned as inopportune. In 1873 a Lodge was warranted at Shanghai. This is the only German Lodge in foreign parts, which is not under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg.

At the periodical revision of the Constitutions in 1873, the provinces made a great effort to secure a better representation in Grand Lodge. They obtained—not all they wanted—but a great concession. It was resolved—April 19—that no law or statute should be made or amended except at the May Conferences, in which every Worshipful Master was entitled to a vote. As, however, Grand Lodge was allowed to attend in full force, the Masters still found themselves, as a rule, much out-numbered, whilst a majority of two-thirds was requisite to carry a new law or an amendment to an old one. The Jewish question was again fought out, but left *in statu quo.*

In 1873, on the occasion of completing twenty-five years as Grand Master, Messerschmidt resigned, on account of old age, and was succeeded by Von Etzel, the son of O'Etzel, Messerschmidt's immediate predecessor.

In 1874 the Lodges had voted on the Jewish question as a guide to the Grand Lodge—66 Lodges for their admission, 44 against; but of the individual members actually voting there was a majority of 7 against. At the May Conference there were present 47 Grand Lodge members and 28 Masters, and the voting was 45 to 30—adversely to the Jews. In 1876 the majority was at last in their favour, but the necessary two-thirds majority was not attained. The more enlightened Masons then tried to secure their ends by a reorganisation of the legislative body, and—May 25, 1878—it was resolved that thenceforth not all the members of Grand Lodge should take part in the May Conferences, but only 25—that is, 5 from each Berlin Lodge—the provincial Masons thus standing a better chance of procuring a two-thirds majority. But up to the present time the Jewish question still remains unsettled.

Meanwhile, Zschiesche followed Von Etzel (resigned) as G.M. in 1876: the present Grand Master is C. Schaper. My last statistics refer to 1878, when the Grand National Mother-Lodge of the Three Globes exercised authority over 113 Lodges (5 in Berlin), with a membership of 13,095 Masons, or an average of 116 members per Lodge. One Lodge only—Shanghai—is beyond the confines of the empire, but many are outside of Prussia proper.



COLONEL SIR ARCHIBALD C. CAMPBELL, BART.

GRAND MASTER MASON OF SCOTLAND.

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh

IV. The National Grand Lodge of all German Freemasons at Berlin.[1]

The above title of this Grand Lodge is not now and never was justified. It is a barefaced usurpation. The Lodge never has been national in the way claimed, as embracing all Germany, and even at its birth was not so in the more restricted sense as applying to Prussia, where the National Grand Mother Lodge of the Three Globes already existed. That it assumed until quite recently to be the only legal Grand Lodge in Germany, that it to this day poses as infallible, the only true exponent of Freemasonry with the sole exception of Sweden, is, however, only in perfect keeping with the imperious temper of its founder. From its inception the Lodge has been dictatorial and oppressive towards its own daughters; scornful and even impertinent towards its equals; boastful of its own superior light, yet persistently shrouding itself in darkness; founded by a violation of all masonic legality, yet a stickler for legal forms when they suit its own convenience; revolutionary at its birth, and ever since most rigidly conservative. Nevertheless this Grand Lodge is the second largest in Germany, and has produced Masons of the highest culture, whose very names must always remain an honour to the Fraternity. Zinnendorff and his immediate friends and successors knew their own minds at a time when their German brethren were vacillating between Clermont degrees, Strict Observance Rites, Rosicrucianism, *et hoc genus omne*, and so knowing, carried out their views astutely, ruthlessly, and persistently—with the success that usually attends all well-directed efforts. No official history of this Grand Lodge has ever been published; its partisans speak with awe of its ancient documents, and hide them from the gaze of the student. Like holy relics they are only accessible to devout believers; nay, even a complete book of Constitutions has never been placed within reach of the public; and Worshipful Masters, in order to govern their Lodges, have been constrained to gather together the decisions pronounced at various times by the Grand Lodge, each thus forming for himself a species of digest of the common law as settled by decided cases. Such a collection has been made in Vol. xxvi. of the "Latomia," and will be used by me; my other facts I have had to collect from divers sources, but many gaps still remain to be filled up.

The early annals of this Grand Lodge are indissolubly connected with Zinnendorff, one of the most remarkable and perhaps unscrupulous Masons of whom we have any record. Ellenberger was his patronymic, and he was born August 11, 1731, at Halle; but, being adopted by his mother's brother, took his uncle's name of Zinnendorff. He followed the medical profession, and rose to be the chief of that department in the Prussian army, retiring in 1779. His initiation took place at Halle, March 13, 1757. When he joined a Berlin *Lodge*, or even which Lodge it was, are alike unknown; but he was one of the early members of the Berlin *Chapter* of Jerusalem. We have already seen how Schubart, the Deputy G.M. of the "Three Globes," was in November 1763 won over by Von Hund. Schubart's first step was to despatch a letter in Von Hund's interest to the "Three Globes," which was to be opened in the presence of 24 brethren, who were specified. On its arrival, Zinnendorff and three others being with Von Printzen, the G.M., Zinnendorff persuaded

[1] The literal translation of the German title is "Grand Lodge of the Country." I therefore reject as a barbarism the accepted designation "Grand Countries Lodge"—a phrase which proclaims either a contempt for, or an ignorance of, the structure of both the German and English tongues; it is not English, and it is not German, because *Landes* is not the plural of *Land*, which would be *Länder*, but its genitive singular.

them to open the letter then and there, and to extenuate their fault as an excess of zeal. Schubart being asked "for more light," insisted upon the letter being shown to the others, and as a result Zinnendorff and Krüger were selected to visit Von Hund. Probably from selfish motives, the former of these emissaries appeared alone, saying that the latter was ill, but this was afterwards denied by Krüger, who ultimately arrived on the scene. Zinnendorff signed the act of Strict Observance (*or* Unquestioning Obedience), August 24, 1764, was knighted by Von Hund October 30, and made Prefect of Templin, *i.e.*, Berlin, on the 6th.

In June 1765 Zinnendorff was elected G.M. of the Three Globes, possibly because the Lodge was already tending towards the Strict Observance sytem, of which he was the resident chief in Berlin. Scarcely was he installed before complaints arose of his arbitrary proceedings and haughty independence, not only from his Masonic, but also from his Templar subjects. Almost his first act was to despatch his friend Baumann to Stockholm in order to obtain information there respecting the Swedish rite. The requisite funds were taken from the treasury of the Three Globes, though the Lodge was not consulted either with regard to the mission or the appropriation of its money—and, worst of all, Zinnendorff kept for his own use the information so acquired, at a cost to the Lodge for travelling expenses of 1100 thalers. Baumann obtained from Dr Eckleff not only the rituals of the Swedish High Degrees, but a warrant of constitution; and Findel states that the latter was 220 ducats in pocket by the transaction.[1] It is a somewhat important point to decide whether Eckleff[2] was at this time G.M. of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, or merely, as the Swedish Grand Lodge subsequently affirmed, the Head-Master of the Scots Chapter at Stockholm. We have already seen that the Grand Lodge of Sweden was formed in 1759, and that on December 7, 1762, the King assumed the Protectorate, so that the probability is that *he* was virtually its G.M. But even if Eckleff were at the time G.M., it is obvious that if he acted in the matter without the knowledge of Grand Lodge, the step was equally *ultra vires*. Both these grounds were alleged when, in 1777, Sweden repudiated Zinnendorff; but on the other hand, it should be mentioned that as late as 1776, the Swedish authorities were in close and fraternal correspondence with him, and these intimate relations must be held to have condoned any irregularities in the initial stages.

In 1766 the Berlin Templars complained strongly of the impossibility of obtaining any financial statements from Zinnendorff, but Krüger, who was sent by them on a mission to Von Hund, advised the Prov. G.M. to treat him delicately, because he might become dangerous and create scandal—another testimony to the character of the man.

In June 1766 Zinnendorff was not re-elected G.M. of the Three Globes, but of course retained his office as Prefect of Templin (which was not elective), and on August 9 the Three Globes formally joined Von Hund's system. The financial dispute between Zinnendorff and the Three Globes now assumed a threatening aspect, so Schubart and Bode were deputed to arrange matters in July 1766. Zinnendorff being called to account, made up a statement on the spur of the moment, showing that, even admitting for argument's sake the debt of 1100 thalers, there still remained 800 thalers owing to him. In the interests of peace and quietness it was at length decided to let the matter drop on both sides. On November 16, 1766,

[1] Findel, Gesch. der Freim., 4th edit., p. 419. For the preceding facts concerning Zinnendorff, as well as for much that follows, see *Allgemeines Handbuch*, *s.v.*

[2] *Ante*, p. 196.

Zinnendorff wrote a formal letter to Von Hund renouncing the Strict Observance; and on May 6, 1767, he resigned the Three Globes. By the "Three Globes," however, as well as by the Provincial Chapter of Von Hund, a sentence of expulsion was passed upon him, and from that moment he became the bitter and confirmed enemy of the Strict Observance system.[1]

In 1768, "by virtue of his inherent power," *i.e.*, as a Scots Master, Zinnendorff erected his first Lodge on the Swedish system in Potsdam;[2] on August 10, 1769, his second, the Three Golden Keys, in Berlin—of which he became W.M.,[3] and—November 3, 1769—he instituted the Scots or St Andrew's Lodge "Indissoluble" in Berlin. His conversion of two clandestine Swedish Lodges at Hamburg in 1770 to his own rite has already been noticed,[4] in fact such was his energy and activity, that before midsummer 1770 he had already 12 Lodges at work.

Then began a series of attempts to obtain a patent enabling him to erect a Grand Lodge. He first of all applied to the High Chapter at Stockholm, but his request was refused on the ground that Sweden never constituted Lodges abroad, a statement tending to invalidate Eckleff's proceedings. Undaunted, Zinnendorff called his 12 Lodges together and proclaimed the "National Grand Lodge for all German Freemasons."[5] According to *his* view none but those of his own rite were entitled to be called Freemasons, and least of all, the brethren under the Strict Observance. I have been unable to glean any particulars of the primary organisation of this Grand Lodge, but from subsequent facts I believe it to have been (in theory) representative, and that all Masters (in office) were members. As the election of these Masters, however, was invalid unless approved by the Grand Lodge, the system of representation was defective and a sham, because the Grand Lodge practically became self elective. Now, although Zinnendorff always professed the greatest contempt for the Grand Lodge of England as being deficient in true knowledge—and possessing the shell only, of which he and the Swedish Masons held the kernel—yet his advances meeting with no encouragement from Sweden, he made application to London—March 29, 1771—requesting recognition as a Grand Lodge, partly on the ground of possessing superior degrees, and partly from the circumstance of his holding a Swedish patent. The petition, however, failed to elicit any response.[6]

Upon this followed the constitution of a second Berlin Lodge, "The Golden Ship," and the election of Martin Kronke as G.M. with Zinnendorff as Dep. G.M.

On October 29, 1771, he renewed his request, and on this occasion to De Vignolles[7] as Prov. G.M. for foreign Lodges. But De Vignolles at least understood the course affairs had taken, and answered that he could not even acknowledge him as a brother until he had proof that he was received in a legitimate Lodge. The only legitimate Lodge in Berlin was the "Royal York;" the Three Globes had never been warranted by England, and was now a Strict Observance Lodge, and all such were clandestine. That beyond this it would be most unseemly of England to subordinate such personages as the Duke of Brunswick[8] and other Provincial Grand Masters to unknown men like Zinnendorff and Kronke.[9] Zinnendorff's efforts were therefore turned to procuring a show of regularity—and a prince as G.M.

Accordingly, on January 8, 1772, he applied to the Royal York Lodge for permission to use their rooms for an initiation, and invited that Lodge to be present on the 10th. This was

[1] *Ante*, p. 104; and O'Etzel, Geschichte, etc., p. 55. [2] O'Etzel, etc., p. 55. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [4] *Ante*, p. 226.
[5] Acta Latomorum, p. 96; and O'Etzel, p. 61. [6] Findel, p. 422. [7] Chap. XX., pp. 474, 495.
[8] Appointed Prov. G.M. of Brunswick in 1770, but who had already at this time joined the Strict Observance.
[9] Findel, p. 422; and Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Zinnendorff.

done, a sheet of paper was clandestinely inserted in the minute-book of Royal York, the proceedings taken down, signed by the Royal York members, and the sheet secretly abstracted and forwarded to England, in order to prove that Zinnendorff and his friends were acknowledged as regular Masons by a properly constituted English Lodge.[1]

On August 11 following he further induced the Landgrave Louis of Hesse Darmstadt to accept the office of G.M., and negotiations were resumed with England; this time with Grand Secretary Heseltine, and in spite of De Vignolles, who, writing to Du Bois[2] in Holland, states that matters were arranged behind his back, and accuses Heseltine of receiving a £50 bribe.[3] In the same year a third Berlin Lodge—"Pegasus"—was warranted, and the total of subordinate Lodges had risen to 18.

Zinnendorff's great argument of course was, that the Strict Observance had strangled pure Freemasonry in Germany, and that it was necessary to erect a powerful Grand Lodge as a counterpoise. That his own system was as great an innovation as any of the others he naturally concealed, as he did the fact that all he wanted was England's name to conjure with. In its lamentable ignorance the Grand Lodge of England fell into the trap—De Vignolles appears to have been the only one of its officers *au courant* of passing events—and in consequence acted most unjustly towards its faithful daughter the P.G.L. of Frankfort.

On November 19, 1773, "the Grand Secretary (Heseltine) informed the G.L. of England of a proposal for establishing a friendly union and correspondence with the G.L. of Germany, held at Berlin, under the patronage of His Serene Highness the Prince of Hesse and Darmstadt, which met with general approbation."[4]

The compact with Zinnendorff[5] was signed (on behalf of the G.L. of England) November 30, 1773. As it was executed in Berlin on October 20, it is evident that the terms had already been settled by Zinnendorff and Heseltine prior to the latter's motion in Grand Lodge. §§ 1 and 2 confirm in their offices Prince Ferdinand at Brunswick and Gogel at Frankfort for their respective lifetimes, protect their districts, and leave them free—in the future—to make terms with the Grand Lodge of Germany. § 3 deposes various other Prov. G.M.'s (who had gone over to the Strict Observance), among whom I need only mention Jaenisch of Hamburg. § 4 reserves Hanover as common ground for England and Berlin. By § 5 Berlin is to contribute to the charity according to its increase of power, but never less than £25 per annum. § 6 recognises the German Grand Lodge as the only constituent power in Germany, always excepting Brunswick and Frankfort, and these only for the term of the then existing personal patents. § 7 forbids the G.L. at Berlin to exercise its powers outside Germany. In clause 9 both parties bind themselves to combat *all innovations in Masonry*, especially the Strict Observance.

Zinnendorff had thus, although under false pretences, obtained his point, and was con-

[1] Hauptmomente der Geschichte der Grossen Loge von Preussen Royal York zur Freundschaft, p. 19.

[2] G. Sec. of G.L. of the Netherlands.

[3] Allgemeines Handbuch, *loc. cit.* The following excerpt from the minutes of the G.L. of England—April 28, 1773—may possibly serve to explain De Vignolles' mistake, and clear the G. Secretary from an odious charge:—"Bro. Charles Hanbury, of Hamburg, Esq., attended the G. Lodge, and on behalf of the G. Lodge of Germany, situated at Berlin, paid in the sum of £50 towards the fund for building a Hall, and received the thanks of the Grand Lodge thereupon."—But although Heseltine personally could not have benefited by this, yet the transaction does bear the appearance of at least a propitiatory gift to the G.L. The donation was made in April, and the contract with Zinnendorff in the following October and November at Berlin and London respectively.

[4] Constitutions, 1784, p. 305.

[5] For the text see Findel, pp. 822-824.

stituted the sole Masonic authority in Germany, by the Mother Grand Lodge of the Craft, and July 16, 1774, his own G.L. obtained the protection of Frederick the Great.[1] Prince Louis having served the end for which he was elected, was evidently treated with scant courtesy, for on September 20, 1774, the Landgrave resigned, alleging as his reason for so doing, that he was ignored in his own Grand Lodge.[2] Zinnendorff was elected G.M., but in the following year—June 30, 1775—made way for Duke Ernest II. of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg.[3] This high-minded prince exerted all his efforts to heal the strife which raged between Zinnendorff's Lodges and the Strict Observance, and though he failed to accomplish a union, at least succeeded—July 1776—in effecting a pact of mutual recognition and tolerance. This, however, being at once broken by Zinnendorff, the Duke—unable to endure the petty quarrels any longer—resigned, and was succeeded by G.M. Golz[4]—December 21, 1776—and by Dr T. Mumssen in 1777.[5] Meanwhile the system had increased considerably; in Berlin alone Lodge "Constancy" was erected in 1775, and Lodges "Pilgrim," "Golden Plough," and "Ram" in 1776, making a total of no less than 7 Lodges in that city.

At this period began the negotiations between the S.O. and the Duke of Sudermania, threatening to end in the withdrawal of Sweden's tacit support of the National Grand Lodge. The Strict Observance Masons may at this time be said to have had only one formidable rival, viz., Zinnendorff, whose party enjoyed the great advantage of knowing their own minds, whereas we have seen that Ferdinand and his friends did not. Such an opportunity of humiliating Zinnendorff could not be allowed to pass, but that able tactician, who probably saw the storm brewing, took measures to draw still closer the bonds between England and himself. In April 1777 he despatched his attached ally, Leonhardi,[6] to London, who in August 1779 obtained a warrant to establish there the Pilgrim Lodge, No. 516 (now No. 238), under a special dispensation to work in German and use their own ritual. Leonhardi was admitted to Grand Lodge—February 7, 1781—as the representative of the National Grand Lodge, and took rank immediately after the Grand Officers.[7] We have already seen how in 1782 Leonhardi frustrated the efforts made by the Frankfort brethren through Pascha, subsequently to Gogel's death.[8]

Meanwhile—April 27, 1777—the Swedish G.L., to please the S.O. members, drew up a document signed by Karl of Sudermania and others, declaring that Eckleff's patent to Zinnendorff had been granted without the knowledge or consent of the Chapter, and therefore—being illegal—was thereby cancelled and annulled.[9] In August the Swedish envoys, Oxenstierna and Plommenfeldt, arrived in Berlin, published this document, and formally repudiated Zinnendorff and all his doings. Zinnendorff's circular to his Lodges announcing the foregoing proceedings is a masterpiece,[10] and however we may disapprove of his conduct, it is quite impossible to withhold our respect for his singular ability. He clearly places the G.L. of Sweden in the wrong, and demonstrates its inconsistency; he also frankly avows, "moreover, we no longer require the help of the Swedish fraternity, and can well spare their recog-

[1] O'Etzel, p. 61. [2] Allgemeines Handbuch, *loc. cit.* [3] *Ibid.*; and Acta Lat., p. 117.
[4] Findel, p. 425. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 429. [6] See *ante* (Hamburg), p. 226.
[7] Chap. XX., p. 478; see further, Festgabe, London, 1879, being the Centennial History of the Pilgrim Lodge, 238, by Karl Bergmann, P.M.
[8] *Ante*, p. 233. [9] For the text see Paul, Annales des Eclectischen Freimaurerbundes, p. 225.
[10] To be found in Findel, p. 426 *et seq.*

nition." Nor was this an idle boast, for at that time (1778) eight years only after its birth, the National Grand Lodge ruled over 34 Lodges, with Provincial Grand Lodges in Austria, Silesia, Pomerania, and Lower Saxony.[1]

In 1780—June 24—Zinnendorff replaced Mumssen as G.M., and two years later—June 6, 1782—this unscrupulous but eminently strong and masterful man was struck down by apoplexy, gavel in hand, at the very moment he was opening his Lodge "of the Three Keys." His death produced no ill effect on his life's work. Able and resolute brethren—trained up in his school—were ready to carry on the system where he left it. His immediate successor as G.M. was Castillon; and that the death of the founder had not destroyed the spirit implanted by him, may be gathered from the fact that in 1783, the "Three Globes" having made advances by permitting the visits of brethren of the Zinnendorff Rite, the National Grand Lodge replied by enacting—October 30, 1783—that only Lodges on the official list were to be considered legitimate, and no communication was to be held with others.[2]

One more heavy blow awaited the National Grand Lodge. That which De Vignolles had been unable to avert in 1773, Graefe was destined to undo in 1786. Count Graefe, a Brunswicker (to whom reference has already been made), was a captain in the English service in America. He had also been a Deputy P.G.M. of Canada, and returned to Brunswick in 1785, with an appointment as representative of the Grand Lodge of England at the National Grand Lodge, which, under the contract of Nov. 30, 1773, was of course tantamount to representative for all Germany. On August 15, 1785, he wrote from Brunswick to the National Grand Lodge that instead of harmony among the Fraternity in Germany he found only discord and antipathy, and called upon it to assist him in finding a remedy.[3] The National Grand Lodge —October 20—expressed a willingness to receive and aid him, but objected to the term "Supreme Grand Lodge" as applied to that at London, and expected that he would only visit such German Lodges as were recognised by their own body.[4] Graefe's eyes were soon opened to the state of affairs, and in the spring of 1786 he left for England. We find the results of his report in the minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, April 12, 1786, when the Grand Treasurer announced that the intolerant spirit of the Berlin Grand Lodge had evoked quarrels and scandals in Germany, and that many Lodges looked to London for redress. It was resolved that the proceedings of the Berlin Grand Lodge tended to divide the Fraternity, to limit its progress, and were in contravention of the treaty of 1773, and that steps should be taken to abrogate or alter that compact.[5] As we have already seen, this was followed by the re-inauguration of the Hamburg Provincial Grand Lodge under Graefe, by whom—August 17, 1786—a letter was despatched to Berlin inviting the presence of the National Grand Lodge at the ceremony. He added "that Berlin appeared to doubt the power of the Supreme Grand Lodge to make new arrangements, but he prayed them not to force him to take steps which old friendship had hitherto restrained."[6] Castillon replied by excluding all Hamburg Lodges and even Graefe himself, upon which the latter issued a circular inveighing against the intolerance and injustice of the National Grand Lodge, and declaring it to be his duty to pronounce that body and all its daughter Lodges illegitimate.[7] This action was approved in London, and Leonhardi, finding his presence no longer of any use, left that city—April 9, 1787—and betook

[1] Findel, p. 425. [2] Latomia, vol. xxvi., 1868, p. 89. [3] Nettelbladt, Gesch. Frei. Systeme, p. 575.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Cf. ante*, p. 228; and Appendix, giving Grand Lodge Minutes, April 12, 1786.
[6] Nettelbladt, p. 575. [7] Findel, p. 462.

himself to St Petersburg.[1] In 1788—April 23—the Grand Lodge of England apprised the Berlin Lodge by letter of the abrogation of the treaty, and—November 26—the G.M. communicated to the Grand Lodge that he had acted on the resolution of April 12, 1786, and gave his reasons for so doing.[2] They are very cogent, and show more knowledge than usual of Continental affairs, but are too long for even partial reproduction; suffice it to say, that the Berlin Lodges, although deprived of all supremacy, continued to be recognised by the Grand Lodge of England as legitimate. But in spite of all difficulties the National Grand Lodge continued to prosper as before.

In 1789—June 24—the National Grand Lodge became wearied of its isolated position in Germany, and passed a decree whereby the legality of all Lodges constituted by any recognised authority was acknowledged, and mutual intercourse permitted, excepting, of course, in the case of brethren of the Hebrew faith.[3] This Grand Lodge has from the first been so intensely Christian that the Jewish question has never been even mooted, and it is only of late years that, yielding to outside pressure, Jews are allowed to be present in Lodges as occasional visitors.

Castillon resigned June 24, 1790, and was succeeded as G.M. by C. A. von Beulewitz. By the Royal Edict of October 20, 1798, the National Grand Lodge was included as one of the three Grand Lodges of the Prussian States, and in 1799—January 14—Beulewitz died, whereupon Castillon was re-elected G.M. From 1807-9 the Grand Lodge was closed on account of the presence of the French Army of Occupation. In 1814—January 27—the G.M., Castillon, died; and on December 27 ensuing the previous Dep. G.M., Joachim F. Neander von Petersheiden, was elected in his stead, who was followed in turn (1818) by J. H. O. von Schmidt.

Under G.M. Schmidt the quarrel with Sweden was made up, and a contract of mutual amity and support signed, April 6, 1819.[4] On this occasion the Grand Lodge of Sweden furnished complete copies of its constitutions, ritual, etc.; and Nettelbladt, one of the foremost Masons of Zinnendorff's rite, and an ardent defender of his master's probity, was at once set to work to revise the ritual of the National Grand Lodge.[5] A backward glance at my account of Freemasonry in Sweden will enable the reader to discern that at the time of the Eckleff transaction the Swedish rite was still incomplete, as the cope-stone of the highest degrees had not been placed on the structure. In consequence the National Lodge had always been deficient of two degrees, and knew nothing of a Vicarius Salomonis. These defects were now remedied, the ceremonies throughout brought into unison, and a Vicarius Salomonis under the title of "Master of the Order," elected. In 1821 we first hear of Palmié under that title, but I have not met with the date of his election, which was probably in 1820. The G.M.—Schmidt—took the title of First Assistant of the Master of the Order in 1821, and retained it so long as he remained G.M. A decree of October 2, 1820,[6] affirms that

[1] Karl Bergmann, Festgabe, etc., p. 4.

[2] Chap. XX., p. 481; O'Etzel, p. 91; and Appendix (*post*) giving Grand Lodge Minutes, November 26, 1788.

[3] Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 91.

[4] O'Etzel, p. 140.

[5] Findel, p. 516. Although Nettelbladt wrote a history of all the other Masonic systems and rites (including the English)—in which the ignorance and credulity of their votaries are pitilessly denounced—unfortunately he has not favoured us with one of the National Grand Lodge. He always, however, maintains its infallibility in strong terms, which to the student of to-day are somewhat amusing. *Cf. ante*, p. 137.

[6] Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 95.

Masters of Lodges are elected for life, the triennial re-election being a concession on the Master's part, not a right of the Lodge. The election of the Master, according to a decree of March 2, 1824,[1] was to take place by casting the names of all those eligible into an urn; the youngest member drew a name, its owner had to leave the Lodge, and his merits were canvassed. A ballot was then taken for him, and required a two-thirds' majority in his favour. If unfavourable, a second ticket was drawn, and so on until the necessary majority was obtained. In 1825—December 5[2]—it was affirmed that the election must be approved by the Grand Lodge; in 1830—December 20—that Lodges which became dormant ceded their property and funds to the Grand Lodge;[3] and in 1837[4]—September 11—that the "Master of the Order shall be *eo ipso* also Grand Master, but he may appoint his First Assistant to this office for life."

In 1838 Count Henckel von Donnersmark was elected G.M. in succession to Schmidt, but in 1841 the "Master of the Order"—Palmié—dying, he was elected in his room, and conformably with the above last quoted law, retained both offices until his death.

In 1843 Constitutions were printed, but I have been unable to procure a complete copy. They were only issued to Masters of Lodges—who are not allowed to show them, or even give extracts, and are kept under three keys held by different Officers of the Lodge.[5] Keller, however, gives some excerpts,[6] and the chief points are naturally more or less well known. The Inner Orient is composed of members of the highest degrees only. It comprises, at its head, the M. of the Order, his two assistants, called Senior and Junior Architects, and nine Officers. These twelve represent the twelve Apostles, and to a certain extent, the M. of the O. is the Vicar of Christ. Their functions are to supervise everything, but especially the ritual and dogma. The members have the right to preside and vote in any Lodge, and can even stop the proceedings. The Grand Lodge, with the G.M. at its head, is divided into two bodies, the St John's and the St Andrew's Lodges, to rule respectively the degrees of pure Freemasonry and the Scots degrees. Grand Officers must at least be Scots Masters. The ritual is identical with that of Sweden and Denmark.

In 1849 — July 24 — Henckel von Donnersmark died, and — October 23 — K. F. von Selasinsky was elected "Master of the Order."

On November 5, 1853, an event of great importance to the present generation of Masons throughout Germany took place; this was the initiation of Frederick William, Prince, now Crown Prince, of Prussia. The ceremony took place in the palace of his father, the then heir to the throne, who presided in person, in the presence of the Grand Officers of the three Prussian Grand Lodges, and in the name—or as we should say in England, "under the banner"—of the National Grand Lodge, of which he became a member. The Master's gavel used on this occasion was that formerly belonging to Frederick the Great. The eighth and last of the Berlin Lodges under this system was constituted exactly two years afterwards—November 5, 1855—and named in his honour "Frederick William of the Dawn."

In 1860—April 26—Selasinsky died, and Prince Frederick William of Prussia accepted the office of Master of the Order on June 24 following.

Ten years later—June 24, 1870—the Grand Lodge celebrated its centenary, with the Prince in the chair. On this occasion a bombshell fell amongst the brethren. The G.M., in a

[1] Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 95. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 96. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, p. 97. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 83 and 87.
[6] Gesch. der Freimaurerei in Deutschland, 1859, pp. 14-17; and Findel, p. 423 *et seq.*

long and able speech, alluded to the superior knowledge and greater purity of origin to which the National Grand Lodge had always laid claim—also to its persistence in requiring that those statements should be taken as articles of faith, whilst the documents on which they rested were jealously preserved from the vulgar ken. He showed how impossible it was to resist libellous misrepresentation from outside, except by frankly producing proofs to the contrary, and how the assumption of infallibility was not only untenable in the nineteenth century, but injurious to the best interests of the Grand Lodge; and concluded by calling upon all to aid him in ascertaining the historical truth of those supposed documents and traditions, and to freely give up whatever should be found unsupported.[1] The excitement caused throughout the Lodges of the system was intense, and two opposing parties—of light and leading, of mystery and conservatism—were at once formed. In 1873 twenty brethren at Hanover were suspended for advocating reform, whilst in 1871 six Lodges attempted to found an historical and archæological union—a crime almost amounting to treason under this Grand Lodge. Schiffmann of Stettin received the prince's commission to undertake researches, but was denied access to the archives. Wearied by this persistent opposition, the Crown Prince at length—March 1, 1874—resigned his office.[2] In his place Von Dachroden was elected, with Schiffmann as Senior Architect. The danger then became obvious that Schiffmann might at the next election be appointed "Master of the Order," and have the archives at his disposal. The Statutes were therefore arbitrarily altered, and the election placed in the hands of the highest degree only. It was also laid down that the G.M. should live in Berlin. As Schiffmann held an ecclesiastical appointment in Stettin, he was thus rendered ineligible for election, but he nevertheless proceeded with his researches, and made most damaging discoveries. For this the G.L. suspended him—May 1, 1876—but his part was warmly taken by several Lodges, and many, especially of other systems, made him an honorary member. Two months later—July 1—Schiffmann was expelled, and several Lodges who supported him were erased; others transferred their allegiance.[3] Thus for the moment the movement was crushed, but with the increasing enlightenment of our age, I cannot but think that the latent volcano is merely crusted over for a time, and that the smothered fire will sooner or later break out afresh. The position and attitude of the National Grand Lodge of Germany is an anomaly in the nineteenth century, and can only be likened in many respects to the standpoint of the Church of Rome.

In 1872 G. A. von Ziegler had been appointed Grand Master, and succeeded the "Master of the Order"—Dachroden—on his retirement, in both capacities. He in turn was followed by F. R. A. Neuland, the present "Master of the Order" of the National Grand Lodge of all German Masons.

In May 1885 this Grand Lodge, with 3 Provincial Grand Lodges, ruled over 93 Lodges, with a membership of 10,276, or an average of 110 members per Lodge.[4]

[1] An English translation of this address was read before the St Mary's Lodge, No. 68, by Dr E. E. Wendt, Grand Secretary for German Correspondence—March 20, 1873—and will be found in the Centennial History of that Lodge, 1883, by George Kelly and Wilmer Hollingworth. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 257.

[2] This was the *third* Royal G.M. of the National G.L. who resigned the chair in disgust.

[3] Allgemeines Handbuch, etc., vol. iv., 1879, *s.v.* Schwedischer System; and Findel, Gesch., etc., p. 568 *et seq.* *Cf. ante*, pp. 79, 92 (note 4).

[4] Throughout Germany no Mason may be an active member of two Lodges at the same time.

The epoch-marking dates of this Grand Body are:—

1768.—Erection of Zinnendorff's first Lodge at Potsdam.
1770—June 24.—Creation of the National Grand Lodge.
1772—August 11.—Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, G.M.
1773—November 30.—Compact with England.
1777—April 27.—Repudiation by Sweden.
1788—April 23.—Repudiation by England.
1819—April 6.—Contract of Amity with Sweden, and completion of Rite.
1853—Nov. 5.—Initiation of the Crown Prince of Prussia.
1870—June 24.—Centenary festival, and Prince Frederick William's speech.

V. The Grand Lodge of Prussia, called Royal York of Friendship, at Berlin.[1]

On May 5, 1760, the Lodge of the Three Globes was informed that several resident French Masons—Frederick the Great had established a large colony of that nationality in Berlin—had petitioned for a warrant to enable them to meet as a Lodge—"Joy and Peace"—to initiate Frenchmen only, offering to pay all their income into the funds of the Mother-Lodge. In fact it was to be merely a distinctly French branch of the Three Globes. The request was granted, and in the same year—August 10—Von Printzen constituted the Lodge under the name of the "Three Doves." No reason is assigned why the title originally chosen was not adhered to. In 1761—March 13—the Mother-Lodge took into consideration a request to enlarge the powers of its daughter, as it was found impossible to recruit the Lodge solely from Frenchmen and to carry it on without funds. The petition was acceded to, and a fresh warrant granted—April 12—whereby the Lodge became an independent sister Lodge of the Three Globes. Its title had at this time been altered to "Friendship of the Three Doves." In the same year it joined with the "Three Globes" and "Concord" in forming the Masonic Tribunal of which Von Printzen was elected Grand Master.[2]

From the character and composition of the Lodge it was inevitable that degrees beyond that of Master Mason would be wrought. These appear as early as 1763 to have included some or all of the following:—"Elect of 9, of 15, and of Perpignan; Red Scots Degree and St Andrew's Scot; Knight of the East; Knight of the Eagle or Prince Sovereign Rose Croix: the members of this last and 7th degree forming a Sublime Council, which ruled all the others. To vest these degrees, it is possible, with an enhanced authority, the Lodge procured —March 6, 1764—a Scots patent from the Scots Lodge "Puritas," at Brunswick.

The work was, of course, conducted in French, but not without exceptions. Thus in 1764 we find an instance of a Lodge transacting its business in German, but the minutes record a resolve not to do so again. A most curious minute occurs in 1765, when a member proposed for initiation, "somebody"—having forgotten the candidate's name!

July 27, 1765, was a most important date for this Lodge. On that day it initiated into the Craft H.R.H. Edward Augustus, Duke of York, the brother of George III., and his companion, Colonel Henry St John. On August 2 the Prince signified his acceptance of the title of patron of the Lodge, and authorised it to assume the name of "Royal York of Friendship."

[1] The history of this Lodge has been very well, although somewhat too concisely, told in its official publication, "*Hauptmomente der Geschichte der Grossen Loge von Preussen genannt Royal York zur Freundschaft*," Berlin, 1842. The following sketch is given in the main on the authority of that work. For biographical notices and dates I am indebted chiefly to the excellent "Allgemeines Handbuch." Other sources will be mentioned when made use of.

[2] *Ante*, p. 243.

The Lodge then applied to the Grand Lodge of England for a patent, and entrusted the petition to St John. To this circumstance may be due the fact that the Lodge never joined the Strict Observance system, but on the contrary always strenuously opposed it.

The next few years furnish two events which may be recorded. On September 6, 1765, the Lodge warranted its first daughter, at Rheims; and in 1767—June 6—it initiated a Jew. This is remarkable, because in 1779 it had so far modified its views as to refuse admission to two English Masons because they were of the Hebrew persuasion.[1] The latter position it retained until the revision of the Statutes in 1872; but the Jewish question does not appear to have evoked the same strife in this Lodge as in the Three Globes and in the Eclectic Union.

In 1767—June 24—it received a warrant from England as No. 417, successively altered by the closing up of numbers to 330, 260, and 219 (1770, 1781, 1792)—after 1813 it disappears from our lists.

Its next step was to apply for a patent as a *Grand Lodge*, but—February 14, 1769—De Vignolles wrote refusing the request as beyond England's power to grant—a Grand Lodge being the result of several Lodges combining for the purpose. He, however, authorised the Lodge to grant a three months' dispensation to brethren to act as a new Lodge, during which time they were expected to apply for a constitution from England.[2]

The "Royal York" formally seceded from the Three Globes in 1768. Zinnendorff's proceedings within its precincts in 1772 have already been narrated.[3] In 1772 it sent a cypher to London in which to conduct its correspondence, and the same year forwarded by this means the statutes and rituals of its Scots degrees for approval. The result is unknown to me. In the same year also it warranted a Lodge at Besançon. Of this and the former Lodge at Rheims no further notices appear. In 1773 the Lodge gradually ceased to work in French, and—August 13—constituted its first legitimate daughter at Cassel. This Lodge was registered in London, November 19, 1773, as No. 459.

Meanwhile the treaty—so often cited—had been contracted between Zinnendorff and the older or legitimate Grand Lodge in London, and by it the Lodge "Royal York" came under the jurisdiction of the National Grand Lodge. The Royal York succeeded in making terms by which it was to preserve its own ritual and in a great measure its former autonomy, and concluded a treaty of union May 19, 1774. Quarrels, however, ensued and appeals to London, and in the end the "Royal York" reasserted its independence in 1776, a course of action which was approved by England, April 11, 1778.

In 1778 the Royal York constituted its second Lodge—at Mannheim—and in 1779 one each at Munich and Potsdam. A proposal for union with the Three Globes fell through in this year, but a treaty of friendship was entered into, which is still in effect.

In 1779—November 24—Baron Heyking was commissioned by the Lodge to travel throughout Poland, and where he found Masons in sufficient numbers to erect Lodges. This resulted in the formation (1780) of no less than eight Lodges, and ultimately of an English Provincial Grand Lodge of Poland.[4] From 1782 to 1795 nothing of importance demands record beyond the constitution of seven Lodges, and the occasional use of the names Mother-

[1] It had meanwhile been for a few years in close alliance with Zinnendorff's National Grand Lodge, which always has been, and is now, intensely Christian, which may account for the change of views regarding the Jews.

[2] Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freim. Systeme, p. 624. [3] *Ante*, p. 253. [4] *Ante*, p. 221.

Lodge and Grand Lodge as applied to the Royal York, but without a specific assertion of either of these titles.

With 1796 there commenced a period of evolution and internal change in this Lodge, not unaccompanied by strife. The central figure of the movement was one of the most prominent Masons of that or any time, noteworthy not only as a Mason, but also as a theologian, politician, and author—Ignatius Aurelius Fessler. I regret that the exigencies of space forbid anything approaching a detailed biography of this remarkable man. The following few data must therefore suffice.

Fessler was born in Lower Hungary in 1756, his father being a retired soldier, and his mother a religious devotee. Educated by the Jesuits, but refused admission to their ranks, he took the Capuchin vows in 1773. In 1779 he was ordained priest, and was at that time of a most serious and earnest disposition, verging on bigotry. But above all things he was plain-spoken, and in 1781 called the Emperor's attention to the disgraceful morals of conventual life. No longer safe in the monasteries from papal vengeance, he was placed in professional chairs at the universities, and led from that time to his death a most eventful and kaleidoscopic life, pursued by the unrelenting hate of the Jesuits. In 1789 he embraced the Lutheran faith, and in 1796 came to Berlin. He entered the Craft at Lemberg in 1783, a period coeval with the fall of the Strict Observance, the founding of the Eclectic Union, and the commencement of the first serious attempts to study and appreciate Freemasonry. Throwing himself with his usual ardour into this new pursuit, he succeeded in a few years in making himself acquainted with the broad facts of Masonic history, and the whole series of fantastic theories and rites to which the original institution had nearly succumbed. Such a man could not fail to attract the attention of his Masonic fellows, and accordingly, we find that having joined the Royal York, May 12, 1796, he was much against his wish forced by the brethren—November 20—to become a member of the Sublime Council. The Three Globes, Frankfort, and Hamburg G.L. had all reformed their rites or were engaged in so doing, the Royal York felt it necessary to follow suit, and in Fessler lay their best hope. One other matter also loomed large on the horizon. In consequence of the French Revolution an edict against secret societies might be expected, and although the Lodges would probably be tolerated, yet it was to be feared that the Royal York would be called upon to submit to the jurisdiction of a Grand Lodge, unless its position as a Grand Lodge in itself could be satisfactorily settled. De Vignolles' letter, already referred to, had indicated the only legal means of attaining this object, and we shall see that Fessler was not the man to neglect such a hint.

Scarcely was Fessler a member of the Sublime Council than he received a commission to draft a constitution, and to revise the ritual and bring the various degrees into accord. He threw himself with almost superhuman energy into the work. His first inclination, as was natural to an enlightened Masonic student, was to abolish all high degrees, and he made this proposal, April 12, 1797.[1] His coadjutors were, however, not yet prepared for such a drastic remedy, so he contented himself with making each (so-called) high degree a separate course of philosophy, and with remoulding the Sublime Council, which became the Innermost Orient.[2] His new ritual and constitutions were rapturously approved and accepted, August 3, 1797. The constitution was to be subject to revision in three, six, and afterwards

[1] Findel, p. 485.

[2] *I.e.*, "Innermost" for *Grand*, and "Inner" for *private*, Lodges.

every nine years.[1] In 1798—June 11—at Fessler's instance, the Lodge, Royal York of Berlin, was divided into four Lodges—Frederick William of Justice, Victorious Truth, Urania of Immortality (with Fessler as W.M.), and Pythagoras of the Flaming Star. These four Lodges remained in many respects one. Membership is still interchangeable. The officers of one Lodge may be chosen from the members of another. They also possess in common a general and a charity fund. These four Lodges then combined to erect from among themselves the "Grand Lodge of Prussia, called Royal York of Friendship," with 14 daughters, viz., 4 in Berlin, and 10 previously warranted elsewhere. The Grand Lodge was at once recognised by the Three Globes, and by the King; but the National Grand Lodge refused to do so, maintaining that a Grand Lodge could not be formed by a single Lodge divided *ad hoc*, nor could such a body be established in a kingdom where one already existed—though when Zinnendorff established *his* Grand Lodge for Germany, the Three Globes and others were already in existence.—But even in the Royal York itself the measure met with bitter opposition from shortsighted and undiscerning brethren. Fessler, a strong man, imperious, hasty, though wanting in conciliation, overbore all opposition, but his victory made him enemies.

De La Goannère was first Grand Master, and Fessler Dep. G.M.; but the Grand Master being called to Coruña as Consul, resigned, October 5, 1798, and was succeeded, October 28, by F. W. A. Von Sellentin.

In the same month—October 20—the Royal Edict appeared, wherein the Royal York is named as one of the three authorised Grand Lodges of Prussia.

On December 20, 1798, the Berlin Lodge, "Victorious Truth," initiated and admitted to active membership, H.R.H. Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, sixth son of George III., and nephew to the Duke of York, initiated in 1765.[2] From 1813 to 1843 the Duke of Sussex was Grand Master of England. Some idea of Fessler's rite may be acquired from the following facts. The Duke of Sussex was passed to the degree of Fellow Craft, January 19, 1799; raised a Master Mason, February 4; received the degree of Perfect Scots Architect, March 6; of Master of Mount Heredom, March 10; of the Cross and Eagle, March 22; and became an Elect of the New Jerusalem, December 23. In 1839, being then G.M. of England, he renewed his permission to continue his name on the books of the Lodge as an active member. Long previously—April 5, 1799—the Duke had agreed to accept the position of representative of Grand Lodge, Royal York, at the G.L. of England.

In the same year (1799) three new Lodges were warranted, and in 1800 the period arrived for the first revision of the constitutions.

Fessler, meanwhile, had entered into very friendly relations with another reformer—F. L. Schroeder[3]—whose influence now began to act through him on the Royal York.

In August 1800 Fessler once more proposed to abolish high degrees, but the time for this salutary reform had not yet arrived. Something in the nature of an extrinsic degree was still

[1] It was revised accordingly in 1800, 1803, 1806, 1815, 1824, 1832, 1836, 1845, 1854, 1863, 1872, and probably in 1881, but of this I have no precise record.

[2] Almost every writer states that the Prince was made in the Royal York Lodge, which of course is incorrect, as the name then only applied to the Grand Lodge or Legislative Body. But the mistake is excusable—at least I hope so, having committed it myself (Chap. XX., p. 484)—as it is easy to confuse the four allied Lodges with the Grand Lodge. Even Mr G. W. Speth—I am somewhat relieved to find—in his recently issued "Royal Freemasons" has fallen into the same error.

[3] *Ante*, p. 227 *et seq.*

urgently in demand. A compromise was effected. In lieu of the high degrees Fessler elaborated a history of Freemasonry, its origin, revival in 1717, early progress and subsequent obliquities. This was communicated to Master Masons in five "Steps to Knowledge," *Erkenntniss-stufen*, and to satisfy all parties, each step was preceded by a ceremonial, designed to symbolically illustrate various phases in man's life on earth. The ritual of the three degrees was remodelled on the basis of that of Schroeder, and the constitutions altered in accordance therewith. The complete revision was accepted, December 31, 1800.[1]

In this year (1800) one new Lodge was warranted, and the Sun Lodge at Bayreuth—now the "Grand Lodge of the Sun"—was affiliated, and remained for a time a Provincial Grand Lodge under the "Royal York."

In 1801—June 5—the G.M. Von Sellentin resigned on account of ill health, and—September 13—Ern. Ferd. Klein was installed as G.M. The same year saw the birth of a Lodge at Charlottenburg, and of the Lodge Socrates at Frankfort.[2] The total of private Lodges had now risen to 16.[3] In 1802 one Lodge was warranted, and the closing scenes of Fessler's connection with the Lodge were enacted. For some time angry feelings had been at work on both sides, want of appreciation on the one produced bitterness on the other, and Fessler's own domineering temper added fuel to the flame. At length the G.M. himself went over to Fessler's enemies. According to the constitution the Dep. G.M. was the all-powerful prime minister—the G.M., a very limited monarch. But Klein—a man of character and determination—was little inclined to play the part of *Roi Faineant* to that of Fessler's *Maire du Palais*, and the position became too strained to continue.

On April 30, 1802, Fessler wrote that to facilitate a reconciliation he intended to lay down his offices *pro tem.*, and requested all complaints against him to be at once openly preferred. On May 7 the Grand Lodge agreed to consider this as a formal resignation, and Fessler, indignant, resigned his offices as Dep. G.M. and W.M. of Urania on the 9th. His Lodge was then ordered to exclude him from membership, and Fessler hearing of this order—August 15—wrote—September 6—with haughty scorn, washing his hands once and for all of both Lodge and Grand Lodge.[4] After many troubles in private and public life, Fessler entered the service of the Czar Alexander in 1809, and died December 15, 1839, aged 83, being at the time President of the Russian Lutheran Consistory at Saratow.

In 1803 the Statutes underwent their periodical revision, the Innermost Orient was remodelled, and besides overlooking the dogma and ritual of the Fraternity, became the dispenser of the Steps to Knowledge, and its subordinate Inner Orients were charged with the same duties in the provinces. But these steps were reduced to a single one under the name of Scots Master, and the initiations were abolished, so that practically from henceforth we have a modification of the Hamburg *Engbund*, and the rite of the Royal York may be looked upon as in all essentials that of Schroeder. The irony of fate willed that Fessler's original plans should be adopted within a few months of his expulsion.

In 1806 the Grand Lodge was closed during the French occupation, but the presence of the enemy served to draw closer the rival German rites, and the National Grand Lodge entered into a pact of amity with the Royal York. In 1808 the G.L. resolved that the officers of private Lodges must be confirmed and approved by itself, thus somewhat, though possibly

[1] Nettelbladt, p. 636; and Findel, p. 487. [2] *Ante*, p. 236. [3] Findel, etc., p. 490. [4] Nettelbladt, p. 641.

unintentionally, limiting its own representative character. And at the revision of the Statutes in 1872, the distinctively Christian requirements for initiation were modified, so that Jewish candidates are now accepted.

Little remains to be added except statistics. Lodges warranted:—in 1803, 1; 1812, 2; 1813, 1; 1816, 4; also the Provincial Grand Lodge of Silesia; 1817, 2; 1818, 2; 1820, 1821, 1823, 1824, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1836, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1 each. Later lists I have not been able to procure.

In 1810—March 18—G.M. Klein died, and—April 30—J. H. A. Hey was elected to the office. In 1832 Hey resigned from sickness and old age, and died December 17, 1838. He was succeeded by Prof. H. F. Link as G.M., who died in office—January 1, 1851. On June 2 ensuing, Dr C. von Kloeden was elected G.M., and also died in office—January 10, 1856. A similar fate befel the next G.M.—Dr C. W. F. Amelang—who died December 3, 1858; and on the following year—March 26—Prince Louis William Augustus of Baden, a brother of the Grand Duke, was installed as G.M. The G.M.'s tenure of office being terminable with the periodical revisions of the Constitutions, the Prince declined re-election at the revision of 1863, but was appointed Hon. G.M., a position which he still holds. In 1864 Dr J. F. Schnakenburg was installed Grand Master,[1] and in 1873 Professor Chr. Fr. L. Herrig, who was re-elected in 1882, and still holds the office.

In January 1885 the Grand Lodge "Royal York of Friendship" ruled over 62 Lodges with 6102 members, or an average of 99 members per Lodge. Of these Lodges 4 are outside the limits of Prussia, 3 in Alsace-Lorraine, and 1 in Bremen. It has 1 Provincial Grand Lodge —that of Silesia—and 8 Inner Orients.

VI. The Grand Lodge "Sun" at Bayreuth.

On January 21, 1741, the Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg-Kulmbach erected in his own castle at Bayreuth, the capital of his dominions, a Lodge under the name of the "Sun," of which he remained Master till his death in 1763. On December 5, 1741, this *Castle* "Sun" instituted in Bayreuth a *City* "Sun" with much pomp, the Margrave himself taking part in the procession. The Castle "Sun" soon grafted on itself a Directory of Scots Masters, which in some respects discharged the functions of a non-representative Grand Lodge.

In 1757—October 24—this Directory opened the Lodge "Lebanon of the Three Cedars," in Erlangen; and in 1758—May 17—that of the "Three Stars," in Anspach, the capital of the Onolzbach or cadet line of Brandenburg.

In 1763 the Margrave was succeeded by his uncle, the Margrave Frederick Christian, both in his civil and Masonic capacity.

In 1769, the elder line being extinct, the Margrave Frederick Carl Alexander of Brandenburg-Onolzbach (the younger or Anspach line) united the two Principalities. The Anspach Lodge of 1758 being also possessed of a Scots Directory, the new ruler caused it in 1772 to amalgamate with the (*Castle*) Sun Directory, and removed the seat of this conjoint Directory to Anspach, granting it jurisdiction over the two Sun Lodges in Bayreuth, the Lebanon Lodge in Erlangen, and the Three Stars Lodge in Anspach. From 1774 therefore the Sun ceased to work as a Mother-Lodge. In 1776 the City Sun went over to the Strict Observance,

[1] Under him in 1872 the Statutes were altered to admit of Jews being initiated.

which the Margrave himself had joined in the same year, being the first reigning Prince who ever signed the act of Implicit (*or* Unquestioning) Obedience. He himself was the son of the Margrave Carl who had espoused the sister of Frederick the Great, and been initiated by that king in 1740 in Frederick's Royal Lodge.[1] The Margrave Frederick dying childless in 1799, the Brandenburg Principalities reverted to Prussia.

By the Royal Edict of October 20, 1798, all Prussian Lodges were required to hold from one of the three Berlin Grand Lodges. Accordingly, in 1799—November 19—the Anspach and Erlangen Lodges joined the "Three Globes;" whilst the two Suns joined the Royal York in 1800, the Castle Sun being made a Provincial Grand Lodge. It naturally accepted the Fessler Rite, and was granted an Inner Orient, April 1, 1802. The Lodge of Truth and Friendship at Fürth, warranted by the Royal York—March 4, 1803—was placed under its rule, and also the "Morning Star" at Hof, constituted June 9, 1799.

In 1806 Anspach fell to the new kingdom of Bavaria. It had meanwhile been raised to the rank of a Provincial Grand Lodge "Anacharsis," under the Three Globes, with several daughter Lodges, and at the time of these all becoming Bavarian, Freemasonry was under an interdict in that country by virtue of decrees issued March 2 and August 16, 1785;[2] renewed by the Elector—afterwards King of Bavaria—Maximilian Joseph, himself a Freemason, November 4, 1799, and March 5, 1804. In 1807, however—May 8—the King issued an edict of toleration, to which were attached very stringent conditions. A list of all members was to be forwarded to the authorities every three months, all changes of officers or by-laws to be notified, correspondence with Berlin to cease, etc. A further edict was published January 17, 1808, forbidding all State servants to join the Craft. As this deprived the Lodges of all their best members, judges, notaries, professors, military officers, and even schoolmasters and clergymen, the blow was a severe one; but many of the Lodges nevertheless continued to struggle on as independent communities, until in better times they were able to join one of the Grand Lodges of Germany.[3]

In 1810—June 30—Bayreuth also was acquired by the kingdom of Bavaria, and the Lodges had to conform to the same rules, the Sun losing not less than fifty of its best members.

The Provincial Grand Masters meanwhile, under the Royal York Grand Lodge, were Count von Giech, Von Volderndorf, and Schunter.

In 1811—December 13—the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Sun declared itself an independent Grand Lodge, with four daughters, viz., the City Sun under a new name—Eleusis of Silence—the Truth and Friendship at Fürth, the Morning Star and the Golden Balance at Hof—which was warranted February 20, 1804, by the National Grand Lodge of Berlin. By slow degrees and in spite of difficulties, it added to this number. The ritual was naturally the so-called "Fessler," that is, as we have seen, the "Schroeder" slightly modified, and which does not differ materially from our own. The first G.M.—Schunter—was followed by Münch, Birner, and in 1844 by S. Kolb—under whom, in 1847, the constitutions were amended so as

[1] *Ante*, p. 242.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[3] By an English patent—dated June 6, 1806—"Charles Alexander, Prince of Thurn and Taxis, Principal Commissary to His Imperial Majesty in Germany," was appointed "Provincial Grand Master for Bavaria." This description, however, is vague and misleading, since with the exception of Ratisbon—which was not permanently incorporated with the new kingdom until 1810—Bavarian Masonry was extinct. *Cf. post*, pp. 277 (note 3), 279.

to admit Jews to the full benefits of the Fraternity. In 1849—August 25—Chr. K. Künzel was elected G.M., and in 1862, Friedrich Feustel. At this time the Grand Lodge Sun numbered ten daughters. New constitutions were drawn up in 1868, and accepted in 1869. They are among the most liberal in Germany. The Grand Lodge is thoroughly representative on the English system; its seat as an executive body is at Bayreuth, but it holds, in turn, an annual deliberative meeting and festival at the various towns where it possesses a Lodge.

In 1872 Bluntschli became G.M., and in 1878 Feustel once more—the present G.M. being Dr Löwe. In January 1885 the Grand Lodge ruled over 24 Lodges—chiefly in Bavaria and Baden, 1 each in Hamburg, Bremen, and Norway, and 2 in Würtemberg—where Masonry was forbidden in 1784, but has been again tolerated since 1835. The membership of these 24 Lodges was 2017, or an average of 84 per Lodge.[1] A second Norwegian Lodge has since been erected.

VII. The National Grand Lodge of Saxony at Dresden.

Many Provincial Grand Masters for the circle of Upper Saxony and for the Electorate of Saxony were appointed by England in the last century. For instance, in 1737, by Lord Darnley, H. W. von Marschall to the Circle of Upper Saxony;[3] in 1762, Major Aloys Peter D'Agdolo to the Electorate; and in 1766, Count von Werthern to Upper Saxony. There were possibly others, with whom we need not concern ourselves, for it cannot be shown that they ever warranted a single Lodge or exercised their office in any way. Of Marschall it is known that he joined and accepted office in the Lodge Absalom at Hamburg[4] and nothing more, whilst at that very time Rutowsky was active in his especial district; and of the two latter, we know that they were expressly relieved of their duties in the 1773 contract with Zinnendorff.[5] Werthern indeed went over to the Strict Observance immediately after his appointment.

Nevertheless a Grand Lodge of Saxony existed at a very early date. Count Rutowsky—initiated at Warsaw in 1735[6]—who had been a brigadier in the French service, entered that of the Elector of Saxony in 1731, and was a Field-Marshal and Governor of Dresden in 1741. He died March 16, 1764. In 1738 he erected a Lodge of the "Three Eagles" at Dresden. It increased so rapidly that in 1739 a new Lodge of the "Three Golden Swords" was formed also at Dresden, which two years afterwards numbered over fifty members. In 1741—February 15—a third Lodge—of the "Three Swans"—was founded. These three met together, June 24, 1741, raised the Three Swords to the rank of a Grand Lodge, and chose Rutowsky as G.M. It appears to have been taken for granted by German writers that Rutowsky held an English patent—which may possibly be true, although in the absence of anything like evidence to authenticate the belief, it must of necessity remain an open question.

[1] I know of no official or detailed history of this Grand Lodge. The above facts have been gleaned chiefly from the Allgemeines Handbuch, 1863-1879, *s.v.* Bayreuth, Brandenburg, Erlangen, Anspach, Friedrich II., Fürth, Hof, Baiern, Zweibrücken, Kolb, Feustel, Würtemberg, Deutschland, etc.

[2] Once more I am constrained to protest against the uncouth title in common use, Grand Countries Lodge of Saxony (*Grosse Landes Loge von Sachsen*). Masonic writers, even of high classical attainments, have adopted this barbarism, of whose paternity I am ignorant. Yet, although a knowledge of German in every case is not to be presupposed, I think we are entitled to expect at least an acquaintance with *English* grammar on the part of English authors. The following sketch is again chiefly based upon the excellent "*Allgemeines Handbuch*," *s.v.* Sachsen, Dresden, Leipzig, Altenburg, Rutowsky, Marschall, Deutschland, Warnatz, Wertheim, Agdolo, etc., etc.

[3] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333. [4] *Ante*, p. 225. [5] *Cf.* Findel, p. 822. [6] W. Keller, Fr. in Deut., p. 80.

The Three Swans amalgamated with the Three Swords, July 2, 1741. Earlier in the same year—March 20—a Lodge was formed at Leipsic, which subsequently became "Minerva of the Compasses," and is now the independent Lodge "Minerva of the Three Palms."[1] If not warranted by Rutowsky in the first instance, it certainly owned his sway *circa* 1747.

In 1742—January 31—this Lodge Minerva inaugurated the Lodge at Altenburg, now "Archimedes of the Three Tracing Boards," one of the five independent Lodges of Germany.[2] This also joined the union.

Rutowsky further warranted—September 2, 1743—the "Three Roses" at Sachsenfels, which was one of the first to join the Strict Observance; and in 1744 the "Three Squares" in Nossen, which soon afterwards died out. There are also traces of one or two other Lodges. The existence of this flourishing body at so early a date is very remarkable.

In 1755 the first efforts of Von Hund's still undeveloped imaginings may be traced in a Lodge—"Of the Three Palms"—warranted by him in Dresden on September 5.

In 1760 the Three Globes also began to constitute a few Lodges in Saxony. But this part of Germany was the very centre of the Strict Observance—Von Hund possessed large estates in the neighbourhood, at Lausitz and elsewhere—and naturally the first to be overrun by the new rite. In 1762—September 5—the "Three Swords" accepted the Templar ritual and system, and every Lodge in the Electorate followed suit. The history of the Craft in Saxony for the ensuing half century is comprised in that of the Strict Observance, the three Grand Lodges at Berlin, and the Grand Lodge of Hanover, all of which bodies constituted Lodges in the country at various times.

In 1805 some of the Dresden Lodges began to moot the question of establishing a National Grand Lodge. The idea met with general favour, four Lodges only—those at Görlitz and Bautzen and the two at Leipsic—raising objections. But the project came to naught, the stern necessities of war occupying men's minds to the exclusion of other matters.

In 1811, however, the subject was revived, and a National Grand Lodge for Saxony erected. Twelve Lodges combined for the purpose. These had been constituted, in the years within brackets, as follows:—By Rutowsky—1, The Three Swords, Dresden, being the original Grand Lodge of 1742: By the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes—2, Golden Wall, Bautzen (1802); 3, Leopard, in Lübben (1809); 4, Golden Cross, in Merseburg (1805): By the National Grand Lodge of Prussia—5, The Desert Well, at Kottbus (1797); 6, Golden Apple, Dresden (1776); 7, the Three Hills, Freiberg (1798): By Von Hund—8, the Crowned Serpent, Görlitz (1751): By the Three Roses of 1743 under the Strict Observance—9, the Three Flames, Plauen (1788): By the Grand Lodge Royal York—10, Harmony, in Hohenstein (1799): By the Provincial Grand Lodge of Hamburg—11, the Three Pillars, in Triebel (1806): By Lodge Archimedes of Altenburg—12, Archimedes of the Saxon Union, Schneeberg (1806). It will be remarked that Nos. 1, 9, and 12 connect this new Grand Lodge historically with the extinct Grand Lodge of Rutowsky. From this date the Grand Lodge, in spite of a few losses, has gradually, but continuously, increased the number of its Lodges. Some, however, of these were lost in 1815, because a part of Saxony then passed under Prussian rule.

The Constitutions were accepted September 28, 1811, and signed by the Lodges of the Union. They are the most liberal in Germany. The Union does not forbid high degrees, but

[1] *Post*, p. 271. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

simply ignores them, and deals only with the Craft. It permits any ritual in the three degrees provided a copy is approved by Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge consists of two bodies. A legislative, composed of the Master, Deputy Master, and Wardens of each Lodge, and of a Dresden brother specially appointed to represent each Lodge. These all have a deliberative voice, but each Lodge only has one vote. An executive, composed of the Grand Officers chosen from among the members of the legislative body. The ritual used by the Grand Lodge and recommended to its daughters is that of Schroeder.[1]

Of the earlier Grand Masters of this body I have been unable to procure a list. In 1866 G. H. Warnatz, M.D., was elected to the chair, and, dying in 1872, was succeeded—October 27—by Dr Eckstein, who gave place to Albert Wengler in 1881. Under Dr Eckstein the revision of the Statutes, begun in 1874, was completed October 18, 1876. The chief alteration was a declaration that Jews were eligible for initiation—they had already been admitted as *visitors* in 1837. The executive still remains at Dresden, but it was enacted that the annual meeting of Grand Lodge may be movable.

The number of Lodges on the roll in January 1885 was 20, with a membership of 3692, or an average of 185 per Lodge. Of these Lodges, two—at Meiningen and Greiz—are not in the kingdom of Saxony. On the other hand, two Lodges at Leipsic do not belong to the Union, but are independent. The ritual is Schroeder's, with the exception of the Bautzen Lodge, which has retained that of the Three Globes, and the Freiberg Lodge, which still adheres to Fessler's. Dr Bernhard Arthur Erdmann is the present G.M.

VIII. Grand Lodge "Concord" at Darmstadt.

When Louis X., Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, commenced his reign in 1790, the only Lodge in his dominions was that at Giessen, of which he was a member, as well as its chief and patron. In 1785 it had joined the Eclectic Union. In 1793 the English Prov. G.L. at Frankfort commenced to warrant a series of Lodges in this principality; which in 1806 was made a Grand Duchy, Louis X. becoming the first Grand Duke Louis I. By the events of 1814 he acquired a considerable extension of territory, and in the new provinces of his state existed other Lodges. He died in 1830, protector of all these Lodges, and his successor, Louis II., who took an active part in Lodge work, also assumed the title and duties of protector. By 1839 all the still existing Hessian Lodges had joined the Eclectic Union.

It will now be necessary to recapitulate some facts already alluded to. In 1808 the Grand Orient of France had constituted the Lodge "Nascent Dawn" in Frankfort, which contained a large Jewish element. After various quarrels this Lodge split into two factions: the Landgrave Karl of Hesse-Cassel reconstituted the Christian members as "Karl of the Dawning Light," according to the rite of the rectified Strict Observance, whilst the Jewish brethren received in 1817 a warrant from London as the Lodge of the "Nascent Dawn" (No. 684).[2] In 1836 Prince Karl died; and in 1840—September 27—"Karl of the Dawning Light" joined the Eclectic Union. The Lodge, however, could not agree on all points with its new Grand Lodge, more especially in relation to the high degrees, and after many quarrels and bickerings, was excluded on July 2, 1844. Its part was taken up warmly by the "Friends of Concord" at Mayence and "St John the Evangelist of Concord" at Darmstadt, with the result that in 1845 these two Lodges retired from the Eclectic Union.

[1] For the text of these Constitutions see Keller, G. der Fr. in Deut., p. 24.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 236, 237.

The *three* Lodges, which had thus recovered their independence, petitioned the Grand Duke and Protector, Louis II., to form a new Eclectic Union; their prayer was granted, and nine prominent members—one of whom, Leykam, will be presently referred to—were deputed to frame a constitution. This act of foundation (*Grundvertrag*) emphasised the purely representative system of G.L. government, forbade all high degrees (Karl of the D.L. voluntarily dissolved its Scots Lodge, which had been the origin of the whole quarrel!), and had but one fault. It refused even the right of visiting to Jews. It was signed by the three Lodges—February 27, 1846; approved by the Grand Duke—March 22—and on the following day the three Lodges met, proclaimed the Grand Lodge "Concord," and elected J. H. Lotheissen, President of the Court of Appeal, as their first G.M.

Curiously enough the Lodge Karl, whose traditions were so purely Christian, was the first to protest against the intolerance of the new Grand Lodge, and this it did within fifteen months. On December 14, 1847, a majority in the Lodge repealed the by-law which debarred Jewish Masons from entering their doors, and the minority, headed by Leykam, resigned their membership. In 1849—March 15—nine of this minority petitioned the G.L. for a warrant for a new Lodge in Frankfort, to be called Karl of Lindenberg. The old Lodge desired to raise no objection, but as it felt that it could not meet the new one in perfect amity, sought permission —November 18—to leave the Darmstadt G.L. Both petitions were granted, and Karl of the Dawning Light rejoined the Eclectic Union June 30, 1850. Here it will be convenient if I slightly anticipate, though at the same time I also go over ground that we have already traversed,[1] by at once recording the fact that Karl of Lindenberg also seceded to the Eclectic Union in 1878.

The Grand Lodge Concord—consisting of three Lodges in all—elected Betz as G.M. in 1851, and in 1853 Lotheissen once more.

Meanwhile, Louis II., who died in 1848, had been succeeded by Louis III., who was not a Mason, nor did he appear to interest himself at all in Masonic matters. Great therefore was the astonishment produced by a Grand Ducal decree of 1859, expressing a *wish* to see all Hessian Lodges united under the authority of the Grand Lodge Concord at Darmstadt. This affected four Eclectic Lodges, one each at Alzey, Giessen, Offenbach, and Worms; and a royal wish being equivalent to a command, non-compliance probably meant dissolution. On the other hand, submission was difficult, because the Eclectic Union having admitted Jews to initiation in 1848, whereas the Darmstadt Union would not even allow them to visit, the Lodges ran the risk of losing their Jewish brethren, who had become very dear to them; Giessen especially was largely recruited from members of the Hebrew race. Grand Lodge, however, passed a resolution to allow these four Lodges to violate the constitutions, provided they would consent to certain disabilities, viz., deprivation of the right to vote on matters of ritual, and inability of their members to fill offices in Grand Lodge. The four Lodges then joined, making seven in all.

In 1859—September 11—Lotheissen died, and Matthew Leykam, Doctor of Laws, was elected G.M. As the latter resided in Frankfort, the Grand Lodge was removed for nine years to that city.

A new Lodge (No. 8) was constituted at Friedberg on November 10, 1862, and in the

[1] *Ante*, p. 240.

same year the constitutions were revised. Intercourse with their Jewish brethren having removed many prejudices, the right of visiting was conceded to all Masons of that faith.

The ninth and last Lodge was warranted at Bingen July 7, 1867, and—a further sign of progress—its constitutions permitted it to initiate Jews, but it had to submit to the same restrictions as the other four Lodges.

In 1868 the Christian Lodges, "out of their exceeding love," voluntarily conceded full rights to the five mixed Lodges, merely debarring them from furnishing a G.M. from among their members. Leykam, who died on February 20 in this year, was succeeded as G.M. by the Postmaster-General, Pfaltz.

At the revision of the Statutes in 1872 the Jews were granted full rights; so that in all Germany there are now only two Grand Lodges, the National and Three Globes, both at Berlin, which insist upon a candidate for Freemasonry being a Christian.

In 1877 the Frankfort Lodge joined the Eclectic Union, reducing the number of Lodges to eight, the figure at which they still stand. In January 1885 they numbered 855 members, or an average of 107 per Lodge. The G.M. is Phillip Brand, and the Protector of the Brotherhood is the present Grand Duke, Louis IV., who succeeded his uncle, Louis III., in 1877, and like the latter, has not been enrolled as a member of the Fraternity.

INDEPENDENT LODGES.

I. Minerva of the Three Palms, Leipsic.[1]

In 1736 seven Masons who had been made abroad, were in the habit of meeting together in Leipsic, and on March 20, 1741, they formed themselves into a Lodge. This Lodge is usually accounted a member, from the commencement, of Rutowsky's Grand Lodge of Upper Saxony; but it is also possible that it only entered into friendly relations with the "Three Gold Swords."[2] The Lodge had no special name, but it prospered exceedingly, and at the end of the year already numbered 46 members. In 1742 its services were called into requisition to inaugurate the Lodge at Altenburg.[3] In 1745 it split up and divided into a French Lodge "of the Three Compasses," and a German-speaking Lodge, "Minerva." These reunited on June 5, 1747, as Minerva of the Three Compasses, which was confirmed by the G.M. Rutowsky. In 1747—November 20—a Scots Lodge, "Apollo," was grafted on the Lodge.

In 1766 a difference of opinion respecting the expediency of joining the Strict Observance caused a majority of the members to found a new Lodge, "Minerva of the Three Palms," under Von Hund, and in 1772 they finally severed themselves entirely from "Minerva of the Three Compasses," which gradually died out. The Knightly Chapter was erected March 16, 1767.

In 1773 the Lodge constituted "Minerva of the Three Lights" at Querfurt, and in the following year the Scots Lodge "Apollo" changed its name to "Karl of the Three Palms," in honour of Prince Karl of Courland, a member of the Lodge.[4]

The Lodge took an active part in all the affairs of the Strict Observance, but began to tire of the folly about 1776. It therefore sent no deputies to the Wilhelmsbad Convent in 1782, nor did it adopt the rectified system. On the contrary, it ceased in 1776 to create fresh

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Leipzig. [2] *Ante*, p. 268. [3] *Ibid.*; and *post*, p. 272. [4] *Cf. ante*, p. 116.

knights, so that the Chapter gradually died out, until at last the Count Hohenthal alone was left—who, to keep the history of the Chapter alive, formed a so-called Inner Union of a few chosen members of the 4th or Scots grade. The exact scope of this institution has, however, eluded my researches.

In 1783 the Lodge for a time showed signs of an inclination to join the newly formed "Eclectic Union," but it ultimately decided to remain isolated, or rather independent.

The last of the Knights, Hohenthal, died in 1819, and the constitutions of the Lodge were remodelled, April 8, 1820. The old Scots Lodge "Karl" was formed into a Directoral Lodge, governing the affairs of the Lodge. It consists of twenty-seven Masters. On the death of a member the Lodge submits the names of three of its Master Masons, from whom the Directoral Lodge chooses one to complete its number. Seven members of this Directoral Lodge combine to form an Inner Union, who also complete their number from time to time in a similar manner. The duty and privilege of the Inner Union is to discuss all matters of importance before they are submitted to the Directoral Lodge, etc.

Mahlmann, W.M., 1813-26, revised the ritual which had suffered much during the Strict Observance times, and this version was accepted in 1829, three years after his death.

The Statutes underwent revision in 1832 and 1867. On the latter occasion Jews were freed from all disabilities. In 1863 the Lodge had 359 members, which in 1878 had increased to 414, and in 1885 to 447.

II. Baldwin of the Linden, Leipsic.[1]

In 1776—February 7—several Masons, among them some of the Minerva members, founded a Lodge "Baldwin" under the Zinnendorff rite. The Lodge was constituted on February 23 by Duke Ernest of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, G.M. of the National Grand Lodge of Berlin. It suspended work July 24, 1781, but resumed on March 13, 1783, under the title of the Linden (lime-tree). In 1807—November 7—this Lodge threw off its allegiance and declared itself independent.

Beckmann, the English Prov. G.M. for Hamburg, granted it a new constitution—January 14, 1809—as an independent Lodge under its present title "Baldwin of the Linden." The Lodge adopted the Schroeder Ritual and new constitutions—which were revised in 1833 and 1854.

The Lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Saxony in 1815, but retired once more in 1824, since which date it has maintained its independence. Its members numbered in 1864, 302; in 1878, 424; and in 1885, 509. The strength of the Leipsic Lodges is remarkable. There are but three in the city: Minerva, independent, with 447 members; Baldwin, independent with 509; and Apollo—under the Grand Lodge of Saxony—with 384.

III. Archimedes of the Three Tracing-Boards in Altenburg.[2]

In 1741 several Altenburg Masons applied to H. W. von Marschall, Prov. G.M. Saxony, for permission to erect a Lodge. Marschall granted the prayer, and forwarded of the English Ritual, but advised them to apply elsewhere for a warrant. The turned to the Minerva Lodge at Leipsic, and were constituted by a deputation from

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Leipzig.

[2] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Altenburg.

body, January 31, 1742.[1] From the very first, Lodge Archimedes conducted its proceedings in the vernacular idiom, and was probably the earliest German Lodge that ever did so; in 1743 it published the first German Masonic song book. In 1751 Prince Louis Ernest of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg was W.M. of the Lodge, and he procured from the "Three Globes" a warrant for a Scots Chapter, which, however, died out almost immediately afterwards. The Altenburg Fraternity, which has always adopted innovations with reluctance, worked pure English Masonry until 1775. We have already seen[2] that on June 30 of that year Duke Ernest II. of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg was elected G.M. of Zinnendorff's Grand Lodge; and "Archimedes" very naturally joined the National Grand Lodge and accepted the Swedish Rite. Athough the Duke resigned in disgust the following year, the Lodge did not reassert its independence until 1785, and subsequently to that date continued to use the Ritual, to which it had become accustomed in the preceding ten years, even keeping up the practice after joining the Eclectic Union in 1788.

It seceded from the Eclectic Union, in anticipation of the threatening political troubles, in 1793; and the same reasons induced it to suspend its meetings on January 9, 1795, after having declared its officers "permanent" during the interim. In 1796 it reopened. At the beginning of the century it rejected the Zinnendorff Ritual, and accepted as a temporary measure that of the Eclectic Union. Pierer received orders to compile a new one, and after carefully comparing the rituals of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Royal York, and Hamburg, his version was accepted in 1803. In the same year Schneider published the constitutions of the Lodge, a work even now much sought after for its valuable contributions to Masonic archæology, and which show a wonderful power of just criticism considering the time at which they appeared. From this epoch may be dated the rise of the brilliant Altenburg school of Masonic historians and students, to whose labours we are all so much indebted. No less than three Masonic journals owe their birth to this school—the *Journal für Freimaurer*, the *Zeitschrift für Freimaurerei*, and the *Ziegeldecker*—which in later years became the *Bruderblätter*. The last-named publication continued to appear until 1854. Fallou, whose work has been so often alluded to in Chapter III. of this History, was a member of the Lodge.

In 1803—December 18—the Lodge opened a branch at Gera, but this was afterwards constituted by it an independent Lodge, October 25, 1804.[3] The Altenburg Lodge divided into two in 1803, and erected a Directoral Lodge to govern the Lodge at Gera and the two new divisions at Altenburg; but the whole arrangement was abrogated in 1805, and the old position resumed.

In 1809 the Lodge established a branch in Schneeberg, but this joined the Grand Lodge of Saxony in 1812.

In the election of its officers, etc., this Lodge follows the English plan; but it possesses a sort of permanent committee to sift matters before they come before the Lodge, consisting of the Master and Deputy Master, the Wardens, and all Past Masters and Wardens. Its library contains over 700 valuable works. In 1823 it opened a savings' bank, largely used by the surrounding population. In 1861 its members numbered 210; in 1878, over 250; and in 1885, 271.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 268, 271. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 255. [3] *Post*, p. 274.

IV. Archimedes of Eternal Union at Gera.[1]

On January 16, 1803, several resident Masons formed a Masonic club in Gera, and at the close of the same year—December 18—this club was declared a branch establishment or "Deputation Lodge" of Archimedes at Altenburg, under the name "Archimedes of Eternal Union." That is, it could only act under the directions of its parent, and in its name, much as an agent acts for his principal. This state of tutelage proving inconvenient, the Lodge petitioned for independence, and in the result was reconstituted by Lodge Archimedes (of Altenburg), October 25, 1804. The German Grand Lodges, however, refusing to acknowledge the right of one Lodge to constitute another, and declaring the Lodge at Gera to be clandestine, the subject of this sketch at last petitioned Schroeder in Hamburg to grant it an English charter. This was issued April 30, 1806. It then accepted, and has ever since worked, the Schroeder or Hamburg Ritual. Gera was not in the jurisdiction of Hamburg; but G.M. Beckmann granted the warrant by virtue of his right to do so outside his district in states where no Grand Lodge existed.[2] At Gera and Hamburg the Lodge was considered as directly dependent on London, whilst by the English authorities it seems to have been long regarded as subject to Hamburg. This may account for the fact, that it only received an English number (669) in 1815, five years after the Prov. G.L. of Hamburg had ceased to exist. Virtually, however, "Archimedes" retained its independence. The princes of Reuss have ever been members and patrons of this Lodge. Speth[3] gives as such Henry LIV. of Reuss-Lobenstein (1810), Henry LXXII. of Reuss-Ebersdorff and Lobenstein (1827), Henry LXXVI. of Reuss-Lobenstein (1852), and Henry LXVII. of Reuss-Schleiz (1852). In 1862 the membership of this Lodge was 121; in 1885, 187.

V. Karl of the Wreath of Rue, Hildburgshausen.

Hildburgshausen is a town in the small duchy of Saxe-Meiningen. According to the *Handbuch*, a Lodge, "Ernestus," was warranted here by England in 1755, which only lived a few years. No trace of it is to be found in our Lodge lists.

In 1787 a second Lodge[4] was warranted—also from London; this is the Lodge Charles of the Ruewreath,[5] but our Lodge lists call it Lodge of St Charles, No. 495. It has ever since worked independently under the immediate protection of its princes, and the number of its members in 1885 was 54.

In 1883—October 14—the five Independent Lodges (pp. 271-274) entered into a Treaty of Alliance and Bond of Union. Dr Victor Carus of Leipsic is the President of this League.

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Gera; Verfassungs Urkunde der F.L. Archimedes, 1841; Asträa, Sondershausen, 1853, p. 258 *et seq.* Gera is the capital of the principality of Reuss, junior line, one of the pigmy independent states of Germany. A good tale is told of a German Liberal who was ordered by a prince to leave his dominions. "If," said the former, "your Highness will deign to ascend to the attic of your palace, you shall see me cross the frontier in five minutes!" The story might well have applied to Reuss.

[2] See the *Freemason*, May 16, 1885 (N. and Q., No. 599), where this warrant is given at length by Mr G. W. Speth.

[3] Royal Freemasons, Philadelphia, 1885.

[4] Continued in our lists until the Union.

[5] The Wreath of Rue is part of the armorial bearings of the Dukes of Mecklenburg.

EXTINCT GRAND LODGES.

I. HANOVER.

Of all the extinct Grand Lodges of Germany this is by far the most important, and naturally of most interest to English readers. I shall therefore devote a few pages to describing its career with some amount of detail; its equally defunct sisters will, however, in each case, only be sketched in broader outline.

In 1743—July 26—Prov. G.M. Lüttmann of Hamburg deputed Simon as Prov. G.M. of Hanover, but no sign exists that he ever displayed any activity in that office.

The following year—January 19—Lieutenant, afterwards Captain, of Horse Grenadiers, Mehmet von Königstreu was initiated in Lodge "Absalom" at Hamburg.[1] In 1746—January 21—he obtained a warrant from Lüttmann, and on the 29th founded the Lodge Frederick in Hanover, so called in honour of Frederick, Prince of Wales. In 1753—June 27—Hinüber was elected W.M., and in 1755 in consequence of a slight difference of opinion with Hamburg, and of discovering that the Lodge had not been registered in England, he made use of his business relations with England to ascertain if there was any chance of obtaining a provincial warrant for Hanover. Being assured that if the Lodge would indicate some special brother, a patent would be forthcoming, the Lodge elected Hinüber as G.M.—June 25—and—November 28—he was appointed G.M. of all His Majesty's German dominions, "with a power [in the Province] to choose his successors."[2] The G. Lodge Frederick in Hanover was registered as No. 208, became No. 122 in 1792, and was "dropped out" at the Union (1813).[3]

On June 24, 1756, the Grand Lodge made a formal visitation to the Lodge Frederick, and the next year—January 31—"Frederick" accepted a warrant of confirmation from the new G.L. of Hanover. In 1760 a Scots Lodge, "Karl of the Purple Mantle," and in 1762—May 24—the Lodge "George" of Hanover, were founded.

In 1764 Hanover was formed by Von Hund into the "Prefectory Callenberg" under the S.O. system, which at first was vigorously opposed by the G.L. and its daughters, but gradually acquired preponderating influence. The last Craft meeting of the Lodge Frederick occurred January 12, 1765.

Schubart arrived in Hanover October 13, 1766, and commenced his propaganda on the 27th. Prince, afterwards Grand Duke, Karl of Mecklenberg-Strelitz joined the S.O. in Celle, and was appointed Protector of the district; on November 25 the Lodges George and Frederick dissolved in order to reconstitute themselves as the Strict Observance Lodge of the "White Horse," and thus the G.L. of Hanover ceased to exist. As a consequence we find that in 1773 Hanover was made a neutral territory, open alike to the G.L. of England and the National Grand Lodge of Prussia at Berlin.[4]

Zinnendorff, who immediately invaded the district, met with remarkable success. In 1774 he established a Lodge of the "Golden Compasses" at Gottingen; in the same year this

[1] His father, Mahomet, had been taken prisoner of war as a child in Candia during the Venetian Wars. Prince Maximilian of Hanover brought him home and had him baptized Louis Max. Mehmet. He was subsequently ennobled, appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King George, and died at Kensington Palace, 1726.

[2] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333. [3] *Post*, p. 277. [4] *Ante*, p. 254.

Lodge warranted the "Black Bear" in Hanover, and the "Crocodile" in Harburg, and in 1775 a Lodge in Lüneburg; whilst in 1777 the National Grand Lodge constituted the "Cedar" in Hanover, and a Lodge in Stade, and in 1778 one in Hameln.

Meanwhile the Fraternity had found themselves disappointed in the Strict Observance, and took no interest in Lodge matters, so much so that the "White Horse" did not meet between 1775 and 1778. The Protector, Grand Duke Karl, to remedy this state of affairs, ceased working the S.O. Rite, gradually altered the ritual of the first three degrees, and without formally renouncing the Templar connection, practically revived the extinct Grand Lodge by converting the Scots Lodge "Karl of the Purple Mantle" into a Directoral Lodge over all Lodges of the Strict Observance in His Majesty's dominions in Brunswick, Lüneberg, and Hanover. After the Wilhelmsbad Convent of 1782 the Fraternity in these lands declined to accept the rectified system, and calmly continued in their own way. Some few of the Zinnendorff Lodges, more especially the "Black Bear," at this time entered into more or less intimate relations with the Lodges under the Grand Duke.[1]

In 1786 this Prince being in England, procured, with Col. Graefe's assistance, the reinstatement of the Prov. G.L. of the Electorate of Hanover and British Dominions in Germany,[2] together with a warrant under the No. 486 for the former Zinnendorff Lodge of the "Black Bear." The Lodge "White Horse" then prefixed its former name, and became "Frederick of the White Horse," and, November 28, this Lodge and the "Black Bear" joined in re-establishing the Provincial Grand Lodge. A Royal Arch Chapter was also added by Graefe, but was very short lived.[3]

The district was, however, invaded in 1786 by the Eclectic Union at Hoya, and in 1792 by the National Grand Lodge of Germany at Osterode.

In 1796 new statutes were enacted in consonance with the new arrangements, of which the chief fault was the non-admission of Jewish candidates.

In 1791 the Provincial Grand Lodge constituted new Lodges in Münden and Einbeck. In 1799 Fessler visited Hanover, and was enthusiastically received, as was Schroeder in 1800. The immediate result of these visits was a closer bond of union between the Grand Lodge Royal York and the Provincial Grand Lodges of Hanover and Hamburg.[4] But of still greater importance was the consequent adoption by Lodge "Frederick"—August 10, 1801—of the Schroeder Ritual, and the example was soon followed by the Provincial Grand Lodge and all its daughters. This opened the door to candidates of the Jewish persuasion.

A troublous time now awaited the Fraternity in Hanover: in 1803 the French troops entered into possession of the country, and in 1806 were replaced by the Prussians. Meanwhile the Lodges only met when absolutely necessary, but it is worthy of note that they yet managed secretly to celebrate the birthday of King George. In 1806 the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes constituted a Lodge at Osnabrück. In 1807 the Lodges summoned courage to resume work; in 1808 new statutes were promulgated; in 1809 the Provincial Grand Lodge warranted a Lodge in Lüneburg, and that of the Three Globes another in Goslar; and in 1810

[1] Governor of Hanover for King George III. *Cf. ante*, p. 105 *et seq.*

[2] The patent granted to "Prince Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz," bore date July 5, 1786 (G.L. Records).

[3] This degree appears never to have had any attractions for Germans, in spite of—or possibly owing to—its similitude to the French Scots Master degree.

[4] *Post*, p. 282.

Hanover became an integral part of the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia. The Grand Lodge of that kingdom[1] was, however, so tolerant that the Lodges were not compelled to give in their adhesion, and although some few Hanoverian Lodges joined it, the Provincial Grand Lodge retained its separate existence, as did most of its daughters.

In 1813—November 30—Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, fifth son of George III., visited the Lodge "Frederick of the White Horse," and at the ensuing banquet prayed admission as an active member. It is needless to say that the request was joyfully granted. The events of 1814-15 raised the Electorate of Hanover to the rank of a kingdom, besides considerably enlarging its boundaries. In 1815 the Provincial Grand Lodge constituted a Lodge in Nienburg, and affiliated the one warranted in Celle by Hamburg in the previous year. It also received the adhesion of a Lodge in Göttingen which had been erected by the Grand Lodge of Westphalia, and several of its daughters who had joined that body now returned to the national fold.

Karl, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, died November 6, 1816, and was succeeded as Prov. G.M. by Count L. F. von Kilmansegge, whose appointment is first noticed in the *Freemasons' Calendar* for 1822. In the same publication, the Lodge, Frederick of the White Horse, *reappears* as No. 146*, and eleven other German Lodges—Nos. 734, Frankfort; 735, Nuremberg; 736-44, Hanover—are *added* to the roll.[2] Gradually, however, a feeling arose that the Grand Lodge should declare its independence. In consequence—November 1, 1828—the Duke of Cumberland proclaimed the autonomy of the Grand Lodge of the Kingdom of Hanover, and was himself elected its first G.M.

The year 1828 saw the accession of the Lodge at Hildesheim, Door to Virtue, No. 312, warranted by England, December 27, 1762; and new Lodges were constituted at Stade 1845, at Kassel 1849, and at Klauenthal 1851. New statutes had been passed January 22, 1839.

At the death of William IV. in 1837, Hanover became an independent kingdom, and the Duke of Cumberland, G.M., succeeded to the vacant throne. He died in 1851, and was followed by his son, George (V.). In 1852—March 19—although not a Mason, King George V. assumed the patronage of the Craft, and in 1857 caused himself to be initiated in the "Black Bear," as the representative of all the other Lodges in the kingdom, becoming thereby an active member of each one of them.

Von Hattorf had been elected G.M. in 1851, and at his death, July 29, 1854, was succeeded by Count Bentinck, February 1, 1855. In 1857, however, the King expressed his intention of assuming the Grand Mastership upon the condition that the Hanoverian Lodges under foreign jurisdictions should join the Grand Lodge of Hanover, and that the statutes should be so altered as to exclude Jews from initiation. The latter condition was sorrowfully complied with; the former was only opposed by the Zinnendorff Lodge erected at Stade in 1777, which preferred dissolution.

In the following years new Lodges were constituted—1857, at Verden; 1858, Harburg; 1859, Leer; 1860, Ulzen. In 1861 the number of Lodges was 22, with 2187 members. The last Lodge was warranted in 1863 at Hameln.

In the Austro-Prussian conflict of 1866 Hanover unfortunately espoused the losing side, and

[1] *Post*, p. 281.

[2] All under the year 1821. Nos. 662—the Three Mallets, Naumberg; 669—Archimedes, Gera; 671—the Three Arrows, Nuremberg—were placed on our roll in 1815: and 684—the Nascent Dawn, Frankfort—in 1817.

suffered by annexation to Prussia. Now, inasmuch as the edict of 1798 only acknowledges three Grand Lodges in Prussia, and no other Lodges but those dependent upon these three, extinction stared the Grand Lodge of Hanover in the face. Nevertheless had it at once applied for permission to rank as a fourth Grand Lodge, and had the G.M. himself resigned, there is reason to believe that the prayer might have been granted. Hamburg and Frankfort are now Prussian, but the edict of 1798 was not enforced in their case in 1870. But resignation formed no part of the late King's intentions; there is every cause to conjecture that, on the contrary, the position of G.M. entered into his political calculations. Let us not heedlessly stigmatise the action of Prussia as tyrannical and uncalled for, but rather let us try to imagine how—in our own country—the case would have been dealt with, had the young Pretender been at the head of a British Grand Lodge in 1746?

The Deputy G.M., Krüger, endeavoured to get Hanover constituted a fourth Grand Lodge. King George thereupon tried to impeach him in Grand Lodge—by which body resolutions were passed—December 8—approving the step taken by the Deputy, but setting a limit to his future activity. Krüger resigned, as did his successor, Bödeker. The King then appointed Bokelberg. On April 17, 1867, the Grand Lodge resolved to petition the King to retire, upon which his agent, the Deputy G.M. Bokelberg, resigned. The Grand Lodge then took matters into its own hands, and—June 6—17 Lodges elected Krüger G.M. But it was too late. On September 30 the Minister of Justice and of the Interior closed the Grand Lodge of Hanover by virtue of the edict of 1798, and nothing remained for the subordinate Lodges but to choose their new superiors. Velzen, Goslar, and Osnabrück joined the Three Globes; Bückeburg, the Grand Lodge of Hamburg; Walsrode dissolved; "Cedar," in Hanover, joined the National Grand Lodge; the other 17 Lodges affiliated with the Grand Lodge Royal York, and were of material weight in carrying the more liberal constitutions of that Grand Lodge in 1872.[1]

II. Mother-Lodge of Silesia in Glogau.

This was a Grand Lodge under the Strict Observance. On May 20, 1765, Von Hund constituted a Mother-Lodge at Nistiz, with the name of "Celestial Sphere of Gold." It was removed in 1772 to Gross-Osten, and warranted in 1772 a Lodge at Glogau. In 1779 the Mother-Lodge removed to Glogau as the Grand Lodge of Silesia. It constituted some other Lodges, but both the Grand Lodge and its daughters closed on June 24, 1794, after the downfall of the Strict Observance and the death of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick.

III. Mother-Lodge for the Provinces of East and West Prussia and Lithuania at Königsberg.

This also was a Strict Observance Grand Lodge. The oldest Lodge in Königsberg, the "Three Anchors," was constituted September 12, 1746, dissolved in 1760, and immediately reconstituted by the "Three Globes," June 10, 1760, as the "Three Crowns." In 1769 it joined the Strict Observance, and was raised to the rank of a Provincial Grand Lodge, as above, in which capacity it warranted several Lodges. In consequence of the Prussian Edict of 1798

[1] *Ante*, p. 265. Authorities consulted:—For the general history—Neueste Zeitschrift fur Freimaurerei, R. R. Fischer, Altenburg, 1838, pp. 161 *et seq.*; Geschichte der G. and V. Fr. Loge Friedrich zum Weissenpferde, Fr. Voigts. Hanover, 1846; and Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Hannover, Mehmet, etc., etc. For the closing scenes—Latomia, vol. xxvi., 1868, p. 217 *et seq.*; and Mittheilungen aus dem Verein Deutscher Freimaurer, Findel, Leipsic, 1864.

recognising only three Grand Lodges in that kingdom, it subsided into its former position of a daughter Lodge of the "Three Globes" in 1799. The Lodge is still active. In 1863 it numbered 262, and in 1885, 312 members.

IV. Grand Lodge "of the Three Keys" at Ratisbon.

This was in its time a most important Grand Lodge, and remarkable for having successfully resisted the blandishments of the Strict Observance. Its influence extended over a very large circle. In 1765 a Prince of Thurn and Taxis founded in Ratisbon a Lodge "St Charles of Constancy," which he himself dissolved in 1774. But during these nine years it had given birth to a second Lodge, "Crescent of the Three Keys," constituted May 1, 1767. The Master of that Lodge, Schkler, who had been initiated in Amsterdam, obtained—July 1, 1768—from G.M. Von Botzelaar of the Netherlands, a warrant of constitution, and immediately assumed for the Lodge the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge. It worked the degrees of the Craft, with those of a Scots Lodge superadded, in 1770; the latter were, however, suppressed in 1784, so that—considering the times—the Lodge kept itself remarkably pure. In 1771 it warranted its first daughter, "Hope," in Vienna, and during the next twenty years, Lodges in Marktseft on the Main, Munich, Passau, Ulm, Baitsch, Neusohl in Hungary, Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen, (a second) in Vienna, Görlitz, Dresden, and Hanover—in all twelve. Schkler was G.M. from 1771 to 1777, when he resigned; and the second G.M., the Prince of Thurn and Taxis,[1] was elected in 1799. It is probable that this long interregnum was due to the ravages committed in every direction by the Strict Observance. From 1793 to 1799 the Lodge was perfectly dormant owing to the disturbing effects of the Revolution. But it resumed activity with the new G.M., who, June 6, 1806, obtained a patent from England.[2] In this he is styled "Provincial Grand Master for Bavaria," an excusable error, Ratisbon being one of the recent acquisitions of that State; and it is indeed surprising that the Grand Lodge did not take the place now occupied by the "Sun" of Bayreuth. The Lodge also changed its name to "Karl of the Three Keys," and constituted several Lodges, for instance, Leipsic and Heidelberg. In the first decade of this century the Grand Lodge had lost all her daughters through death or desertion, but was itself strong and much respected throughout the Continent; with Sweden especially it stood on the most intimate terms from 1801 to 1823. It gradually fell into decay, but once more, about 1830, flickered up under Von Stachelhausen. On his departure from Ratisbon the Lodge died out altogether, *circa* 1840.[3]

V. English Provincial Grand Lodge of Brunswick at Brunswick.

This Grand Lodge can hardly be said to have existed, but its short history exemplifies the unsettled state of the Craft at this period. In 1744 — February 12 — the Lodge "Jonathan" was founded and opened by the Grand Lodge of Hamburg; and on December 27 its founder, Kissleben, was appointed "Permanent Deputy G.M."[4] In 1762 the Lodge superadded the Rosa-Clermont Chapter; and in 1764, the Master, Von Lestwitz, was

[1] I do not know if this Prince is identical with the founder of the Lodge. *Cf. ante*, p. 266, note 3.

[2] Grand Lodge Records. Nuremberg became a Bavarian city in 1806. *Cf. ante*, p. 277.

[3] A detailed account of this Lodge will be found in "Latomia," vol. xxii., 1863, pp. 322-330.

[4] It will be remembered that Lüttmann, Provincial Grand Master for Hamburg, took upon himself to make a similar appointment in Hanover. *Cf. ante*, p. 275.

appointed by England Prov. G.M. of Brunswick.[1] But whilst the warrant was on the road, Lestwitz and the Lodge had both deserted to the Strict Observance, so that the Provincial Grand Lodge was never erected. A minority of the Lodge, however, continued the old Lodge "Jonathan;" and in the same year, Le Boeuf, in his quality of a Scots Master, established a French Lodge. These three quarrelled, so that the Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick closed them all and founded two new ones, one working in French as a Mother-Lodge, "St Charles of Concord," and a German Lodge "Jonathan." This he did by virtue of a Provincial patent granted to him by England, July 5, 1768. The Lodges were constituted on October 10 and 11, 1770. But before the end of the year Ferdinand had signed the Act of Strict Observance, and that was the end of the second Provincial Grand Lodge of Brunswick.[2] "St Charles of Concord" was granted a place in the English registry as No. 400 in 1770, and continued on the roll until 1813 (as No. 259)—one of many proofs that the Grand Lodge of England knew little and cared less concerning foreign affairs.

VI. Bode's Union of German Freemasons.

In 1788—March 1—the Directoral Lodge of the Eclectic Union at Frankfort resumed its former position as a Prov. G.L. under England. This seems to have given umbrage to the "Compass" Lodge in Gotha, who feared or pretended to fear, that the perfect equality among the Eclectic Lodges would be violated. Their chief adviser was Bode. As he was a convert to the Illuminati, and Frankfort had declared itself adverse to that sect, this circumstance may have also contributed to the ensuing events. Certain it is that the Gotha Lodge issued a circular to all German Lodges—November 24, 1790—signed by nine Masters "acting under the advice of a highly instructed Mason"—Bode—calling upon all Lodges to aid in forming a general Union of German Lodges on the real Eclectic principles. The Gotha Lodge was erased, and that of the "Three Arrows" at Nuremberg[3] took its part so warmly as to provoke a like result. These were the only two Eclectic Lodges that joined Bode's Union, which in all never numbered more than ten Lodges. Bode died in 1793, and with him the projected union and Grand Lodge after a precarious existence of three years. The movement is of interest, as the last effort of a man who was made a Hamburg Mason in 1761, dubbed a Templar Knight in 1764, who in 1782 first took up the idea that the Jesuits were at the bottom of all the high degrees, and finished by joining the Illuminati.

VII. Grand Orient of Baden at Mannheim.

In 1778 Mannheim belonged to Bavaria, and the Lodge "Karl of Unity" was constituted in that city—November 28—by the G.L. Royal York. In 1783 it joined the Eclectic Union, and in 1785 was closed together with all other Bavarian Lodges.[4] In 1803 Mannheim was made over to the Grand Duchy of Baden, and in 1805 the Lodge reopened under Karl von Dalberg.[5] In 1806 it received a warrant from the G.O. of France, accepted the modern French

[1] Constitutions, 1767, p. 365; Preston, 1812, p. 261.

[2] It is not unlikely that England, or at least De Vignolles, contributed to this result? See the letter of December 28, 1770, from the Prov. G.M. for foreign Lodges (*ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 459, note 8).

[3] Became No. 671 *English*, in 1815; and again *Eclectic* in 1823 (*ante*, p. 277).

[4] *Ante*, pp. 123, 266.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Rite, and changed its name to "Charles of Concord." Its Chapter then declared itself a Grand Orient for the Duchy of Baden, and was acknowledged as such by France on June 25, 1807.

In 1808 it was joined by the Lodge "Karl of Good Hope," Heidelberg, warranted in 1807 by the G.L. of Ratisbon—which it deserted, but rejoined, in the same year. In 1809 it constituted the Lodges "Temple of Patriotic Light" at Bruchsal, and Karl and Stephanie at Mannheim; so that in all the G.O. extended its jurisdiction over three Lodges. Its Grand Master was Karl, Prince of Ysenburg. The Grand Duke, Karl Friedrich, being dead, his successor, Karl Ludwig Friedrich, issued—February 16, 1813, and March 7, 1814—decrees suppressing secret societies, and with them Freemasonry throughout his dominions. All Lodges in Baden then closed, and the Craft was not allowed to reassert itself until 1845; but there is no longer a Grand Lodge for Baden, the Lodges being pretty equally divided between the "Sun" and the "Eclectic Union."

VIII. Grand National Union of Baden Lodges at Carlsruhe.

This Union was contemporary with the foregoing. The "Karl of Unity" at Carlsruhe was warranted by the Eclectic Union in 1786, closed during the Revolution from 1791 onwards, and reopened in 1808. The Lodge "Noble Prospect" at Freiburg was warranted by the Prov. G.L. of Austria at Vienna in 1784, joined the Eclectic Union in 1785, and was also dormant from 1793 to 1808. The "Karl of Good Hope" at Heidelberg was warranted by Ratisbon in 1807, joined the G.O. of Baden 1808, and rejoined Ratisbon the same year.

These three Lodges—May 23, 1809—erected the Grand National Union of Lodges, to be governed, not by a Grand, but by a Directoral Lodge, the Lodge exercising this function to change every three years. Lodges of each and every ritual were eligible for the Union, except those working the French Modern Rite—which was ceded to the Grand Orient of Baden. These two Grand Bodies subsisted side by side in perfect amity. The Heidelberg Lodge threw off a shoot in 1809, which was constituted by the Eclectic Union, and joined the Baden Union without apparently deserting Frankfort. In like manner the original Heidelberg Lodge appears to have belonged to the Ratisbon G.L. and the Baden Union. In 1809 the Bruchsal Lodge also joined it without deserting its Grand Orient, and there is a further though somewhat undefined allusion to a Minerva Lodge at Mannheim. Its Grand Masters were successively K. F. Schilling von Canstadt, and Hemeling. The directory remained at Carlsruhe until July 1, 1812, when it was removed to Freiburg, but in 1813-14 the same fate of course overtook this Union, which crushed the Grand Orient of Baden.[1]

IX. Grand Orient of Westphalia in Cassel.

An English Provincial Grand Master, described in the Constitutions[2] as "George Augustus, Baron of Hammerstein," was appointed by Earl Ferrers—1762-64—for Westphalia, but he does not appear to have exerted himself to any purpose, for nothing more is known of him.

In the electorate of Hesse-Cassel the first Lodge was constituted at Marburg in 1743, and

[1] The origin of these Baden Grand Lodges is well told by J. H. Bürmann (Maurer Archiv., Mannheim, 1809), who was a high official of the Grand Orient of Baden.

[2] Edition 1767, p. 365. A marginal note (MS.) in the office copy preserved in the library of the G.L. of England, runs—"don't know of a Lodge."

others soon followed. The Strict Observance in due course swamped the Craft, and on its subsidence the preponderating influence was that of the G.L. Royal York. In 1794, however, the Elector suppressed all the Lodges in his dominions.

In 1807 the Electorate and the city of Cassel became the centre of Napoleon's kingdom of Westphalia, at the head of which he placed his brother Jérome.

The first Lodge to revive, Frederick of Friendship, took the name of "Jérome Napoleon of Fidelity," and in order to avoid falling under a French jurisdiction, erected a Grand Orient of the Kingdom of Westphalia, February 10, 1808. This was done at the instigation of Count Siméon, Jérome's chief minister, himself an assistant G.M. of the G.O. of France. The king was G.M., and Siméon his deputy; but all the other officers were Germans. The utmost toleration prevailed, as I have already had occasion to remark, and Lodges under other jurisdictions were not compelled to affiliate; any ritual was permitted, and Lodges enjoyed complete freedom from interference in their private affairs. Three new Lodges appear to have been constituted in Cassel (1808-13), and the following joined:—Münden, Alfeld, Hildesheim, Einbeck, Goslar, Osterode, Heiligenstadt, Eschwege, Göttingen, Nordhausen, Celle, Marburg, Hanover (a new French one), Helmstedt, Magdeburg, etc. In 1813 the kingdom of Westphalia disappeared, and with it the Grand Orient.

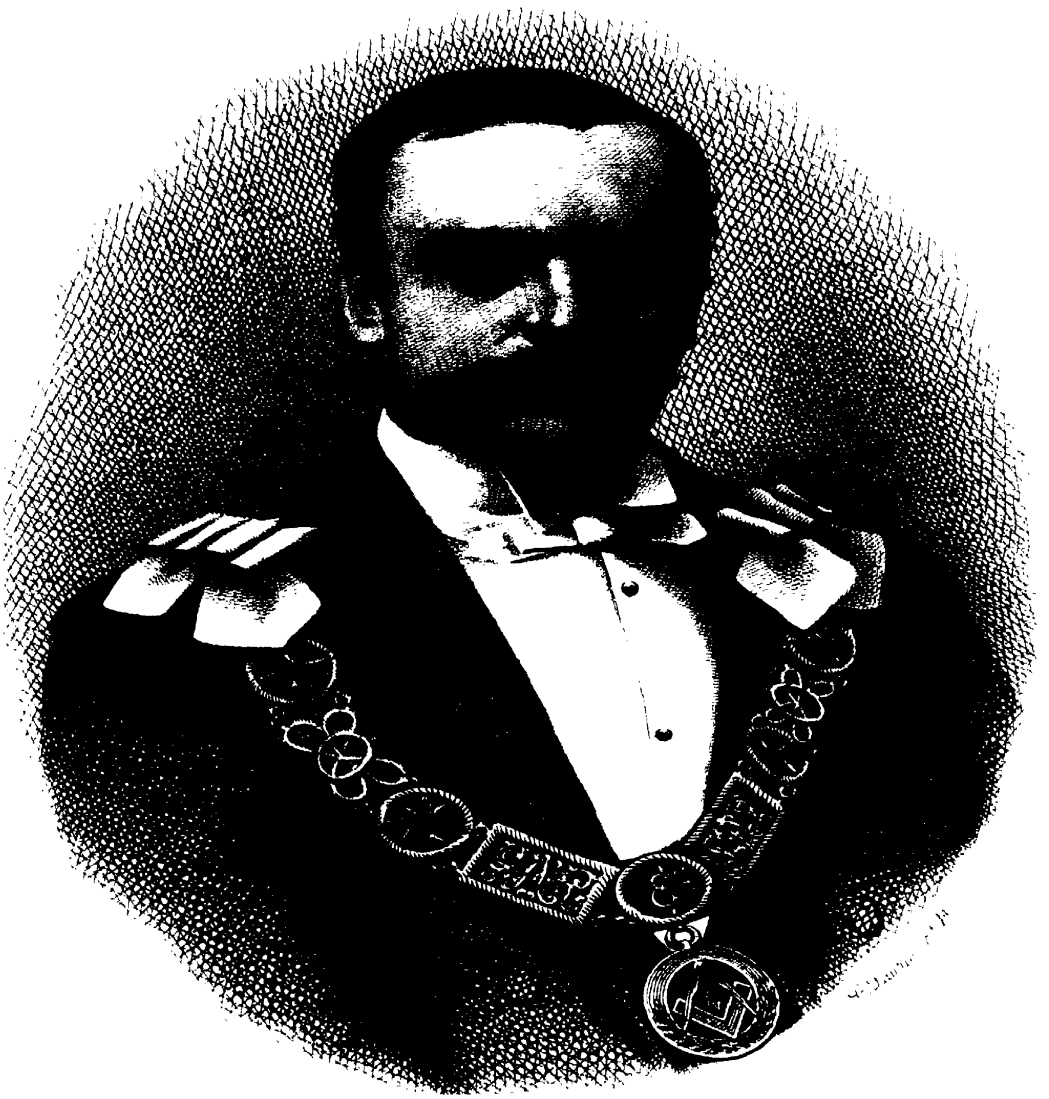
X. Grand Lodge of Hesse-Cassel in Cassel.

The Elector having been restored, the old edict of 1794 suppressing the Craft was revived. Von Bardeleben succeeded in obtaining a repeal of this obnoxious decree, but only on the condition that the Lodges would submit to the G.L. Royal York, under an intermediate Prov. G.L. of the Electorate, with Bardeleben as the Prov. G.M. Accordingly two Lodges at Cassel and one at Eschwege constituted—May 26, 1814—the Prov. G.L. desired by the Elector, and placed themselves under the Royal York of Berlin. In 1817, however, this Prov. G.L. declared its independence under the title of "Mother Grand Lodge of the Electorate of Hesse," and the Elector William II. on his accession promised it his protection. Besides the three already mentioned, the following at Marburg, Rinteln, Hanau, Ziegenhain, Hersfeld, Neutershausen; in all, nine Lodges formed part of this jurisdiction. But on July 19, 1824, an edict of the Elector once more suppressed and interdicted the Lodges, and in spite of all petitions to the contrary, they remained forbidden and closed until the events of 1866 caused the Electorate to be incorporated with Prussia.

OTHER MASONIC UNIONS NOT CLASSED AS GRAND LODGES.

I. Grand Union of Freemasons (Fessler's)

It will be remembered that in 1799 and 1800 both Fessler and Schroeder visited Hanover, and about the same time these two ardent reformers made each other's acquaintance. Early in 1801 Fessler attempted to strengthen the hands of the leading supporters of pure Freemasonry by drawing closer the bonds of union between the Provincial Grand Lodges of Hamburg and Hanover, and the Grand Lodge Royal York of Berlin. On August 20, 1801, a tripartite treaty was concluded between these bodies, entitled "*Magnum Foedus Latomorum*," providing for mutual representation, and communication of all minutes, and for a select circle



RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BROOKE.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF ESSEX.

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh

in each Grand Lodge for the free imparting to one another of all ritualistic and historic knowledge. Resolutions were adopted against the use of any of the old fashioned high degrees, and provision was made for the admission to the Union of other Grand Lodges.[1] Frankfort was invited to join the Union. But at this time the Prov. G.L. was dormant,[2] and wished to refer the matter to England before deciding. Deceived by this condition of affairs, the "Royal York" warranted a Lodge—"Socrates"—in Frankfort, December 4, 1801, and to the friction to which this gave rise, the absence of a reply from London, and the renewed dormancy of the P.G.L. of Frankfort in 1803-5, must be ascribed the failure on the latter's part to affiliate with the Union. Following this came the French occupation of Berlin and Hanover, and thus the Union gradually lost its hold on the Lodges, and is now confined to a mutual representation in Grand Lodge, which, however, has extended to all the other Grand Lodges of Germany.

II. The Correspondence Bureau.

In most German Lodges two secretaries divide the work between them, one attending to the minutes and records, and the other conducting the correspondence, both with members and with the Lodges in fraternal alliance. It is usual for the latter to forward, in the summer, to every member and allied Lodge a so-called St John's letter, detailing the events of the past twelve months, and giving a list of present members. In some cases allied Lodges undertake a regular exchange of their respective minutes. As the parties to these arrangements increased in number, the work became more onerous, and Dr Lechner of the Baldwin Lodge, Leipsic, formed a plan to facilitate matters, which was communicated to the Lodges by circular in 1831. According to this scheme the Baldwin Lodge was to act as a central point under a special officer charged to receive proceedings from all quarters, and to distribute them to all corresponding members. Forty-two Lodges joined the association at the outset, and at present almost every German Lodge is affiliated, besides many in Switzerland, Denmark, and North America.

III. Union of the Three Grand Lodges of Berlin.

A Union, composed of the Grand and Deputy Grand Masters of these three Grand Lodges, was founded in 1810 to deliberate on matters of common interest. It had been preceded by a joint monthly committee meeting, established in 1807. Unfortunately in 1823 the G.L. of Hamburg and the National G.L. quarrelled about the Lodge at Rostock. Hamburg brought its case before the Union through the good offices of the G.L. Royal York. This produced very strained relations, and the Union—by common consent—quietly came to an end.

IV. Prussian Grand Masters' Union.

About the year 1830 the three Berlin Grand Lodges had, in a great measure, forgotten their quarrels, and lived together in peace and amity. To ensure a continuance of this happy state of affairs, the Union of Prussian Grand Masters was established December 28, 1839. On that day the following officers met together—Von Donnersmark and Selapinsky, the G.M. and Dep. G.M. of the National G.L.; Link and Bever, the G.M. and Deputy of the

[1] For the full text of this treaty see W. Keller, Gesch., etc., pp. 225 *et seq.*

[2] *Ante*, p. 235.

Royal York; O'Etzel and Schmückert, filling similar offices in the Three Globes; and the three Grand Secretaries. The object of this Union was to take council in common on important Masonic matters, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the Grand Lodges. The Union might propose Masonic principles for acceptance, but was powerless to force their adoption on the individual Grand Lodges.

One of the first acts of this Union was an important one. At a meeting held May 18, 1840, at the premises of the Royal York, Von Donnersmark informed the Grand Masters that Prince William of Prussia (now the Emperor of Germany) had obtained his father's permission to join the Craft, provided he could be made in the name of all three Grand Lodges, and belong to them conjointly; further, that in that case he would assume the protectorate of the entire Craft in Prussia. For such a purpose the Union was exactly fitted, and—May 22, 1840—the Prince was initiated. Donnersmark, his old companion in arms, presided at a "Common Prussian G. Lodge," and on the right and left were the other Grand Masters. The Masters of the fifteen Berlin Lodges were also present. The National G.L. lent its premises for the occasion. The Prince swore "truth and silence" to all three Grand Masters, and then in his capacity of Protector received their vows of fealty in return. The Union still subsists, and has been of great service to the Fraternity in Prussia, as preparing the way for joint action in many matters.

V. Grand Masters' Diet.

This may be considered as an extension of the Grand Masters' Union, applied to all Germany. In 1868, Warnatz, G.M. of Saxony, invited the other G.M.'s of Germany with their Deputies to meet him in conference. The first meeting was held May 3, 1868, at Berlin. Every G.L., except the Sun of Bayreuth, was represented by its G.M.; and in some instances by the Deputy Grand Masters or their substitutes. An idea of the scope of this association may be gathered from the proceedings of the Third Annual Diet, held June 5, 1870, when it was agreed to accept the Old English Charges as the basis and landmarks of Freemasonry. At the fourth Diet at Frankfort in 1871, the formation of a "Union of German G. Lodges" was mooted, and G.M. Warnatz was deputed to draw up a draft code of by-laws for the same. These were duly approved, and as a consequence the fifth and last Diet of 1872 at Berlin became the first meeting of the

VI. German Grand Lodges' Union.

This Union has worked to great advantage for the Craft, and in the absence of an impossible General Grand Lodge, serves to maintain a close bond between every system in the Fatherland, and to preserve or inaugurate a common line of conduct in external affairs.

VII. Union of German Freemasons.

This is a purely deliberative and literary society, composed of individual Masons meeting yearly at various cities. It was founded in 1861, and at first met with strenuous opposition from some of the Grand Lodges, so that in 1867 it only numbered 309 members. It has

however, formed a valuable library and museum at Leipsic, and its official organ is the Leipsic "Bauhütte." Its influence has grown yearly, and in 1878 it numbered 1509 active, and 31 corresponding, members. As a Literary Masonic Association, it takes high rank; as a Deliberative Assembly, there are signs of an unfortunate and regrettable tendency towards a mild form of socialism. Although politics are rigorously forbidden in the Lodge, it would appear that Germans do not include political economy under this head, and the boundary-line is easily overstepped.

Although the exigencies of space forbid more than a passing allusion to many subjects of deep interest to our antiquaries, but lying on the extreme border line of history, there is one upon which—at this stage of our inquiry—some general observations will not be out of place.

Germany (including Austria and Switzerland) excels all other countries, both in the affluence of its Masonic literature, and in the profundity of research which has characterised the labours of so many gifted historians of the Craft. The earliest efforts of German Masonic writers—translations of the English constitutions, orations, and didactic pieces—evince both diligence and accuracy. Thence, by a gradual transition—the publication of the constitutions of many other Grand (and private) Lodges, and of songs and poems remarkable for beauty of thought and diction—we are brought to a higher sphere of intellectual labour, and find in the literature of the Craft, the noblest moral teaching, accompanied by very learned and ingenious reflections on both the origin and objects of our Society.

Lessing—"the father of German criticism"—known to Masonic readers by his "Ernest and Falk," 1778, and "Nathan the Wise," 1779—a noble plea for toleration and a rational religion—was followed by Vogel, "Letters on Freemasonry," 1783-85; Albrecht, "Materials for a Critical History," 1792; Schroeder, "Materials for the *Engbund*," 1802; Schneider, "Constitutions of Archimedes," etc., 1803; Fessler, "Attempts at a Critical History," etc., 1801-7; Krause, "The Three Oldest Masonic Documents," 1810; Mossdorf, "Addresses to Thoughtful Masons," 1818; Heldmann, "The Three Oldest Historical Documents of German Masonry," 1819; Nettelbladt, "History of Masonic Systems," *circa* 1836; O'Etzel, "History of the Three Globes," 1840; Kloss, "Annals of the Eclectic Union," 1842—"Freemasonry in its True Significance," 1846—"Freemasonry in Great Britain," 1848—and "in France," 1852; Fallou, "The Mysteries of Freemasonry," 1848; Winzer, "The German Brotherhoods," 1859; Keller, "History of the Eclectic Union," 1857—"Of Masonry in Germany," 1859; Findel, "History of Freemasonry," 1861-62; and Paul, "History of the Eclectic Union," 1883. The list might be extended, but I shall merely add that both Herder and Goethe are to be classed among "writers of the Craft."[1]

[1] German periodical literature devoted to the Craft began in 1776-79 with Bode's "Almanach," and subsequently there appeared (*inter alia*) the "Freemasons' Library," 1778-1803; "Vienna Journal for Masons," 1784-86; "Kothener Annual," 1798-1805; Meissner's "Pocket-Book," 1801-17; "Altenburg Journal," 1804, continued as Fisher's *Zeitschrift* and *Neueste Zeitschrift*; Nettelbladt's "Calendars for the Prov. G.L. of Mecklenburg," 1821-46; but above all, the matchless "Latomia," commenced by Meissner and Merzdorf in 1842, and continued to 1873. The most prominent Masonic journal in Germany at the present date, is the *Bauhütte*, begun in 1858. Works of especial merit are Gädicke's "Lexicon," 1818, but chiefly on account of its being the first of its kind; Kloss' "Bibliography," 1844, a monument of research; and the "Handbook," 1863-79—or the second edition of Lenning's "Encyclopædia," edited by Mossdorf in 1822-28. No other Masonic work of a similar character can pretend to rival the *Handbuch der Freimaurerei* in the extent, variety, and accuracy of its information.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FREEMASONRY IN SOUTHERN EUROPE.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY—SWITZERLAND—ITALY—PORTUGAL—SPAIN—GREECE—TURKEY—ROUMANIA—MALTA.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.[1]

THE history of Freemasonry in Austria—its traces in the Austrian Netherlands have already been referred to in connection with Belgium[2]—may be said to commence with the initiation of the Duke of Lorraine.

Francis Stephen was born 1708, and succeeded his father as Duke of Lorraine in 1729. In 1731 a special Lodge was held at the Hague under Dr Desaguliers as W.M.; John Stanhope and John Holzendorff, Wardens; the Earl of Chesterfield, and others, in order to initiate and pass the Duke, who was afterwards made a Master Mason in England in the same year.[3] In 1736 he married Maria Theresa, the heiress to the throne of Austria, and, on the death of Gaston of Medici, in 1737, exchanged the crown of Lorraine for that of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. To his influence with his father-in-law, the Emperor, may be probably ascribed the fact that Clement's Bull of 1738 was promulgated in the Austrian dominions. In 1740 Maria Theresa succeeded to the imperial diadem of Austria, and appointed her husband Co-Regent. Personally the Empress was averse to the Craft, but her consort was able to procure for it a certain amount of tolerance in the long run, although powerless to prevent occasional outbursts of persecution. In these early days Freemasons existed in the Austrian dominions in considerable numbers, but as yet there was no Lodge.

In 1742—September 17—the first Vienna Lodge, "The Three Firing Glasses," was constituted by the "Three Skulls" of Breslau, under its Master the Prince Bishop of that city; but on March 7, 1743, the Lodge was, without warning, closed by the military at the command of the Empress, and 18 members—chiefly of the nobility—taken prisoners. Tradition has it that Francis himself had considerable difficulty in escaping by the back stairs. On the 19th, however, the prisoners were released in honour of the *fête* of the young Crown Prince, and documentary evidence is forthcoming that the Lodge continued to meet in secret,

[1] The leading authority on the history of the Craft in these countries is Dr L. Lewis, "Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich," etc., Vienna, 1861. The information contained in that work may be supplemented by reference to Beigel, "Verfassung der Provincial und Gr. Loge von Oesterreich, 1784," Vienna, 1877; and Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Oesterreich, Ungarn, Wien, Boehmen, Prag, Pest, Mailand, Innspruck, etc., etc.

[2] *Ante*, p. 209 *et seq.*

[3] Chap. XVII., pp. 353, 388.

relying doubtless on the protection of the Prince, who in 1745 was elected Emperor of Germany as Francis I.

According to Lawrie, Freemasonry was introduced into the province of Bohemia (Prague) in 1749.[1] He speaks of the members as "*Scotish Masons*," and the probability is that they were "Scots degree" Masons. Subsequent writers have, however, stated on the strength of this passage that the Grand Lodge of Scotland warranted a Lodge at Prague, a conclusion which is not supported by any evidence which has come under my notice.[2]

The Bull of Benedict XIV. in 1751 gave fresh courage to the clergy surrounding the Austrian throne, and renewed efforts to suppress Freemasonry were made. The Empress, however, held her hand, and (*it is said*) visited the Lodge in company with one of her ladies, both disguised as men, in order to assure herself that none of the *beau sexe* were admitted to the mysteries. Having satisfied herself on this point she retired. As this legend, however, derives no support from "inherent probability," not even can the Italian maxim, "*Se non è vero, è ben trovato*," be applied to it.

In 1751—May 22—the Lodge Frederick at Hanover warranted a branch Lodge, Frederick, at Vienna; in 1764 the Strict Observance began to constitute Lodges in the Austrian dominions; and in the same year a decree was issued suppressing Freemasonry altogether. But Francis, the Emperor, was himself at that time Master of "The Three Firing Glasses," and we need therefore not be surprised to find that it remained inoperative.

Francis died at Innsbruck, August 18, 1765, and his son, Joseph II., was elected Emperor. The Empress Maria Theresa also made him Co-Regent (with herself) of Austria. Although not a Mason, on more than one occasion he expressed a favourable opinion of the Craft. At this period the Jesuits were straining every nerve to avert their own extinction, and the Fraternity of Masons therefore obtained a little breathing time. Lodges began to multiply. In 1771 the Strict Observance founded one—the Three Eagles—in Vienna; and Zinnendorff followed the lead by erecting two others in the same city, 1771 and 1775. In 1776 Prague already possessed four Lodges, and in 1777 Zinnendorff's National Grand Lodge at Berlin established a Provincial Grand Lodge of Austria at Vienna.

By the death of Maria Theresa—November 19, 1780—the Emperor Joseph II., became Emperor of Austria also, and the Craft continued to prosper. The greater part of the new Lodges were constituted by Zinnendorff or by the Provincial Grand Lodge at Vienna of the same system; and in 1784 there were no less than 45 Lodges in the various provinces of the Austrian Empire (8 being in Vienna alone) under the following Provincial Grand Lodges: —Austria proper (Vienna), 17; Bohemia, 7; Hungary, 12; Siebenburgen, 3; Galicia, 4; and Lombardy, 2.

On April 22, 1784, the Provincial Grand Lodges of Bohemia, Hungary, Siebenburgen, and Austria met and formed a National Grand Lodge of the Austrian States, with Count Dietrichstein as Grand Master. Their intention was to declare themselves independent, but they met with such opposition from Berlin, that Dietrichstein was obliged to content himself with the position of a Prov. G.M. under the National—*i.e.*, Zinnendorff—Grand Lodge. In 1785, however, the Emperor ordered the latent Grand Lodge to assert its independence, and Berlin was naturally obliged to give way. The other Provincial Grand Lodges

[1] Edit. 1804, p. 131.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 196.

appear to have joined the Union. Each Lodge had by its delegate one vote in the Provincial Lodges, which met every three months, and each Provincial Grand Lodge had one vote at the half-yearly meeting of the National Grand Lodge (of the Austrian States), thus forming a perfect representative system.

Unfortunately at this time the Emperor interfered in the internal arrangements of the Craft, apparently at the instigation of Dietrichstein, the G.M. The desire to suppress the Asiatic Brothers—at work in Austria since 1780—was not unconnected with these proceedings. An edict appeared on December 1, 1785, restricting the number of Lodges in any city to three, and ordering all those established in towns where there was no imperial court to close altogether. On the strength of this edict Dietrichstein caused the eight Vienna Lodges to reduce their number by amalgamation to two, and to greatly curtail their membership. Each member had to submit to a fresh ballot, and many were thereby prevented from taking any further part in the proceedings of the Craft. Several of the best Masons in Austria retired in disgust, numerous Lodges were closed by virtue of the edict, the spirit and independence of the Craft had flown, and its best days vanished.

Joseph died in 1790, and Leopold II. expressed himself as not unfriendly to the Fraternity; but his successor in 1792, Francis II., tried at the Ratisbon Diet to induce the German Princes to suppress Freemasonry throughout the Empire. In this he failed, but the Vienna Lodges, taking the cue, voluntarily closed in 1794 "until better times;" and in 1795 an imperial edict suppressed the Craft and all secret societies throughout the States of Austria. A further edict of 1801 required all State officials to sign a paper affirming that they did not belong to any such society. Freemasonry thus died out in Austria, and has not since revived. During the French occupation, 1805-9, some ephemeral Lodges arose, and even a short-lived Grand Orient under French jurisdiction; and again in 1848 a former Vienna Lodge reopened October 5, but was closed on the 6th. All subsequent attempts have proved fruitless as far as Austria is concerned, but Hungary rejoices in a better fate.

In 1861 Dr Lewis made an attempt to revive the Craft in Hungary, and founded a Lodge in Pesth, but it was quickly closed by the police. The political division of 1867, however, by which Austria and Hungary became separate kingdoms under one crown, opened the door to Hungarian Freemasonry, no Hungarian law existing to the contrary. The Government approved in October 1868 the statutes of Lewis' Lodge "Unity," and in 1869 two other Lodges arose in Temesvar and Oedenburg. The "Unity" threw off shoots in Baja, Pressburg, and Buda-Pesth, and the Temesvar Lodge one in Arad. On January 30, 1870, these seven formed a Grand Lodge of Hungary, and were strengthened in the same year by a new Lodge in Szegedin. These eight increased in 1871 to twelve. In 1872 the members already mustered 800 strong. The G.M. was, and still is, Franz Pulszky. But although prosperous in numbers, the organisation, ritual, and spirit of the new body left much to be desired, and the Craft seemed destined to wreck on the lee-shore of its own unworthiness, when a judicious change of *personnel* in 1875 enabled it to make a good offing. The new Constitutions were approved February 24, 1876, providing a representative system of government, and the new ritual came into force on July 1. The immediate consequence of this was the formation of four new Lodges before the end of the year, since which date the National Grand Lodge of Hungary has proceeded on its way without much of importance to relate.

Returning to 1869, we find that in this year several Masons who had been initiated abroad

opened a Lodge (the proceedings being conducted in the Hungarian tongue) according to the A. and A.S.R. 33°, under the auspices of the Grand Orient of France. This was soon followed by a second, working in German. As one of the prime movers in this matter, the celebrated Hungarian patriot Klapka should be mentioned. In 1870, these two Lodges made honourable overtures to the Grand Lodge for a fusion of government combined with freedom of ritual. Unfortunately, as we have seen in the History of French Freemasonry, such a fusion is difficult, and it failed on this as on so many previous occasions. Thrown upon their own resources, the two Lodges constituted—on the part of the Grand Orient of France—further Scots Lodges in Kaschau, Werschetz, Oravicza, Arad, Beregszasz, and other towns; and having instituted the necessary High Chapters, these Lodges in 1872 formed a Grand Orient of Hungary for the A. and A.S.R. 33°, under Grand Master George Joannovics. In 1875 this Grand Orient exercised jurisdiction over some 20 Lodges with 1000 members. It has since lost much in importance. The two Grand bodies are on a perfectly friendly footing. The statistics of 1885 are as follows:—Grand Lodge in Buda-Pesth, founded January 30, 1870, 26 Lodges and 1268 members; Grand Orient of Buda-Pesth, founded 1872, 12 Lodges and about 502 members.

In Austria proper there are many Masonic clubs, that is, merely social clubs composed exclusively of Freemasons; as Lodges they are forbidden to meet. But Vienna itself is so near the Hungarian frontier, that many of these clubs are really Lodges which take a short railway trip in order to meet as such. In Pressburg and Oedenburg there are several Lodges whose members are all resident in Vienna. The other large towns of the Empire are, however, not so fortunately situated, and the Fraternity in each of such cities has to content itself with meeting as a social club.

SWITZERLAND.

The early history of the Craft in the Swiss Confederation is so involved, that unless my readers will kindly bear a few historical data in mind, I can hardly expect to make myself clear.

When Freemasonry first appeared in the valleys of Switzerland the Confederacy consisted of fourteen autonomous and confederated Cantons. Beyond these were a few districts, now Cantons with full rights, but then subject to individual Cantons by right of conquest, such as the Pays de Vaud—dependent on Berne. Further we have to deal with certain of the present Cantons which at that time were independent Republics in alliance with the Confederacy, such as St Gall and Geneva; and lastly, the present Canton of Neufchatel was at that time Prussian (1707-1806), from 1806-14 French, and since 1815 has been a member of the Confederation, but under Prussian suzerainty. At first we need chiefly concern ourselves with Zurich, Basle, and Berne, belonging to Switzerland proper; with Vaud, the dependency of Berne; with the Allied Republic of Geneva; and with the then Prussian State of Neufchatel.

The first distinct period may be taken as extending to the reign of terror in 1792-93.

GENEVA.—In 1736 some English gentlemen established a Lodge in the city of Geneva, a resident and naturalised Scotsman, George Hamilton, being the Master. On March 5 of the same year he was forbidden by the Republic to initiate native citizens—a decree which

appears to have been systematically violated—and in 1737 he was appointed by the G.L. of England Prov. G.M. for all Lodges in the state.[1] Even in these few months many had been established. To attempt to follow their history would be impossible. Throughout Switzerland Lodges were like mushrooms, they sprang up in a night and disappeared as quickly, leaving, in most cases, nothing but a name behind. In 1744 the Archives of the Town Council make mention of three Lodges only. These—February 13—the Fathers placed under a ban, which, however, did not prevent the Prov. G.L., under Lord Ma[illegible]pas, from holding a public festival on June 24. In 1745—when six Lodges are mentioned—the Council renewed its edict, which, however, was allowed to lapse. This was the last obstacle thrown in the way of the Craft in this territory. For the next fifteen years little is known of Geneva Freemasonry, except that Lodges were formed, existed for a time, and died out. The history of this period is involved in much confusion. In 1768—February 7—the "Union of Hearts" was established. This is the first Lodge which kept minutes, and its so-called "Golden Book" is full of interesting notes on Swiss Masonry. At this time Alexander Gerard returned from England, and set to work to reduce the existing chaos to order. At his instigation ten Geneva Lodges met on June 1, 1769, and on the 24th erected the Independent Grand Lodge of Geneva —working pure English Masonry. In the same year eight other Lodges united with this body, some being in France, and comprised of members averse to the high degrees (so-called). There was also one in Zurich and another in Constantinople. Before 1773 ten more had joined. This Grand Lodge was therefore of some importance, but towards 1782 the political ferment in France had extended to Geneva, and the state was put under military government. For the next four years the Craft was almost extinct.

In 1786 it re-awoke, and many Lodges joined the Grand Orient of France; but on March 22, eight Lodges reconstituted the Grand Lodge under the new title of Grand Orient of Geneva. It had much success—in the same year ten Lodges joined the original eight—and warranted a Lodge at Smyrna in 1787. The G.O. of France also extended its operations, and a Zurich paper of 1787 alludes to there being seventy-two Lodges (!) in Geneva. The Lodges were, however, continually shifting their allegiance from one Grand Orient to the other.

In 1790—February 10—the Lodge "Union of Hearts" initiated H.R.H. the late Duke of Kent, father of H.M. Queen Victoria.[2]

In 1792-93, during the reign of terror, the Grand Orient barely existed, almost all the Lodges dissolved or declared themselves dormant, and very few indeed professed to work on undismayed.

VAUD.—In 1739—February 2—some English noblemen in Lausanne were warranted as the "Perfect Union of Strangers," No. 187, on the roll of England,[3] and declared themselves a Directing or *quasi* Grand Lodge under the name National Grand Directory of French Helvetia. Other Lodges were formed, but—March 3, 1745—the authorities at Berne issued most stringent decrees against the Craft,[4] and the Lodges were closed. Although the Swiss Fraternity published a strong protest in Frankfort and Leipsic, Freemasonry became obliterated throughout Switzerland proper (as it then was) for quite fifteen years.

BERNE.—The State Archives mention a Lodge as existing here prior to the year 1745, which, however, must have succumbed to the above edict.

[1] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333.
[2] Engraved Lists. *Cf.* "The Four Old Lodges," p. 55.
[3] Chap. XX., p. 484.
[4] Printed in the "Pocket Companion," 1754.

VAUD.—In 1761 the Perfect Union reopened. It had gone over to the Strict Observance, and now called itself the Scots Directory for French Helvetia; it belonged to the Vth. Province, Burgundy. Other Lodges also reopened; and in 1772 the Lodges even appeared in a public manner, throwing open their halls to the large influx of foreign Masons attracted to Lausanne by the wedding of the Princess Carignan. When the guests, however, had left, the authorities requested the Scots Directory to close its doors, and were obeyed. In 1775 for some unknown reasons Berne suddenly withdrew all its edicts against Freemasonry, several new Lodges were warranted in 1776-78, and the Directory reconstituted.

ZURICH.—In 1740 a Lodge, Concordia, was warranted by a Swiss regiment in the Dutch service, but was closed by the authorities. Again in 1769 a Lodge, "Discretion," was formed by Geneva residents, and warranted by the Grand Lodge of Geneva, but appears to have died out almost immediately. In 1771—August 13—some officers who had seen foreign service opened a second Lodge "Discretion," according to the French Rite, but this was won over to the Strict Observance by Diethelm Lavater in 1772. Helvetia was a sub-priory of the Vth. Province, and a Chapter was established with Lavater as sub-prior.

BASLE.—In 1744 a Lodge is mentioned, and disappears in 1745. In 1765 the Strict Observance Lodge "Libertas" was opened, and in 1769 a second.

FRIBURG.—Gottreau de Trefaje opened a Lodge in 1761, but in 1763 the Lodge was closed, and Gottreau handed over to justice. In 1764 he was condemned to be burned, a punishment at that time reserved for sorcerers, but escaped with exile owing to the influence of his relatives.

In 1778 therefore we have Strict Observance Lodges in Vaud, Zurich, and Basle, and no others in Switzerland proper. In that year Lausanne and Zurich agreed to divide the country between them accordingly as the cantons spoke German or French. The French Scots Directory at Lausanne, and the German Scots Directory at Zurich, under their respective Grand Masters to be subordinate to Lavater as Sub-Prior. These two Directories attended the Convent de Gaules at Lyons in 1778, where the S.O. system was modified. Both were then raised to the rank of Sub-Priories, and Helvetia to that of a Priory of the Vth. Province, with Lavater as Grand Prior.

VAUD.—In 1782, on account of some students' follies, Berne renewed its decrees, and the Lodges closed. As, however, fourteen Lodges in Piedmont and Savoy were dependent on Lausanne, three directors were appointed to control external affairs. Gradually the state authorities relaxed their severity, and the Lodges resumed work; new ones even were constituted in 1786. In 1787 the number of Vaud Lodges was stated at twenty-four. 1788 witnessed two fresh Lodges, 1789 an alliance with England. Then came the French troubles, and in 1792-93 the Directors resigned their functions, and all the Lodges closed.

ZURICH.—The Lodges closed in 1786, and the Scots Directory in 1792.

BASLE.—A congress of the Vth. Province Burgundy was held here in 1779, but the Lodges were closed by superior authority in 1785.

NEUFCHATEL.—The G.L. of the Three Globes (Berlin) warranted the "Three Flaming Stars" here on June 6, 1743; the Lodge is known to have existed in 1750, and must have died out soon afterwards. Another Lodge was warranted by the G.L. of France at Locle—May 22,

1770—of which nothing more is known.[1] Also, in 1791—December 27—the "Three Globes" constituted the "Frederick William of Good Harmony" at Neufchatel.

This brings us to the close of the first period of Swiss Freemasonry. In Switzerland the Craft was extinct, in Geneva languishing, and in Neufchatel scarcely founded. The second period will carry us to 1814-16.

GENEVA.—In 1795—June 21—the G.O. reopened under G.M. Louis Rivale, and for the next few years both the French and the native Grand Orients were fully employed in constituting and resuscitating Lodges. In 1798 Geneva was annexed to France, and the Paris G.O. began to obtain the upper hand. English Freemasonry also lost ground, and the French Rites were substituted. In 1801 the G.O. of France revised its statutes, and the G.O. of Geneva lost its independence, being made a Prov. G.L. under Paris. In this capacity it ruled twelve Lodges in 1802, at which time there also existed a Geneva Lodge under the Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° at Paris. In 1809 the Prov. G.L. was dissolved in conformity with the centralising policy of the G.O., and the Geneva Lodges came under the immediate rule of Paris.

NEUFCHATEL was annexed to France in 1806, and the Lodge there reconstituted by the Grand Orient of France.

VAUD.—Several Lodges reopened in 1795, but no Grand Lodge; and in 1798 the Grand Orient at Paris commenced to constitute Lodges. In 1803 Napoleon reconstructed the Swiss Confederation, and absolved Vaud from its subjection to Berne, creating it an independent Canton. For the next few years French influence and French ritual were uppermost. In 1810 Maurice Glaire, a former minister of King Stanislaus of Poland, revived the Scots Directory in Lausanne, called seven Lodges together—October 15, 1810—and erected a National Grand Orient of French Helvetia, with Bergier as *ad interim* G.M. The Scots Directory was superior to this G.O. in matters of Ritual and Dogma only. Existing Lodges might use their own ritual, new ones were to accept Glaire's own version of the rectified system of the Strict Observance. Having thus made several innovations it ceased to be a part of the Vth. Province, and formed a system of its own known as the Helvetic Rite. In 1811—March 1—these statutes were approved, and Glaire—then 67 years old—elected G.M.; in 1813 he was reappointed for life. The G.O. prospered fairly well, but after the battle of Leipsic and the entry of the allies into Switzerland, Glaire closed the Lodges *pro tem.*

BASLE.—In 1807 a Lodge under the G.O. of France was opened here. In 1809 Burkhard reintroduced the former rectified Strict Observance, won over the Lodge, re-erected the Priory, and applied to Cambacères, at that time head of all the various rites in France, for a patent. Having given the assurance that the former Grand Prior, Lavater, had resigned, he was appointed to the office, and the Archives, closed in 1793, were transferred from Zurich to Basle. We have thus once more a Scots Templar Directory of the Vth. Province at Basle, but this time for all Switzerland—that at Lausanne having struck out a path of its own.

SOLEURE.—In 1809 this Canton was first opened to the Craft by the constitution of a Lodge under the Grand Orient of France.

ZURICH.—In 1810—March 4—a former Strict Observance Lodge was reopened by the Directory at Basle.

[1] It was revived later on, and will be mentioned again.

AARGAU.—In this newly emancipated Canton the first signs of improvement may be seen. Heldmann,[1] Zschokke,[2] and others opened a Lodge in 1810 at Aarau. They were obliged to apply to Basle for a constitution, as they did not wish to become subservient to a foreign jurisdiction, but they firmly rejected, from the outset, high degrees, Templarism, and Unknown Superiors, together with other innovations of a like character, and worked in the three degrees only according to Schroeder's Ritual.

BERNE.—In 1802—September 14—the Lodge Hope was warranted by the Grand Orient of France, and in 1804 a Rose Croix Chapter was added, of which Tavel was the Master. From its earliest days this Lodge was devoted to the task of forming one sole Masonic authority for Switzerland which should be independent, the Scots Directories being of course only partly so, as they were subordinated to the Prov. G.M. of the Vth. Province, *i.e.*, Cambacères. It even received encouragement from the G.O. of France to assume itself this *rôle*, but refused the offer from a fear lest its intentions might be misconstrued as a usurpation. This Lodge has ever since been one of the first in the Confederation, and in 1813 had the honour of initiating Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, subsequently the first King of the Belgians.

From 1795 to 1813 we thus see Switzerland divided between the G.O. of France and the Scots Directories of the Vth. Province. The German Cantons possessed only a few Lodges, which were more numerous in the French provinces and at Geneva. There was much confusion, the most hopeful signs being the existence of the two new Lodges in Aarau and Berne.

With Napoleon's fall and the Congress of Vienna the Confederation was remodelled. Vaud and Aargau were confirmed as independent Cantons, and Neufchatel and Geneva were added in the same capacity. This was not accomplished without much internal friction, and during the troubled years, 1813-16, Masonry may be looked upon as once more dormant in Switzerland.

With the resumption of Masonic activity in 1816 we may cease to consider the subject under the heading of the different Cantons, but confine our attention to the fortunes of the various systems, that is, the Grand Orients of France, and of the Helvetic Rite in Lausanne, the Directory of the Rectified Strict Observance, and the Lodge of Hope at Berne.

THE GRAND ORIENT OF FRANCE may be soon dismissed. It gradually lost its Lodges throughout the country, chiefly through its own unworthiness. Those that still remained true to it were practically left to their own devices; of the others, some joined the Directory and others the G.O. of Lausanne. Many died out altogether.

THE DIRECTORY OF THE RECTIFIED RITE (S.O.).—This fell into a state of decay, and in 1817 the G.M., Burkhard, dying, was replaced by Kaspar Ott of Zurich. As a consequence the archives and Directory were transferred from Basle to Zurich. The system was strengthened by the adhesion of some Geneva Lodges in 1816, and by two new Lodges in St Gall and Chur (Brisons), thus opening up two fresh Cantons to the Craft. In 1820 G.M. Ott died at a time when Freemasonry was undergoing a series of virulent attacks, and it was thought advisable not to attract attention by a new election. A namesake, though not a relative, of the last G.M., one Hans Caspar Ott, was therefore entrusted with the direction of affairs. In 1821 a

[1] *Cf.* Chapter III., *passim.* [2] To whose work I am indebted for much information. *Cf. post*, p. 297, note.

new Lodge at Winterthur, in the Canton of Zurich, was warranted, and in 1823 the Lodges in Locle and Neufchatel, under the G.O. of France, joined the Rectified Rite. This made nine Lodges of this system, which had now reached its culminating point, but still persisted in its refusal to aid in forming a National Grand Lodge otherwise than by absorbing all others within itself. It was, however, virtually the National G. Lodge for the German Cantons, but unfortunately its conduct of affairs did not equal its strength in Lodges.

GRAND ORIENT OF THE HELVETIC RITE.—This body reopened on March 9, 1816, with nine Lodges. G.M. Glaire resigned on account of old age (died March 26, 1820), and was replaced by Verdeil. The system was strengthened by some Geneva Lodges and a few new ones, and in 1820 Bergier d'Illens succeeded Verdeil as G.M. Various proposals from Berne to join the "Hope" Lodge, in forming a National Grand Lodge, had been refused by the Committee of Grand Officers; but the idea was taking root gradually among the rank and file of the private Lodges.

BERNE.—In 1817 the Hope, finding itself severed from its mother, the Grand Orient of France, made proposals to Ott, the G.M. of the Directory, but without results. In search of a new parent, and having fully made up its mind to dispense in future with all high degrees, it applied in 1818 to the Grand Lodge of England for a constitution. The Duke of Sussex not only granted this request, but raised the Lodge (No. 706) to the position of a Provincial Grand Lodge, under Tavel, G.M. This unlooked-for favour was hardly welcome, as it scarcely allowed the Lodge to take up its former independent position in proposing a National Grand Lodge. However, the Lodge accepted the patent, based its constitutions on the work of Dr Anderson (1723), and, unable to obtain a written ritual from London, adopted that of Schroeder. The Provincial Grand Lodge was inaugurated June 24, 1819, and all the nineteen Lodges of Switzerland, without regard to divergence of ritual and procedure, were invited to attend. In 1821 it constituted its first daughter in Neufchatel, and asked the Lausanne Grand Orient to unite with it in forming a National Grand Lodge—but the time for this had not yet arrived.

LAUSANNE.—Events within this Grand body brought about the desired result. The brothers Bedarride arrived in Switzerland to establish their Rite of Misraim. After much ill success they formed two Lodges at Lausanne, and won over the G.M. Bergier to their cause. It was arranged that the Lodges should submit to the Grand Lodge so far as concerned the first three degrees, but the high degrees were to be wrought under Bedarride. Bergier attempted to carry out this project at a Grand Lodge held in 1821, but was opposed by the majority at the meeting and by his Deputy, Mieville. He finally resigned and left the Lodge. Mieville's party then agreed to effect a fusion with the English Provincial Grand Lodge at Berne. On October 23, 1821, the Sublime Chapter met under Bergier and dissolved the Grand Lodge, which held from them, resolving to resume sole control of affairs. The Chapter, however, did not follow up this step, and became practically dormant. The members of the defunct Grand Orient entrusted their power of attorney to the former College of Grand Officers. The Provincial Grand Lodge of Berne addressed a circular to each of the private Lodges, and not, as formerly, to the Grand Lodge. The Committee of Grand Officers replied on behalf of the Lodges to these overtures, and a meeting was held at Berne—April 29, 1822—between the deputies of the two Berne and of five Vaud Lodges. It was decided to form a Grand Lodge on the English system; to *recognise* three degrees only, but

to *tolerate* any others as a refuge for the play of fancy; to allow the constituent Lodges to preserve their own rituals, but to require new Lodges to use the Schroeder version. The Lausanne Grand Lodge dissolved, May 18, 1822, and exactly a week later the English Provincial Grand Lodge followed suit. A National Grand Lodge of Switzerland was then constituted by the Masters and Wardens of the seven Lodges. The Hope Lodge resumed its place as a private Lodge under this Grand Lodge; and an eighth Lodge at Geneva immediately proffered its allegiance. The Grand Lodge was inaugurated June 24, when Tavel was elected G.M., and two more Geneva Lodges joined. The Grand Lodge entered upon a prosperous career, receiving adhesions from all parts, and in the course of a few years its daughter Lodges had ceased to work any high degrees, and had all adopted the Schroeder Ritual.

RECTIFIED RITE.—Left face to face with a single rival, this body bethought itself to put its house in order. The first step was to fill the vacant Grand Mastership, and Sarasin, of Basle, was elected to that office. All the Lodges of the system were invited to his installation (1823)—nine in all; and various attempts were made to bring the system and rite more into harmony with the spirit of the times. But the close of this, the third period of Swiss Masonry, presents to us two Grand Bodies, one—on the wane—the antiquated Templar system, and the other—older still—an offshoot of the pure English Craft, lusty as a young giant, prepared to run his race—and confident of victory.

The fourth period therefore opens with the National Grand Lodge of Berne and the Grand Directory of the Rectified Rite at Basle only in the field; for the Helvetic Rite, which still pretended to exist, for very many years resembled a general without an army, or a head without a body.

In 1828 the Rectified Grand Lodge was so dull and lifeless that Sarasin resigned, and it was not until 1829 that Von Escher, of Zurich, was elected in his stead. The Lodges themselves were induced to take part in festivals and meetings of the National Grand Lodge, and individually were not averse to a fusion, though unprepared to take active steps from an honourable feeling of loyalty towards their Grand Officers. Only one Lodge, that at Locle, deserted to the National Grand Lodge.

In 1830—June 19—Tavel, G.M. of the National Grand Lodge, died. The new election was delayed in order to make a further attempt at a fusion. The Lodge of Hope once more took the matter in hand. But the July revolution in Paris had raised an echo in the Cantons where the still somewhat patrician style of government was in course of being overthrown. Under these circumstances the Grand Directory—Rectified Rite—thought the moment not a propitious one for attracting public attention to the Fraternity, but admitted its inability to cope with the spirit of the times, and declared it would not attempt to prevent its daughters seceding, nor feel hurt at their desertion. As already related, a sentimental feeling prevented this, and as the effort was evidently not destined to succeed, the National Grand Lodge contented itself with quietly making friends in all directions. Shortly afterwards the Duke Charles of Hesse Cassel, G.M. of the Rectified system, died; the Provinces of the Order had all ceased to exist except Burgundy, represented by the Directory in Switzerland, and half a Lodge in Besançon, which professed to be the Provincial Chapter, and thus in 1844 it became possible, with the tacit consent of the almost defunct Directory, to appoint a commission to draw up the constitutions of the proposed Sole Grand Lodge. This constitution was finally approved at Zurich, July 22, 1844, by 14 Lodges present on the occasion. The following day

Hottinger was elected Grand Master, the *two* Grand Lodges previously existing made over to him all their rights and duties and dissolved, new Grand Officers were appointed, and—July 24, 1844—the Grand Lodge "Alpina," of Switzerland, met for the first time. Only six Lodges refused to join; one of these was dormant, the others were in Geneva; one persisted in retaining the Rectified system, and hung on to the shadow of a Chapter at Besançon; three still owned the sway of the Grand Orient of France, and one that of the Supreme Council 33° of the same country. So that the close of the fourth period leaves us with practically a united Craft in Switzerland under the Grand Lodge Alpina. There is no necessity to describe its constitutions at length; they were almost identical with those of England both in spirit and machinery.

The fifth period extends to the present time. The constitution had enacted six years as the term of office for the G.M. Hottinger therefore retired in 1850, and was succeeded by Jung. The last Provincial Grand Chapter of the Rectified Rite at Besançon having died out in 1845, the only remaining Lodge of this system (Geneva) joined the Grand Lodge Alpina in 1851; and the same course was pursued by the Geneva Lodge working under the A. and A.S.R. 33° at Paris. Two of the three Geneva Lodges under the G.O. of France also affiliated in course of time, thus leaving only one foreign Lodge in the Confederation.

But the extinct or rather dormant Supreme Chapter of the old Helvetic Rite at Lausanne made periodical efforts to recover control of the Lodges, though it only so far succeeded as to graft Rose Croix Chapters on some few French Lodges, and to sow dissension in the French Cantons. On the other hand, some old high degree Masons of the Rectified Rite followed a similar plan in the German Cantons, and these knightly degrees were worked until 1862, and possibly later. The system is, I believe, now quite extinct. But into the history of these and other "Masonic Aberrations" space forbids me to enter any further than is absolutely necessary to a due comprehension of the annals of the Craft.

The National Grand Lodge continued to prosper, resuscitating old Lodges and warranting new. The Annual Festival is movable, being held at various towns. At the Grand Lodge of 1853, 18 Lodges were represented; in 1856, 19 and 4 not. The periodical election of G.M. brought Maistre to the head of the Fraternity. In 1862 he was succeeded as G.M. by Dr Gelpke, the number of Lodges having increased to 25, with 1730 members. In 1866 the Lodges were 28. In 1868 Ruegg was elected G.M.

In 1869 the long extinct or dormant Helvetic Directory at Lausanne transformed itself into a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° for Switzerland, and began to pose as a Grand Lodge. The consequence was, that at the Grand Lodge in 1871 its members were excluded. Ruegg resigned, and was followed as G.M. by Humbert. The periodical election in 1874 placed Tscharner at the head of the Craft, who was in turn succeeded by John Cuinoud.

The exclusion of the A. and A.S.R. Masons produced great irritation, and the Supreme Council revenged itself by warranting Craft Lodges to the number of six. After many years of strife an arrangement was come to in 1876, whereby the excluded brethren were reinstated, and the Supreme Council undertook to leave the Lodges alone, confining its attention to the additional degrees. Its fate therefore interests us no more, but it still exists on friendly terms with the Grand Lodge. Five of its six Lodges joined the "Alpina," and the sixth amalgamated with a neighbouring Lodge.

The following table may serve to present the chief of the above facts in a concise form:

GENEVA.	VAUD.	GERMAN CANTONS.
1737. **Eng. Prov. Grand Lodge.** (Date of decay unknown.)	1739. **National Grand Directory** for French Helvetia. (Closed by civil authorities, 1745.)	1771. **Lodge of Discretion** at Zurich.
1769. **Grand Lodge**—Independent. (Closed by state of Siege, 1782.)	1761. **Scots Directory,** Strict Observance, Vth. Province, Burgundy. (Closed by authorities, 1773; reopened, 1776.)	1772. Embraced Strict Observance system, and became Vth. Province.
1786. **Grand Orient.** (A revival of the Grand Lodge.)	1778. Adopted Rectified Rite.	1778. Adopted Rectified Rite, and became Scots Directory.

1792-1793. All Freemasonry ceased during the Reign of Terror.

1795. **Grand Orient.** (Revived.)	1809. **Scots Directory.** (Revived.)	1809. **Scots Directory of Vth. Province.** (Transferred from Zurich to Basle.)
1801. Transformed to Prov. Grand Lodge of Geneva (under Grand Orient of France; abolished by G. Orient in 1809).	1810. Transformed to **Nat. Grand Orient of French Helvetia** (Glaire's Helvetic Rite).	

1813-1816. All Freemasonry ceased during political reconstitution.

BERNE.		
1818. **English Prov. Grand Lodge.**	1816. **Grand Orient of Helvetic Rite.** (Revived.)	1816. **Scots Directory.** (Revived at Zurich.)
		1823. Transferred to Basle.

1822. **National Grand Lodge of Switzerland** at Berne.

Sup. Council for Switzerland of Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°, at Lausanne.

1844. **National Grand Lodge "Alpina."**

1876.
"Alpina," Sole Grand Lodge for the Craft.

The latest statistics before me refer to May 1885. The number of Lodges was 34, with 2451 members, an average of 72 per Lodge. Of these 11 are in Vaud, 6 in Geneva (all in the city itself), 4 in Neufchatel, 4 in Berne, 2 in Zurich, and 1 each in Freiburg, Basle, Schaffhausen, St Gall, Grisons, Aargau, and Ticino. 10 of the Cantons possess no Lodge; 7 of these are strictly Roman Catholic; the other 3, although Protestant—Glarus, Appenzell, and Thurgau—contain no town large enough to support a Lodge. As regards dialect, the result is curious. Only one-fifth of the Confederation speak the French tongue, yet here we find 22 Lodges; whereas the German four-fifths only contain 11. In Ticino the language is Italian. The present G.M. is E. C. Jung of Winterthur (Zurich). In Geneva there is still one Lodge under the Grand Orient of France—a "Memphis" Lodge, under the A. and P. Rite, England (*ante*, p. 135), established there in 1856, joined the National G.L. "Alpina" in 1865.[1]

[1] Authorities consulted:—Fr. Heldmann, Die 3 ältesten Geschichtliche Denkmäle, etc., Aarau, 1819, pp. 520-540—Asträa, 1849, Sondershausen (a magazine). Article by Th. Zschokke, "Umrisse der Gesch. der Freim. in der Schweiz," pp. 226-240; J. G. Findel, Gesch. der Freim., fourth edit., pp. 623-640; Allgemeines Handbuch der Freim., 1863-79, *s.v.* Schweiz, Genf., etc. (by far the fullest article known to me—117 columns of data, very little of which is devoted to description); Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, p. 748 (a mere sketch). Notices of the chief events may also be found in Thory, Acta Latomorum, and Em. Rebold, Histoire Générale de la Franc-Maçonnerie, Paris, 1851, but in both cases a want of accuracy makes itself felt. Heldmann and Zschokke mentioned above in this note were the founders of the Lodge in Aarau, which was the first in Switzerland to return to the practice of pure English Freemasonry.

ITALY.

Until 1859-60 Italy was merely a geographical expression, so that to obtain any amount of clearness in a description of the Craft in that district, it becomes essential, as in the case of Switzerland, to treat the various states separately.

THE TWO SICILIES (Naples and Sicily) 1717-1860.—In 1717 the kingdom was a portion of the Austrian Empire; in 1733 it was ceded to Spain; in 1759 under Ferdinand IV. it passed as an independent kingdom to the younger branch of the Royal House of Spain; in 1805 Naples—but not Sicily—was annexed to France; in 1806 Joseph Buonaparte was made King of Naples, and was followed in 1808 by Joachim Murat; in 1815 the two Sicilies were reunited under Ferdinand; and in 1860 Garibaldi incorporated them with the recently formed kingdom of Italy.

It would appear that about 1750 a Greek established a Lodge in Naples, and that on July 10, 1751, Charles III., influenced by the Bull of Benedict IV., prohibited Freemasonry throughout his dominions, but so soon changed his views, that in the following year he entrusted his son's education to a Mason and priest, whom he also appointed his own confessor. In 1754 we hear of another Lodge working under the Mother-Lodge at Marseilles, which in 1760 placed itself under the Grand Lodge of Holland, and in 1762 transferred its allegiance to England. Our Lodge Lists show no evidence of this transaction, but perhaps the appointment of Don Nicholas Manuzzi by Lord Blaney (1764-67), as Prov. G.M. for Italy,[1] may tend to support the assertion.

In 1764—February 27—a National Grand Lodge was erected, with four daughters in Naples itself, and an equal number distributed throughout the other cities of the kingdom. Besides these there existed in Naples in 1775, according to a report signed by the Grand Master of the Lodge, Prince Di Caramanica, a Lodge working under the Grand Orient of France, and two under the G.L. of England, pronounced clandestine by the National G.L. The latter are evidently those which appear in the Engraved List for 1769 as No. 433, "in his Sicilian Majesty's regiment of Foot," and No. 444,[2] "Well Chosen Lodge." Prince Caramanica's leaning to the Strict Observance, and the isolated position of the two English Lodges, probably led to the appointment by Lord Beaufort, G.M., in 1770, of a Prov. G.M. for Naples and Sicily.[3] The Craft at this period made great progress in the two Sicilies.

Meanwhile, in 1767, Ferdinand IV. assumed the government at the close of his minority, and his minister, Tanucci—an unscrupulous and inveterate enemy of the Craft—at last induced him—September 12, 1775—to suppress Freemasonry. The Lodges closed, but Tanucci, by means of *agents provocateurs*, induced some Masons to meet, who were duly arrested. Again, on the day of St Januarius, 1776, the saint's blood refused to liquify in the customary manner, which the agents of Tanucci attributed to the machinations of the Masons, and a regular persecution ensued. But Ferdinand's wife, Queen Caroline—daughter of the Emperor Francis of Lorraine—"loved Masons well." Owing to her advocacy the edict was revoked and Tanucci dismissed. In June 1776 Diego Naselli was elected G.M.

[1] Constitutions, 1767, p. 365 *et seq.*

[2] The warrant of this Lodge—granted to Prince Caramanica and others at Naples—is dated April 26, 1769.

[3] "The most noble Caesar Pignatelli, Duke di la Rocca, [appointed Prov. G.M.] for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily" (G.L. Minutes, April 25, 1770).

in succession to Caramanica, four new Lodges were warranted, and the two English Lodges affiliated with the National G.L.

In 1777 Weiler came to Naples. This emissary of the Strict Observance had succeeded in erecting Italy into the VIIIth. Province, with a Provincial Grand Chapter at Turin, and as the National G.L. of Sicily had from its earliest days been on cordial terms with the German Lodges of Prince Ferdinand, he experienced no difficulty in converting it into a Chapter and Sub-Priory of the S.O., with Naselli as Sub-Prior. That this perversion displeased some of the Fraternity, and caused them to apply to England for relief, cannot be positively affirmed; but it is at least certain that the following Lodges were constituted almost immediately afterwards under English Charters[1]—No. 510 at Messina (May 12, 1778), No. 525 at Naples (March 6, 1780), No. 440 at Naples (1781).[2]

In 1781 Ferdinand IV. once more placed the Craft under an interdict; in 1783 he cancelled all former inhibitions, but subjected the meetings to strict judicial control.[3] Their independence and privacy being thus endangered the Lodges gradually dwindled and died out, and Masonry ceased to exist in the two kingdoms.

In 1804 the French entered Naples, and the Royal Family took refuge in Sicily under the protection of Nelson and the Fleet. I can discover no trace of the Craft in the island during this period; but in Naples a Grand Orient was established in 1804 by the French army of Italy, with General Lechi as G.M.,[4] which in 1805 amalgamated with the G.O. of Italy at Milan.[5]

In 1809—June 11—Murat being King of Naples, a Supreme Council 33° was established in that city, and on June 24 of the same year a Grand Orient,[6] of which Murat allowed himself to be proclaimed G.M. In October 1812 he was appointed Sovereign Grand Commander of the 33°. But on the fall of Napoleon in 1815 Murat was driven out, and a law of 1816—August 8—prohibited Freemasonry under pain of the galleys. Nevertheless it dragged on a fitful existence, and the G.O. of France, in its list for 1820, still makes mention of three Lodges and one Chapter at Messina. This was followed by a new decree in 1821, upon which the Grand Orient for the two Sicilies declared itself dissolved. In the revolutionary year 1848 a Lodge existed—but for a few months only—in Palermo. This was the last effort of the Craft in the *kingdom* of the two Sicilies.

STATES OF THE CHURCH.—Freemasonry was early introduced into Rome. On August 16, 1735, a Lodge was opened there under J. Colton. It worked in English, but under the Earl of Wintoun in 1737, the Inquisition seized its serving brothers, and on August 20, it closed.[7] The Bull of Clement XII. was published in 1738, and confirmed—January 14, 1739—by a further edict forbidding Freemasonry throughout the Papal States under pain of death and confiscation of worldly goods. The burning by the public executioner in the same year—February 25—of the "*Relation Apologétique*," wrongly attributed to Ramsay, has already been mentioned.[8] Nevertheless there is evidence to show that the foreign Masons then residing at Rome continued to meet from time to time. In 1742 they even issued a medal in honour of Martin Folkes, D.G.M. of England, 1724-25.[9] A Lodge was again established at Rome in

[1] The name of the Duke de Sandemetrio Pignatelli appears as Prov. G.M. for Naples and Sicily in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1779, and only disappears in the edition for 1833!

[2] Engraved Lists; and Four Old Lodges, pp. 67-72. [3] Acta Latomorum, pp. 150, 158.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 223. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 229. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 243

[7] Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1842, p. 393 *et seq.* [8] *Ante*, p. 90. [9] Merzdorf, Denkmünze, p 118, No. 8.

1787, but was surprised by the Inquisition, December 27, 1789; the brethren escaped, though the property and archives were seized. On the same day the Inquisition captured the charlatan Cagliostro, whose evil repute had acted most prejudicially upon Freemasonry. The Lodges in Lombardy issued a manifesto—which was brought up by the college[1] of Cardinals—disclaiming all connection with him, and defending the Craft from papal aspersions.

In 1809 the Papal States were incorporated with France, and Rome was declared the second capital of the empire. Under French rule several Lodges were established, but on the return of Pope Pius VII. in 1814 the Craft was once more effectually suppressed.[2] It was not until 1861 that a new Lodge opened, in which year one was formed under the Grand Orient of Turin. We may now leave these states until 1870, when the Franco-Prussian war permitted Victor Emmanuel to unite the ancient capital to his kingdom of Italy.

TUSCANY—FLORENCE.—On the extinction of the Medici family in 1737, Francis of Lorraine[3] received this Grand Duchy in exchange for Lorraine, which had been conquered by Louis XIV. of France and presented to his father-in-law, Stanislaus, ex-King of Poland. When Francis was elected German Emperor in 1745, the Duchy was vested in the junior branch of the Austrian family, but in 1790 reverted to the imperial crown under Leopold when his elder brother Joseph II. died childless. As Francis of Lorraine was Grand Duke from 1737 to 1765, it is somewhat surprising the Craft should have prospered so little in Tuscany during that period; for the only Lodge of which we hear, *supposed* to have been founded in 1733 by Lord Sackville, and closed under the persecutions of the Inquisition in 1739, probably never existed at all. Its existence has only been inferred on the authority of a medal by Natter dated 1733, which medal is almost certainly a fraud perpetrated at a much later date in the interests of the Strict Observance.[4] From this supposititious Lodge, however, both the Swedish system and the Strict Observance have professed to receive that light denied to England in 1717; but whether this legendary transmission inspired the medal, or whether the medal gave rise to the legend, I am unable to say, nor would it profit us much to inquire. Beyond this apocryphal Lodge we have only general accounts of Freemasonry in Tuscany[5] until June 24, 1763, when a Lodge—No. 117—was established at Leghorn[6] by the Schismatic G.L. of England (*Ancients*). This was followed by a second—No. 138—in 1765 (under the same sanction), also at Leghorn, where, in 1771, two further Lodges—of "Perfect Union," No. 410; and of "Sincere Brotherly Love," No. 412—were constituted by the older (or legitimate) Grand Lodge of England.

Troops were quartered in the Duchy by the French in 1796-97, and we again hear of

[1] Acta Latomorum, pp. 183-187. [2] Chap. XX., pp. 477, 478. [3] *Ante*, p. 286.

[4] See an interesting discussion extending from January to November 1883, in the "London Freemason," between disputants who wrote under the signatures of G.B.A. and Dryasdust.

[5] *E.g.*, *St James Evening Post*, letter from Florence dated May 24, 1738.—"The Freemasons' Lodges which had been interdicted here during the life of the great Duke are now held again with all the liberty and freedom imaginable, and without any dread of the Inquisition, which has no right to attack a society of which the new sovereign [Francis of Lorraine] is a member. The Freemasons of Leghorn have also reopened their Lodges" (Mas. Mag., vol. iv., July 1876, p. 421).

[6] Under the beneficent sway of the Medici, religious toleration was established at Leghorn, and merchants of all nations flocked there. We learn from Boswell that there was a British factory in that city, to which the Rev. Mr Burnaby was chaplain, in 1765 (Account of Corsica, 1768, preface, p. xiv.).

Lodges at Leghorn, which, however, were closed by the Grand Duke in 1800. But he was himself driven out by the French, and his Duchy transformed into an Etruscan Republic, then into a kingdom of Tuscany, and finally annexed to France, with Napoleon's sister, the Duchess of Lucca, as Grand Duchess. Consequently, from 1807 to 1809, we find Lodges erected both at Florence and Leghorn, hailing either from the Grand Orients of France or of Italy [at Milan].[1] But with the return of the (Austrian) Grand Duke Ferdinand in 1814 all Masonry once more died out, and was not revived until, in 1859, Tuscany became a part of the kingdom of Italy.

GENOA.—The old British and Ligurian Lodge, No. 444, was warranted here by the Grand Lodge of England in 1782. As Thory relates[2] that several Masons were imprisoned here in consequence of the Senate's edict of March 26, 1803, it is possible that this Lodge was then still in existence. This was under Napoleon's Ligurian Republic, finally established in 1802 after the Austrians had held the town for two years. In 1805 the State was annexed to France, and two Lodges were established under the Grand Orient of France, 1805-1807; a third but earlier one is also mentioned. In 1814 Genoa was handed over to Sardinia, and Freemasonry there ceased to exist.

LOMBARDY, MILAN.—We have already seen that in 1784, when the National Grand Lodge of Austria was formed, a Provincial Grand Lodge existed in this province of the Austrian dominions, with two daughters, at Cremona and Milan respectively.[3] It is not clear whether these Lodges expired before 1794 of their own want of vitality, or whether they survived long enough to be closed by the imperial edict of 1795. In 1797 this province formed part of Napoleon's Cisalpine Republic, to which I shall again allude.

VENETIA.—The Grand Lodge of England granted warrants on November 27, 1772, to the Union Lodge, No. 438, at Venice; and on the 28th to a Lodge, No. 439, at Verona. Nothing further is known of their history, but they are supposed to have continued in existence till 1785. In Padua, in 1781, there existed a Prefectory and Chapter of the Strict Observance under the Grand Priory of the VIIIth. Province, in Turin, which, after 1782, was changed to the IVth.; and this Chapter presided over a S.O. Lodge in Vicenza, of which there were notices in 1784-85. All these Lodges and any others which may have existed were suppressed by a decree of the Venetian Senate in May 1785.

By the peace of Campo-Formio in 1797, Venetia was divided, part going to Austria—where Freemasonry was already under a ban—and part to the Cisalpine Republic.

CISALPINE REPUBLIC.—This, formed in 1797 of Milan, Modena, Mantua, Bologna, Ferrara, Romagno, part of Venetia, etc., was called, in 1801, the Italian Republic, with Napoleon as President, and in 1805 became the kingdom of Italy, with Buonaparte as King, and Eugene Beauharnais as Viceroy.

On December 26, 1801, the French Grand Orient erected at Milan the first Lodge in this new State. In 1805—the A. and A.S.R. founded a Supreme Council 33° at Milan, which constituted a Grand Orient for the kingdom of Italy, with Beauharnais as G.M. The recently formed G.O. at Naples amalgamated with it,[4] and in 1808 it was recognised as an independent Grand Orient by the G.O. at Paris. Many Lodges were constituted in the kingdom, two at Milan itself, 1807-10, but the whole system was suppressed, when in 1814 the kingdom was broken up, Parma and Modena becoming separate States, and the greater part of the remainder

[1] *See* below. [2] Acta Latomorum, p. 217. [3] *Ante*, p. 287 [4] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

falling to Austria, forming, with the previously acquired portion of Venetia, the Austrian Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Freemasonry therefore ceased to exist here until in 1860 Lombardy, and in 1866 Venetia, were incorporated with the present kingdom of Italy.

SARDINIA (PIEDMONT AND SAVOY).—The first notice of the Craft in this kingdom is the appointment by Lord Raymond, G.M., of the Marquis des Marches as Prov. G.M. for Savoy and Piedmont in 1739.[1] Beyond this bare record nothing is known.

The next notice is the existence in Piedmont (Turin), in 1774, of a Grand Lodge called "La Mystérieuse," working a rite of its own, consisting of the three degrees and of 4° Elect Grand Master, 5° Perfect Irish Master, 6° Grand Scot, 7° Knight of the East, 8° Holy Kadosch, and 9° Rose Croix. This was transformed by Weiler in 1775 into the Great Priory of Italy (VIIIth. Province) or Bailiwick of Lombardy at Turin, with Weiler himself as Grand Prior, and after him Count Bernez.[2] It had three subordinate Prefectories—at Naples, Turin, and Padua—and a score or more of Lodges. In the same year—March 25, 1775—an English Lodge, St Jean de Nouvelle Espérance, No. 479, was constituted at Turin, of whose subsequent history nothing appears to be known.

Savoy, in 1778, joined the Rectified Scots Rite of the Strict Observance, with a Directory —"La Sincérité"—of the IInd. Province (Auvergne), at Chambery. The Grand Orient of France had, however, also constituted Lodges there from 1770 onwards, of which one—"The Three Mortars"—claimed to be a Grand Orient of Sardinia—a claim rejected by the G.O. of France in 1790—and even warranted a Lodge as far off as Dresden. In 1782 also, as we have already seen, no less than 14 Lodges existed in Piedmont and Savoy dependent upon the Scots Directory for French Helvetia in Lausanne.[3]

In 1788 the King of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus III., ordered the Strict Observance Grand Priory in Turin to dissolve, and transfer its powers to the Scots Directory at Chambery, which thus became the recognised Grand Lodge of the kingdom.

But on January 11, 1790, this Grand Lodge was also dissolved by the King (though *Freemasonry* was not otherwise interfered with), and the Lodges transferred their allegiance—as the Craft itself was not placed under an interdict—to the Grand Orients of France and Geneva, or to the Directory at Lausanne.

In 1792 Savoy was ceded to France, and the Craft there revived under the G.O. of the latter country. Two years later—May 20, 1794—Victor Amadeus III. issued an edict totally suppressing Masonry throughout the remainder of his dominions. In 1798, however, his sovereignty was restricted to the Island of Sardinia. The French occupied Piedmont, lost it temporarily in 1799, converted it into a Republic in 1802, and annexed it to France a few months later. Under French rule a Lodge was warranted in Turin, and probably others under the Grand Orient of Italy at Milan,[4] but they were all short-lived, for in 1814 the King of Sardinia re-obtained possession of Piedmont (enlarged) and of Savoy, besides acquiring Genoa, and in 1814—May 20—renewed the edict of 1794 rigidly suppressing Freemasonry.

[1] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333.

[2] In the Engraved List for 1773, and subsequently in the "Freemasons' Calendar" until 1804, Count de Bernez appears as English Prov. G.M. for Piedmont in Italy. I am not aware whether he was the G.M. of the "Mystérieuse," but even if so, it would not be the sole example of an English Prov. G.M. presiding over assemblies where degrees were wrought other than those of the Craft.

[3] *Ante*, p. 291.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

This edict remained in force until shortly before the dawn of Italian freedom in 1859, so that from 1821 (see under The Two Sicilies, *ante*, p. 299) until 1856, not a Lodge existed in any part of what is now the kingdom of Italy.[1]

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.—In 1859, Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia acquired all northern Italy except Venetia, but lost Savoy, which was ceded to France; in 1860 Naples and Sicily were gained for him by Garibaldi; in 1866 he obtained Venetia by treaty, and in 1870 the city of Rome. The year 1859 forms therefore a perfectly fresh starting point for us, although the Grand Orient of France had warranted a Lodge at Genoa in 1856.

In 1859 several Masons constituted themselves into a Lodge at Turin working the so-called modern Italian rite of three degrees—in other words, pure English Masonry. Their example was soon followed by the erection of numerous other Lodges in Genoa, Milan, Pisa, Florence, Leghorn, Rome, and other places. These Lodges adopted measures to form a Grand Lodge, and by general correspondence agreed upon a provisional constitution, ritual, etc. The Chevalier Nigra, Ambassador at Paris, was elected G.M. provisionally. To this there was no opposition, but some few Lodges having given a *silent* vote, Nigra declined the nomination—November 22, 1861—in order to allow the proposed constituent assembly perfect liberty. This assembly met at Turin December 26, 1861, and sat daily until January 1, 1862. Twenty-two Lodges in all were represented. On January 1, 1862, the Grand Orient of Italy at Turin was proclaimed, with Nigra as G.M., and Garibaldi as Hon. Past G.M. The yearly assembly was declared movable from city to city. The Lodges not only restricted themselves to the three degrees, but agreed to refuse fellowship to those working any others. In most respects the organisation of the Grand Lodge followed the arrangements of the Grand Lodge of England. This was not accomplished without protest, which to understand, it will be necessary in some degree to retrace our steps.

In 1860 some Masons established a Supreme Council A. and A.S.R. 33° for Naples and Sicily, and professed to consider themselves a revival of the Supreme Council 33° established at Naples in 1809 and suppressed in 1821. Many Lodges sprang up and adhered to this organisation.

About the same time other Lodges in Sicily also working the A. and A.S.R. 33° met and established a Grand Orient of that Rite at Palermo, with Garibaldi as G.M.

Also at Turin there existed a Consistory of the 32°, likewise warranting Lodges, and assuming all the rights of a Supreme Council until the time arrived when they might be strong enough to form a Grand Orient of the Scots Rite in the capital of Italy—at that time Turin.

Further, about 1861, it would appear as if a similar Consistory existed at Leghorn for Tuscany.

The chief protests against the Grand Orient of Italy at Turin came from the Supreme Council at Naples. We thus see that not only was Italy divided in its views as to Masonic ceremonial, but also that the old territorial divisions showed a tendency to assert themselves

[1] Authorities consulted up to this point:—Engraved Lists; Freemasons' Calendars; Acta Latomorum; Astræa, 1849, p. 237 *et seq.*; Findel, Geschichte, etc., pp. 640-651; Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Mailand, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Venedig, Rom, Neapel, Turin, Piedmont, Livorno, Florenz, Sardinien, Savoyen, Italien, etc., etc.

in spite of Italian unity. The Grand Orient was not only opposed by these four Scots Councils, but unfortunately failed to secure any external support beyond that of Belgium and France, because it very openly interfered in the politics of the day, domestic and foreign. Under these circumstances Nigra resigned—March 1, 1863—and Cordova was elected by the small majority of 15 to 13 over Garibaldi. Matters, however, did not improve under the new G.M.; England especially withheld its recognition. The Grand Orient in 1862 unwisely adopted very strong measures with regard to a Turin Lodge addicted to the high degrees, and general discontent prevailed. Nevertheless in July 1863 the G.O. had no less than 68 Lodges on its roll, including daughters at Alexandria, Cairo, Constantinople, Lima, and elsewhere.

On August 1, 1863, at a general assembly held in Florence, the troubles reached a climax. The Grand Officers, with one exception, resigned; and an *interim* committee of five was appointed to draw up a new constitution. These were all Scots, *i.e.*, A. and A.S.R. Masons.

This committee having concluded its labours, called a meeting at Florence, May 21-24, 1864. "Latomia" of the same year states that only some thirty Lodges of the Italian (*i.e.*, English) rite and a few of the Scots were represented, whilst the "Handbuch" of 1867 speaks of seventy Lodges and five Grand Lodges being present. This shows the difficulty of advancing anything of a positive character respecting this troubled period of Italian Freemasonry. On May 22 a new Grand Orient of Italy, consisting of forty members, was proclaimed. The chief seat of this body was Turin, but sections were appointed for Florence, Naples, and Palermo. The Lodges were allowed to work in either rite; but it is evident that the A. and A.S.R. 33° had gained a victory. On the 23d Garibaldi was elected G.M., and Luca President of the Grand Council 33°. The Supreme Councils of Naples, Leghorn, and Turin appear to have concurred, for of these we hear nothing more; that of Palermo under Garibaldi stood out from the arrangement; Garibaldi himself speedily resigned; and on September 15, 1864, Luca was elected in his stead. But Garibaldi's S.C. had also to contend with a rival in Palermo itself, a so-called Central Supreme Council under Prince Sant' Elia. I must candidly confess that I have been unable to discover whether this was an offshoot from Garibaldi's Council, or whether it had spontaneously sprung up some few years previously. A further complication arose from the action of eleven Lodges working the Italian Rite of three degrees, who, dissatisfied with the May meeting at Florence and its results, met at Milan July 1-5, 1864, and erected a Grand Lodge, under the name of a Grand Council, to sit at Turin, with Franchi as President or Grand Master. In 1865 the Grand Orient of Italy (mixed rites) was transferred to the new capital, Florence, and the Grand Council (Craft only) from Turin to Milan. From 1864 to 1867 we have thus four Grand Bodies in Italy, whose strength in 1867 was about as follows:—

I. Grand Orient of Italy at Florence (Composite), about 150 Lodges; Luca, G.M.

II. Supreme Council at Palermo (A. and A.S.R.), about 39 Lodges; Garibaldi, G.M.

III. Grand Council at Milan (Craft), 7-8 Lodges; Franchi, G.M., who on July 15, 1867, was succeeded by Guastalla.

IV. Supreme Central Council at Palermo (A. and A.S.R.), number of Lodges unknown; Sant' Elia, G.M.

Garibaldi himself was the first to take steps to put an end to this disastrous conflict of

jurisdictions. He issued invitations to a congress of all Italian Lodges, which resulted in a meeting at Naples of deputies from his own Lodges and those under the Florence Grand Orient on June 21, 1867. Luca presided. The Supreme Council of Palermo became merged in the Grand Orient, the four sections of the G.O. at Florence, Turin, Naples, and Palermo were abolished, Cordova was elected G.M., Garibaldi Hon. G.M. for life, and Luca Hon. G.M. for a year. Cordova soon resigned on account of bad health, and was succeeded by Frapolli. Garibaldi's Supreme Council did not approve of the fusion, but elected Campanella as Grand Master, and essayed to maintain its position. It became even more careless than before in its choice of candidates, and warranted sixteen Lodges (one at Smyrna) in 1868. But this was an expiring effort. Its Lodges died out or joined the Grand Orient, and towards the end of the year the Supreme Council was practically extinct.

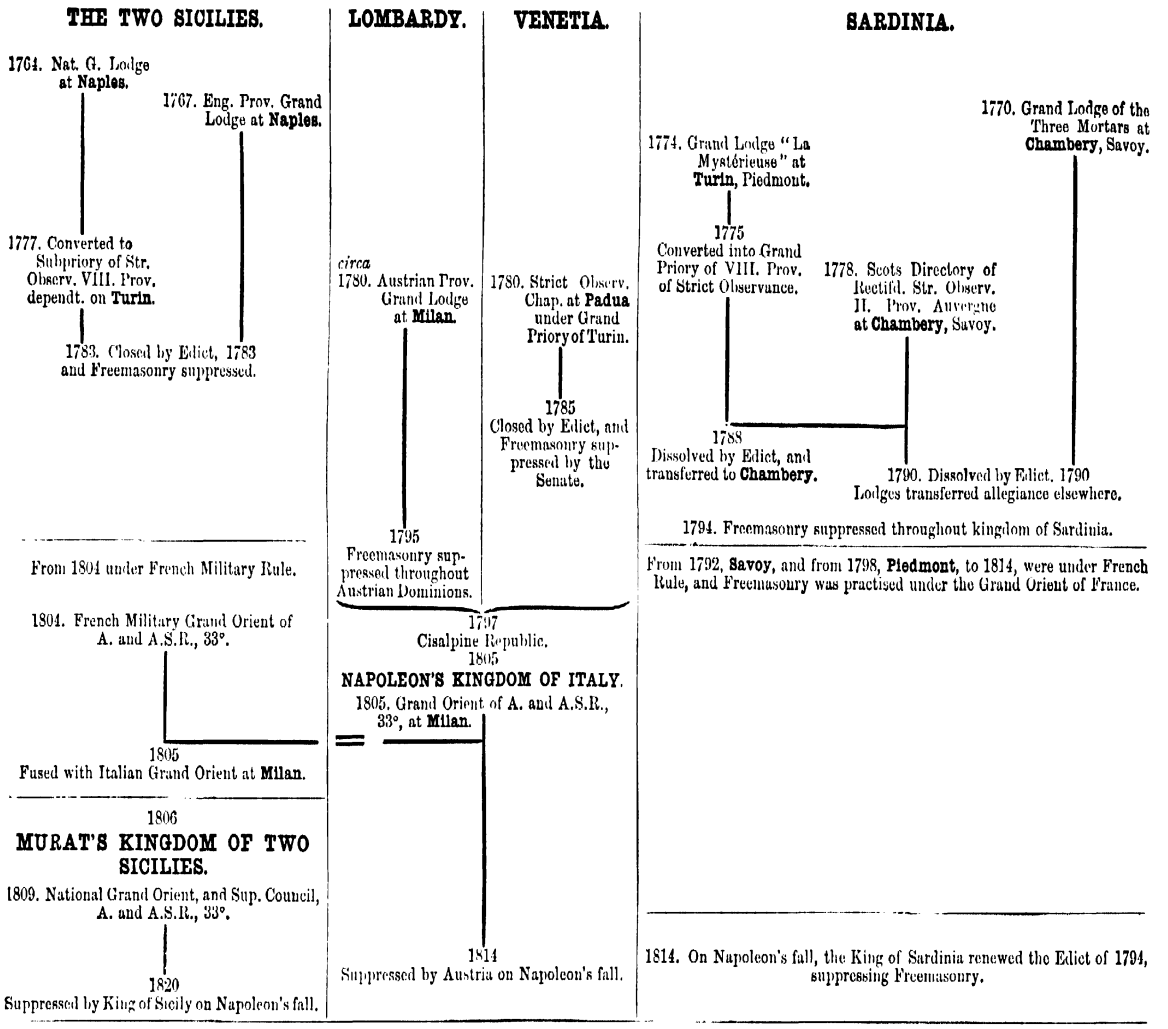
At this time the Grand Lodge at Milan, finding itself unable to make any progress, so far modified its views as to acknowledge that Lodges under the Scots Rite might be legitimate, and thus a fusion was easily arranged on March 4, 1868, at Milan, between the Grand Orient of Italy at Florence and the Grand (Craft) Lodge at Milan. The amalgamation was affected April 1. This left only the Grand Orient of Italy—the title adopted by the parties to the fusion last referred to—and the Central Supreme Council of Palermo, in the field. In the next year or two Grand Master Frapolli succeeded in great measure in banishing religion and politics from Lodge discussions, and at the annual meeting in Florence in 1869 no less than 150 Lodges were represented. But as a general rule there is little stability amongst Italian Lodges, they spring up in a night and die at noontide. In June 1870 Frapolli retired and Mazzoni was elected, and towards the end of the year the Grand Orient was transferred to the newly acquired capital, Rome.

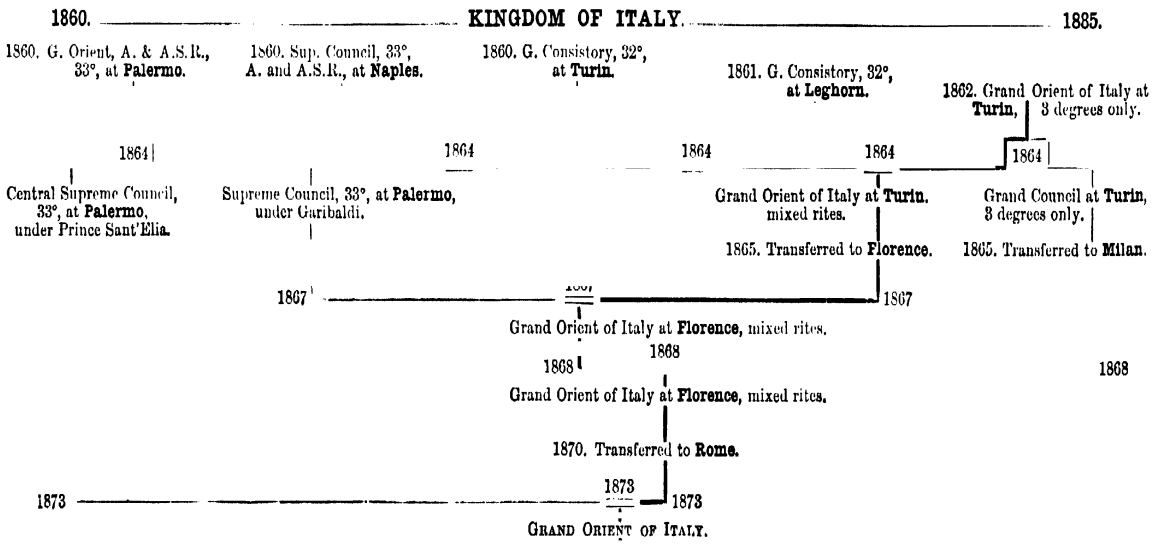
In 1872—April 25—new constitutions were accepted, and at last in 1873 the Supreme Council at Palermo amalgamated with the Grand Orient, which has ever since been the sole Grand, or Governing Masonic Body in Italy. Under Mazzoni the quality of Italian Masonry has improved, at the expense of its quantity. Unworthy members and disreputable Lodges have been relentlessly weeded out. As we have seen, in 1869 there were over 150 Lodges, but in 1877 there remained only 134, and in 1878 only 109—with a membership of 12,053, or an average of 110 per Lodge—whilst in 1885 the number had once more increased to 146. Besides these there are 57 Lodges scattered throughout Roumania, Egypt—one, at Alexandria, is composed of Germans only—the Levant, and South America. The cities containing the greatest number of Lodges are Naples, with 10; Leghorn and Genoa, 5; Palermo and Rome, 4; Messina, Milan, and Florence, 3; and Venice, 2 each.

The seat of the Grand Orient is at Rome, the G.M. being Adriano Lemmi. It is divided into Three Chambers—for the Scots Rite 33°, a Supreme Council, under Giorgio Tomajo, as Sov. G. Com., with 174 Lodges, of which 54 are abroad—for the Craft, a Symbolic Grand Lodge, under a President, Perro Aporti, with 25 Lodges, of which 3 are abroad—and for the Rite of Memphis, a Supreme Council in Catania, under Gaetano Mondino, as President, with 4 Lodges only. The accompanying table of the Grand Bodies which have existed in Italy may be acceptable as an *aide-mémoire*.[1]

[1] Authorities consulted for the latter portion (kingdom of Italy):—Latomia, 1863, vol. xxii., pp. 104-129, 165-170, 200-205; vol. xxiii., 1864, pp. 266-270, 371-373; vol. xxvi., 1868, pp. 223-228; vol. xxvii., 1869, pp. 207-214: Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Italian, 1868-79: Findel, Geschichte, etc., pp. 640-651.

TABLE OF ITALIAN GRAND LODGES.





PORTUGAL.

It is a well-known axiom with Freemasons, that their duty requires them to close their Lodges in the presence of a prohibition by the government of the day. We have seen this duty cheerfully submitted to in various countries, but Portugal forms an exception to the ordinary rule. In no country has the Craft been more persecuted—both by the Government and the Church—but it would appear as if the Fraternity had obstinately determined not to yield to any pressure from without. Once it had taken root, neither decrees of state nor tortures of the Inquisition ever succeeded in extirpating Freemasonry in Portugal, and at no time did Lodges cease to exist in more or less secrecy. Whilst as a law-abiding Fraternity, we must needs lament this disobedience of our Portuguese brethren—as admirers of devotion and courage, we may be permitted to appreciate their resolution and endurance.

Clavel[1] asserts that French deputies founded Lodges in Portugal in 1727, but this uncorroborated statement fails to inspire me with the confidence I should wish to attach to it. We touch solid ground, however, in the minutes of the G.L. of England, April 17, 1735.—"A petition from several brethren now residing in or about the City of Lisbon in Portugal, humbly praying that a Deputation may be granted to Mr George Gordon for constituting them into a regular Lodge—the prayer of which petition was granted;" and in the *St James' Evening Post*—letter from Lisbon, June 3, 1736—"by authority of the Right Honorable the Earl of Weymouth, the then G. Master of all Mason's Lodges, Mr George Gordon, Mathematician, has constituted a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in that City; and a great many merchants of the Factory and other people of distinction have been received and regularly made Freemasons. Lord George Graham, Lord Forrester, and a great many gentlemen belonging to the English Fleet, being brethren, were present at constituting the Lodge, and it is expected that in a short time it will be one of the greatest abroad." This early mention of the Fleet is notable, because in after times, during the Craft's darkest hour, foreign vessels in port were extensively used as safe meeting-places for the persecuted Lodges.

Freemasonry, however, from the very first, met with a determined enemy in the Church, and the opposition of the Roman prelacy became more pronounced, after the issue of the famous Bull of Clement XII., April 27, 1738.[2] At last, in 1743, King John V. (1707-50) was persuaded by his *entourage* that the Freemasons were heretics and rebels, and issued an edict of death against them. An era of persecution and torture at the hands of the Inquisition followed; the best known case being that of Coustos.

Coustos—the son of a Swiss surgeon—was born at Berne, but emigrated, in 1716, with his father to England, where he followed the trade of a gem-cutter, and was admitted into the Fraternity. After spending twenty-two years in London he went to Lisbon with the intention of shipping for Brazil, but failing to obtain a permit from the government, settled down to his trade in the Portuguese capital. There, with two French jewellers —Mouton and Braslé—he founded a Lodge, where they were surprised—March 14, 1743—by the familiars of the Inquisition. In order to wrest from him the secrets of a Freemason, and a renunciation of his religion, Coustos was within the space of three months subjected nine times to the rack, scourged, branded, and otherwise tortured, and—June 21, 1743—he

[1] Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 477, note 3.

figured as a principal personage at an *auto-da-fé* in the Church of the Dominicans. He was sentenced to four years at the galleys as a Protestant and *Freemason*—but his two companions, being Catholics, to five years exile only. Mouton and Braslé were also tortured, and the latter died in consequence of his sufferings. Coustos was claimed by the British Embassy as an English subject, and with Mouton arrived in London December 14, 1744, where they were well received and cared for by the Fraternity.[1]

John V. was succeeded by his son Joseph II. (1750-77). Under this liberal prince and his celebrated minister, the Marquis de Pombal, the clergy lost much of their influence, and the Jesuits were banished from the kingdom in 1761. Freemasonry recovered, and only once—in 1776—did the Inquisition attempt to suppress the Craft. This tribunal, however, was constrained to release its victims, Major D'Alincourt and Dom Ayres de Orvellas Peraçao, after fourteen months' detention.[2]

Joseph was succeeded by his daughter Maria, married to her uncle, Dom Pedro. Pombal was dismissed, and the clergy once more gained the upper hand. The most talented men of the kingdom, being Freemasons, only saved their lives by flight, and the celebrated mathematician, Da Cunha, lay in the dungeons of the Inquisition from 1778 to 1780. In 1792 the Queen was attacked by incurable melancholia, and her son John was made Prince Regent. Matters then became worse, and in the same year the Governor of Madeira was ordered to deliver over all Freemasons to the Inquisition. A few only, escaped to America, their vessel on entering New York harbour flying a white flag with the inscription "*Asylum Quaerimus.*" Nevertheless the Fraternity was not exterminated. Lodges are known to have existed at Coimbra, 1793-94; at Oporto, 1795; and others were held in 1796-97 on board various ships in port. The frigate "Phœnix" is especially mentioned in this connection, and there soon arose five or six Lodges in Lisbon as well as elsewhere. Three at the capital—Nos. 315, 319, and 330—are shown on the roll of the (Atholl) Grand Lodge of England, under the years 1798, 1799, and 1807-13 respectively. Numerous others doubtless penetrated into the kingdom with the British regiments to which they were attached. Brethren of the Sea and Land services appear to have worked together in great harmony, and the records of the Grand Lodge last referred to, show that many seafaring men became members of Lodge, No. 332, held in the 58th Foot, whilst that regiment was quartered at Lisbon in 1811.

A committee of six was appointed to act as a Grand Lodge, and other Lodges were established. Great secrecy was observed; the places of meeting were continually changed, and often whilst some members worked in the upper story of a house, the remainder, with their wives and daughters, danced on the lower in order to deceive the police.[3] Although this persecution lasted until 1806, it is during this very period that some remarkable Masonic manifestations occurred. The first Grand Lodge for Portugal was erected, and the first G.M., Dom Sebastian José de Sampajo e Mello de Castro e Luziguano (brother of the Marquis de Pombal),

[1] A description of these horrors was published in a book, entitled "The Sufferings of John Coustos for Freemasonry," etc., 1746; 400 pages—of which an abridgment has been frequently reprinted.

[2] Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 123.

[3] Mr G. W. Speth remembers taking part in Lodge work under exactly similar circumstances and surroundings (Lodge above, ball below) in 1870-71 in Havana, Cuba. In his case, however, although the consequences of detection would have inevitably been serious, at least no Inquisition was to be feared. He pleads as an excuse for infringing the law that he was *very young*, both as a man and a Mason.

a counsellor of the High Court (or, according to Thory, Egaz-Moniz), was appointed in 1800 (or 1802). This new Grand Lodge, acting through four Lodges, "empowered Dom Hypolite Joseph da Costa to act as their representative at the Grand Lodge of England, and in their name to solicit a regular authority to practise the rites of the Order under the English banner and protection. After mature deliberation it was determined that every encouragement should be given to the brethren in Portugal; and a treaty was immediately entered into and signed by Da Costa and Heseltine—then Treasurer of the Grand Lodge, and approved by the Grand Master, whereby it was agreed that as long as the Portuguese Lodges should conform to the ancient constitutions of the Order they should be empowered to have a representative in the Grand Lodge of England, and that the Grand Lodge of England should have a representative in the Grand Lodge of Portugal, and that the brethren belonging to each Grand Lodge should be equally entitled to the privileges of the other." [1]

In 1807 war broke out between France and Portugal, because the ports were not closed to the British fleet. On November 29 Prince John, the Regent, left for Brazil, and the next day the French entered Lisbon under General Junot. With the presence of the French troops Freemasonry of course showed itself openly; but in order to counteract the evident desire of the French to bring the National Grand Lodge under the control of the Grand Orient at Paris, the G.M. closed the Grand Lodge *pro tem.* in 1808. The Junto, or Provisional Government, does not appear to have been inimical to Freemasonry after Junot's forced evacuation, and the presence of the English troops could not fail to have been beneficial. Marshal Soult's invasion in 1809 was of too short duration to produce any effect, but after his departure a deplorable, though ridiculous, incident occurred. The English Masons assembled publicly, and walked in procession with banners and emblems of the Society. This remarkable spectacle the Portuguese troops mistook—not unnaturally—for one of the pageants of the Romish Church, and therefore turned out in order to render the usual military honours; but on discovering their error the soldiers—aided by the populace—maltreated the itinerant Craftsmen, which resulted in a fresh series of persecutions at the hands of the Inquisition. At Massena's arrival in 1810 the Craft was re-established, but his retreat was followed by renewed persecutions, thirty at least of the foremost Freemasons of Lisbon being deported to the Azores in September of that year. But the Fraternity still persevered, and in 1812 there were no less than thirteen Lodges in Lisbon alone. Meanwhile, in 1809, the G.M., Dom Sebastian—whose other names may with convenience be omitted—had been succeeded by Dom Fernando Romão d'Alaide Teive, and the latter was followed in 1816 by General Gomez Freire d'Andrade. This Grand Master's fate was untoward; he lived at enmity with Lord Beresford, and having been accused of inciting a revolt against the English commander, was, with eleven co-conspirators, sentenced to death October 15, 1817. This was followed—March 30, 1818—by an edict of John VI.—whose mother, the Queen Maria, had died March 20, 1816—dated from Rio de Janeiro, threatening the Freemasons once more with death and divers other but minor terrors, which produced no effect whatever except a return to the most inviolable secrecy.

Beresford having left, there are to chronicle, a popular revolt in 1820; a Provisional Regency, the arrival from Brazil of the King, and his acceptance of a constitution abolishing the Inquisition, establishing trial by jury, etc., in 1821. Naturally enough Freemasonry

[1] Chap. XX., p. 489; Grand Lodge Minutes; and Preston, edit. 1812, p. 375, *ut supra.*

again emerged from concealment, and in 1822 the King's eldest son, Dom Pedro, having accepted the Grand Mastership of Brazil, the Lisbon Lodges, eight in number, elected João da Cunha Souto Major, G.M. for Portugal.

In 1823, however, a counter-revolution of Royalists triumphed, and re-instated John VI. in all his autocratic privileges, Freemasons were once more persecuted—by an edict of June 20, 1823—and his second son, Dom Miguel, headed a proclamation of April 30, 1824, with these words, "Long live the King! Long live Roman Catholicism! Death and Destruction to the sacrilegious Freemasons!"

A proclamation by the Cardinal Archbishop Souza, published the same evening, so inflamed the minds of the rabble, that many people were murdered on the mere suspicion of being Freemasons.[1]

In 1826 King John died, and his eldest son Pedro disjoined the crowns of Brazil and Portugal—conferring the latter on his daughter Maria da Gloria, a minor, married to her uncle Dom Miguel. With the aid of the ultra Royalists, Miguel proclaimed himself king, so that in 1831 Dom Pedro abdicated Brazil, returned to Portugal, and in 1834 defeated and banished the usurper, his brother and son-in-law. Pedro himself died in September 1834, and the Cortes declared his daughter of full age. During all this troubled time the Lodges had been under a ban, and the brothers dispersed in all parts of Europe and Brazil. Under these circumstances some had elected Da Silva Carvalho, and others the Marquis Saldanha, as G.M., so that on the return of the exiles in 1834 two Grand Lodges existed in Lisbon. To add to the confusion the brethren in Oporto elected a third G.M., Manuel da Silva Passos. Carvalho left Portugal in 1836, and although his Lodges, with the exception of those in the Azores, lay dormant for a while, yet the Grand Lodge was revived a few years afterwards in the person of Manuel Gonzalves da Miranda as Grand Master (1839-41). An attempt at fusion in 1837 failed, and unfortunately politics were not kept out of sight in Craft matters. For unmasonic conduct of this kind the G.M. Saldanha was deposed in 1837, and his place filled by Baron Vialla Nova da Foz-Côa in 1839; the Oporto G.L. also elected a new G.M., Da Costa Cabal, in 1841. All these three Grand Lodges followed the modern French Rite of seven degrees.[2]

About this time a Rose Croix Chapter was established at Lisbon under the Grand Chapter of Prince Masons of Ireland. This, although not constituted as a Provincial Grand Orient, Chapter, or Lodge, apparently assumed, in some degree, the functions of such a body, since, by the authority last cited, Dom F. G. da Silva Pereira is described as having been its *Grand Master.*

In 1840, Carvalho—*ci-devant* G.M.—returned from Brazil with a patent from the Supreme Council 33° in that empire; erected a Lodge and a consistory 32°, which by a Brazilian patent of June 20, 1841, was—December 27—transformed into a Provincial Supreme Council of the 33° dependent on Brazil. This took the name of Grand Orient of Lusitania. It published its statutes in 1843, and in 1845 numbered no less than 17 Lodges.

To add to this multiplicity of jurisdictions we find the G.L. of Ireland warranting Lodges

[1] These persecutions—of which interesting details will be found in "Latomia," vol. viii.—were put an end to by the constitutional government established in 1834.

[2] Boletim Official do Gr. Oriente Lusitano Unido, 188 , pp. 93, 113, 130, 143, 163, 178, 198.

at Lisbon; Nos. 338, in 1839; and 339, 341, and 344,[1] in 1842-44; and ultimately a Provincial Grand Lodge was established (1856-72), making the fifth ruling body in Portugal. In 1848 we hear of a second Grand Orient of Lusitania asking for, but not obtaining recognition at Paris. Omitting this latter as an ephemeral appearance, we have in that year—I. A Grand Lodge at Lisbon (French Rite), under Carvalho in the first instance, and afterwards Miranda as Grand Masters. II. A Grand Lodge also at Lisbon (French Rite), under Saldanha and Foz-Côa successively. III. A Grand Lodge at Oporto (French Rite), under Passos and Costa Cabal. IV. A Grand Orient of Lusitania (A. and A.S.R. 33°) at Lisbon, under Carvalho, G.M., dependent upon Brazil. V. An Irish Provincial Grand Lodge—*de facto*, if not as yet *de jure*—under Frederico Guilheime da Silva Pereira at Lisbon.

In 1849 all these governing bodies, except that controlled by Pereira, united to form a Grand Orient of Portugal at Lisbon, with D'Oliveira as G.M. His successor, Alves de Mauro Contucho, unfortunately created dissatisfaction by his despotic rule, and the Scots Grand Orient of Lusitania was revived—January 31, 1859—under Count Paraty, G.M. This Grand Orient proved itself very active, even beyond the borders, many of the Spanish Lodges owning its sway. In 1869, however, the two Grand Orients amalgamated under Paraty as the G.O. of Lusitania. In 1872 they were joined by the Irish Lodges, leaving thus only one Grand Body in Portugal. In 1873 this G.O. ruled over 48 Lodges (12 in Lisbon and 15 in Spain); in 1885, 70 Lodges, of which 22 were in Portugal, 7 in Portuguese colonies; 32 in Spain, and 9 in Spanish colonies. Of the 22 Portuguese Lodges, 14 were in Lisbon. The present G.M. of the United Grand Lusitanian Orient is Dom Antonio Augusto D'Aguiar, and the brethren number 2800. The President or acting G.M. is Dom João Eusebio D'Oliveira. The Grand Orient comprises four subsections—a Symbolic Grand Lodge, under a President, for Lodges working Masonry only; a Supreme Council of the 33° for the A. and A.S. Rite; a Supreme Rose Croix Chapter for the French Rite, and—*Mirabile dictu*—a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, the only one except in Spain and Roumania outside of Anglo-Saxon Masonry.[2]

In 1881 occurred a movement of much significance. Five Lodges, possibly tired of the control, direct or indirect, exerted by the high degrees, combined to erect a Grand Lodge of the Craft, totally independent of all other degrees beyond the *three* of ancient Freemasonry. Count Paraty, the head of the Grand Orient, was called to preside also over the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, which was formed on the English model. The movement does not appear to have been of English origin—because in the first list of Grand Office-Bearers only one English name is to be found, and that in a very subordinate position—but to have been purely national. Under Paraty's guidance, this Grand Lodge was brought back into the fold of the Grand Orient, which was subdivided into three Grand Bodies or Chambers, each having sole control over its own rite—a Supreme Council 33° for the Scots, a Supreme Chapter Rose Croix for the French, and a Sublime Chamber or Grand Lodge for the Craft. For matters of general interest these three Chambers

[1] It is possible that these warrants merely *legitimated* four Lodges which already existed—though irregularly—under the Rose Croix Chapter, of which Pereira was the "Grand Master"? This influential personage, who was Minister of Justice 1853-56, died in 1871. In the following year the Irish Prov. Grand Lodge joined the United Grand Orient, and the Rose Croix Chapter returned its warrant.

[2] For these statistics I am indebted to Dom Ferreira Gomes, G. Sec., U.G. Lusitanian Orient.

were united in one assembly, of which the Presidency was confided to Mig. Bapt. Maciel, who, on Paraty's death, was appointed his successor as head of all three Chambers and G.M. of the Grand Orient *ad interim*. An official bulletin informs us, that on December 6, 1883, at a convention of thirteen Lodges—all, with two exceptions, meeting at Lisbon—a Grand Lodge, totally distinct from, and independent of the Grand Orient, was organised, and the following officers elected:—Dr Jose Dias Ferreira, G.M.; J. d'A. de Franco Netto, D.G.M.; and Cæsar de Castello Bianco, Grand Secretary. There are thus in existence two Grand Lodges, one siding with and forming a Chamber of the Grand Orient, and the other bearing the former title of "G. Lodge of A. F. and A. Masons, founded 1737, re-established 1881." The latter has an apparent following of 24 Lodges. Why claim is laid to the earlier of these dates I am unable to conjecture, but although spoiling the unity which the Craft had so recently attained, it is impossible not to wish this body success. It has struck the right keynote in bidding its high degree friends go their ways in peace, to add as many degrees as their humour may suggest, but to cease from troubling the Craft.

SPAIN.

Spain disputes with Portugal the sad distinction of having most persistently and relentlessly persecuted its own children on account of their attachment to the Craft; and, like Portugal, it is somewhat remarkable for still practising Royal Arch Masonry. But unlike its sister kingdom, it has not yet succeeded in bringing its Lodges under one single jurisdiction, and presents at the present day a picture of confusion in Craft matters unequalled elsewhere. It is much to be deplored that the partisans of these various Grand Lodges should have allowed their predilections to colour their historical statements. Indeed, to such a length has this been carried, that the later history of the Craft in Spain is more difficult to unravel than the earlier one; and although no source of information has been overlooked, I am unable to place on record the events of the last twenty years without entertaining some misgivings as to the accuracy of my own narrative. Masonic news from the Peninsula reaches us but rarely—in small and unsatisfactory quantities—and no two accounts are reconcilable with each other. I must therefore beg my readers to regard the description of this period (1868-85) as a conscientious attempt to lay some few facts before them, but by no means to pin their faith upon my narrative. Having confessed my inability to cope with the difficulties before me, I trust any errors that may be discovered will be leniently dealt with.

Before proceeding with our main subject it will be well to advert to two small territories, which, though forming a part of Spain—one geographically, the other politically—yet require separate mention. I allude to Gibraltar and Minorca.

A Lodge—"of St John of Jerusalem," No. 51—was constituted at Gibraltar by the Grand Lodge of England in 1728;[1] and three years later, Captain James Commerford was appointed Prov. G.M. for Andalusia, which, as we learn from the terms of subsequent patents, comprised the Rock or fortress, "and places adjacent." Commerford was succeeded by Colonel J. G. Montrèsor, 1752-53, Chief Engineer, one of the founders of No. 51—St John—but who embarked in 1754 for America. Further Lodges were established under the same sanction, in 1762—Inhabitants; 1786—Hiram's; 1789—Calpean; and in 1791—Friendship. The first Lodge under the Schismatic Grand Lodge of England—No. 58—was formed in 1756, but was

[1] Chap. XVII., p. 384.

short-lived, and after this we meet, in 1773, with the same quarrels between the so-called "Moderns" and "Ancients," as prevailed in the mother country of Freemasonry.[1] The latter, however, were triumphant in the struggle which ensued,[2] and they established at Gibraltar Nos. 148—originally constituted in the Royal Artillery in 1767 (*now* St John's); 202 (*now* Inhabitants), in 1777; and a Prov. Grand Lodge in 1786. The Lodges under the earlier sanction continued to be shown on the lists until 1813, but only one—apparently a union of the Calpean and Friendship—was carried forward at the Union. Prince Edward—afterwards Duke of Kent—was appointed Prov. G.M. in 1790.[3] In 1792 there were no less than eleven[4] Military Lodges at Gibraltar, and the records from which I quote, mention three Lodges of the same character, as having recently left the garrison, besides a warrant, "No. 61 (*Irish*) held by the Officers of the 32d Foot, but for neglect erased." Many Lodges were locally constituted by the Atholl Provincial Grand Lodge, of which no record has been preserved, but in 1804 there were at least nine holding Provincial warrants.

Two English Lodges—now both extinct—"Ordnance" and "Calpean," were established in 1819 and 1822; and there are at present in existence three Lodges—St John's, Inhabitants, and Friendship—under the Grand Lodge of England; two under Scotland—St Thomas (1876), and "Al Moghreb al Aksa" (1882); and one—No. 325 (1826)—under the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

The Masonic annals of Minorca afford an interesting study owing to the vicissitudes of warfare. In 1708 England took the island from Spain, and held it until 1758, when it was taken by the French. We regained possession in 1763, but in 1782 once more lost it—on this occasion to Spain. Again, from 1798 until the peace of Amiens, 1802, the English flag floated over the island. During the first of these three periods Lord Byron—G.M. 1747-51—appointed Lieut.-Col. James Adolphus Oughton[5] Prov. G.M. for Minorca,[6] and the following four Lodges were constituted:—Nos. 213-215 in 1750, and No. 216 in 1751.[7] These Lodges were carried forward at the renumbering in 1756,[8] but dropping out in 1766, the *places* of original Nos. 213-215 (*then* 141-143) were assigned to three American Lodges in 1768.[9] Again during the third British occupation, a "Lodge in the Island of Minorca," No. 586, was established in 1800. Turning to the Atholl Register, we find that Lodges Nos. 141 and 117, were erected on the island in 1766 and 1770, and a Provincial Grand Lodge in 1772. Even in our own times Minorca seems to have been regarded as "unoccupied country," for French Lodges were formed at Mahon by the A. and A.S.R. 33° in 1860, and 1870.

The first Lodge in Spain was founded by the Duke of Wharton in his own apartments in a French hotel at Madrid, in February 15, 1728. Two months later—April 17—this Lodge, through its Worshipful Master, Mr Ch. Labelle (or Labelye), informed the Grand Lodge of the fact, but applied nevertheless to the same body—March 29, 1729—to be properly constituted, and the request was acceded to.[10] The Lodge received the number 50 on the list of Lodges, and *was the first Lodge warranted in foreign lands by the Grand Lodge of England.* It was erased in 1768, in company with the first Paris Lodge "Louis d'Argent,

[1] *Cf.* The Atholl Lodges, p. 29. [2] Chap. XIX., p. 449. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 454, note 1.

[4] One Scotch—32d Regiment; six Irish—1st, 11th, 18th, 46th, 51st, and 68th Regiments; three English (*ancient*)—50th Regiment, Royal Artillery, and Garrison; and one Provincial—in the Company of Artificers.

[5] *Cf.* Chaps. XIX., p. 447; XXIII., pp. 61, 62, 76. [6] Constit., 1756, p. 333. [7] Engraved Lists.

[8] *Ibid.* [9] Engraved Lists. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., p. 467. [10] Chaps. XVI., p. 289; XVII., pp. 378, 384.

and the Duke of Richmond's Lodge at Aubigny[1] (a notable trio), either for having ceased to meet or neglected to conform to the laws of the Society.[2]

The next step introduces the first of the persecutions which, until quite recently, Spanish Freemasons have suffered, and like their Portuguese brethren, doggedly withstood. In 1740 King Philip V. approved the Papal Bull of 1738, and issued a confirmatory edict for his possessions. The Inquisition discovered a Lodge, and eight of its members were condemned to the galleys.[3]

But the Fraternity persisted in meeting, and we have proofs that at Barcelona a German chaplain visited a Lodge in 1743. Indeed the Lodges increased in spite of all difficulties, and —July 2, 1751—Father Joseph Torrubia, a member of the Inquisition, obtained from Ferdinand VI. a further decree condemning Masons to death without the benefit of a trial of any kind. It is affirmed that Torrubia traitorously caused himself to be initiated in order to betray every member's name to the Inquisitors, and his report mentions at that date 97 (!) Lodges in Spain. Meetings nevertheless continued to be held, even at the house of the British Ambassador (1753) in Madrid, and the "Freemasons' Calendar" of 1776 alludes to an independent Lodge in Spain. According to Don Rafael Sunyé, Spanish Freemasonry declared itself independent of England in 1767, and elected as Grand Master the Prime Minister of Charles III., Count d'Aranda, who had in the spring of the year procured the banishment of the Jesuits. This would provide a reason for the Madrid Lodge being struck off the roll in 1768 as mentioned above. In 1780 this Grand Lodge became permeated with French ideas, and took the name of Grand Orient. In 1795 Count d'Aranda having lost his liberty, his nominee, the Count de Montijo, was elected G.M. French ideas made further strides, and in 1806 the Royal Order of Scotland at Rouen was enabled to found a Spanish Grand Lodge of the Order at Xeres,[4] of which little more is known. This appears to have been followed by the erection of a real *Scottish* (not *Scots*) Lodge in 1807, the "Desired Re-Union," No. 276, on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland;[5] and in the same year, James Gordon was appointed Prov. G.M. "over all the Lodges under that jurisdiction," "east of Balbos in Andalusia."[6] About this time appeared on the scene the Count de Tilly, brother of De Grasse-Tilly,[7] a bitter enemy of Buonaparte, who made himself famous in the south of Spain under the name of Gusman. Like his brother, Tilly was a stanch adherent of the A. and A.S.R., and—December 17, 1808—assembled several brothers at Aranjuez, where he constituted a Supreme Council of the 33° for Spain. At this time Freemasonry was openly practised in Spain without fear of persecution, for on the one hand the Craft was protected by the French armies who had invaded the country, whilst on the other hand it enjoyed the goodwill of the British troops who were assisting the legitimate sovereign, Ferdinand VII. On June 6, 1808, Joseph Napoleon was made King of Spain, and Spanish Lodges under the Grand Orient of France increased daily. The first of these was established as early as January 22, 1807, at Cadiz.

In October 1809 a Grand Orient of Spain, dependent upon the G.O. at Paris, was erected in the very dungeons of the Inquisition itself at Madrid, under the auspices of King Joseph, to which was attached a Grand Tribunal of the 31°. The Grand Master was Azanza, a former

[1] *Ante*, p. 138. [2] G.L. Min. [3] Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 47. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 221
[5] Erased in 1843. [6] Laurie, 1859, p. 408. [7] *Ante*, p. 124 *et seq.*



THOMAS FREDERICK HALSEY, ESQ.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF HERTFORDSHIRE

Thomas C. Jack London & Edinburgh

Minister of State. Two years later—July 4, 1811—the Count de Grasse-Tilly founded a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° in opposition to that of his brother, and in alliance with the last formed Grand Orient, whose G.M., Azanza, also became Sov. G. Com. of the new rite. At this epoch, therefore, we have four Grand Bodies: 1st, The Grand Lodge of 1767, converted in 1780 into a Grand Orient under Montijo: 2d, the Supreme Council of 1808, under the younger Tilly; 3d, the Grand Orient of 1809; and 4th, the Supreme Council of 1811, both under Azanza—who was succeeded as the head of the last two bodies by the celebrated patriot Arguëlles.

The return to power of Ferdinand VII. inaugurated a fresh persecution of the Craft. In 1814—May 4—he abolished the constitution, re-established the Inquisition, and declared Freemasons guilty of treason. This was followed in September by the arrest and imprisonment of twenty-five members of the Craft in Madrid, amongst whom may be mentioned General Alava, Wellington's Aide-de-Camp.[1] Although the plan followed of handing suspected persons over to the barbarous Inquisition is of course indefensible, the attempted suppression of the Craft was only too well justified in those troublous times on account of its unhappy interference with Spanish politics. To this admixture of politics and Freemasonry I am induced to ascribe the obstinacy with which the Fraternity resisted all attempts to stamp it out. Far from succumbing, it consolidated its position, and at its head were always the liberal leaders of the day. Thus in 1818 Arguëlles, Riego, the brothers San Miguel, and others took part in important deliberations in Madrid, resulting in a fusion between the two Supreme Councils, Riego becoming G.M. This was followed by the popular movement in 1820, headed by Riego, which compelled the king—July 9—to regrant the liberal constitution, abolish the Inquisition, and expel the Jesuits.

For three years Masonry flourished;[2] then followed a curious state of affairs. Foreign intervention was sought by Ferdinand, and with the assistance of French troops—formerly such enthusiastic propagators of the Craft—the Brotherhood was suppressed. French bayonets re-established Ferdinand in his old prerogatives, Riego was shot, and—August 1, 1824—the king issued a new edict, by which all Freemasons who failed to deliver up their papers and renounce the Society in thirty days, were to be, on discovery, hanged in the ensuing twenty-four hours—without trial of any kind. In pursuance thereof—September 9, 1825—a Lodge having been surprised at Granada, seven of its members were given a short shrift and gibbeted accordingly, whilst the candidate for admission was let off with eight years of forced labour. In 1828 the French troops evacuated Spain, but without having "stamped out" Freemasonry, for in 1829, fresh signs of its existence having been observed in Barcelona, Lieut.-Col. Galvez was hanged, and two other members of the Craft were condemned to the galleys for life.

In spite of all this, however, the Craft continued to consolidate itself, although compelled to exercise the greatest secrecy in all its proceedings.[3] One of the members of the United

[1] Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 265.

[2] A Lodge—No. 750—at Lanzarote, in the Canary Islands, was warranted by the G.L. of England in 1822.

[3] Much which precedes and follows rests on the sole authority of Don Rafael Sunyé, 33°, whose sketch of Spanish Masonry in the Monde Maçonique has been reprinted with more or less exactitude by other journals of the Craft. Either the writer has had access to archives hitherto preserved from public ken, or he has most ingeniously dovetailed his account with the known facts. As I have been unable to find any palpable discrepancies, as these facts—if such

Supreme Council at this time was no less a personage than Don Francisco de Bourbon. We may also mention General San Miguel, the minister Lopez, Magnan, and others. In 1829 Don Francisco having been elected G.M. of the Grand Orient, and Sov. Com. of the A. and A.S.R. 33°—the earliest Grand Orient (1767) united with the one under his leadership, and thus for a time formed one sole jurisdiction in Spain, working the English, French, and—so-called—Scottish Rites. The accession of Queen Isabella II. in 1833 did not suffice to relieve the Craft from the necessity of secrecy, but we hear nothing more of active persecution. An *anonymous* Grand Orient of Spain announced its existence to the G.O. of France, and sent in its statutes—signed April 20, 1843[1]—with a list of members all designated by pseudonyms. In 1848 it called itself the Grand Orient of Hesperia. The G.O. of France refused recognition on account of the secrecy in which it had shrouded itself, and even founded a Lodge of its own at Barcelona.[2] At the head of this Grand Lodge was Don Ramon Maria Calatrava.[3]

Meanwhile, in 1848 fresh persecutions had broken out during the administration of Marshal Narvaez. Don Francisco, excommunicated by the Pope, fled the country, delegating his authority to Charles Magnan. Under this administration the Lodges were neither more nor less than secret political associations, until *circa* 1854, when the Craft once more obtained toleration. This is ascribed to the alleged fact that Don Francisco d'Assissi, the queen's consort, was the W.M. of a Lodge held in the palace itself. Of the succeeding period but little is really known, though there are notices on record of Lodges in various cities, and of one founded by France in Minorca (1860), also of a Lodge composed exclusively of Englishmen in Madrid.[4] But the Grand Orients under Magnan and Calatrava respectively, if not absolutely dormant, exhibited few signs of life. It would almost appear as if toleration were only to be attained at the price of a total absence of self-assertion.

The revolution of September 28, 1868, which expelled Queen Isabella, opened the country to the free exercise of the rites of Masonry, but in removing the necessity for union, has had the effect of dividing the Society into more cliques than can be distinctly described. The statements respecting the rise of these parties, their subsequent history, and their present state are so contradictory and vague that the student loses all feeling of certainty.[5] One fact alone stands out clearly, that the Grand Orient of Lusitania (Portugal) commenced to warrant

they be—were naturally kept secret at the time, and as they are well within the memory of the present generation, and therefore susceptible of revelation when secrecy is no longer demanded, I incline to credit them. Moreover, it should not escape our recollection that the position of the writer—33°—would—not improbably—give him access to much valuable evidence, dispersed throughout the documentary waifs and strays preserved in the jealously guarded *Chancellerics* of the (so-called) high degrees. *Cf.* The Freemason, April 3, May 8, and June 19, 1880; and the Freemasons' Chronicle, August 30, and September 6, 1884.

[1] A Lodge was established at Algesiras, under the Grand Lodge of Ireland—No. 347—in the above year, and cancelled in 1858.

[2] October 15, 1848; resumed work 1870; and is shown in the *Annuaire* of the G.O. for 1886. Another Lodge was erected by the same authority, at Carthagena in 1869, but is now extinct.

[3] Findel, pp. 654-656; Calatrava—an opponent of Napoleon—lived in exile in London until 1836, was chosen G.M. in 1847, and filled the office until his death, February 28, 1876.

[4] Handbuch, *s.v.* Spanien. A Lodge—No. 1024, "Morality and Philanthropy"—was formed at Cadiz under the Grand Lodge of England in 1857, the warrant of which was returned in 1875.

[5] As late as July 30, 1879, the United Grand Orient of the sister kingdom (Portugal) declared itself incapable of unravelling the tangled web of Spanish Freemasonry, or of discovering the most legitimate Grand Lodge, or the one likely to prove so in the long run (Boletim Official, 1880, p. 76).

Lodges in Spain, and at this day numbers almost as large a following as any other of the rival Grand Bodies.

The first step of importance appears to have been the revival of Calatrava's National Grand Orient of Spain in 1869. Contemporaneous with this was the revival under Magnan of his Grand Orient and Supreme Council. In 1870 he left for Santander, and his office was therefore transferred to Ruiz Zorilla. For this purpose Zorilla had in four days been passed from the humble position of a candidate for initiation through all the 33 degrees, one step—Knight of the East—having been conferred in the Iberian Grand Orient, a body which had been recently established in Spain by the G.O. of Portugal, a rival of the G.O. of Lusitania. G.M. Zorilla was prime minister during the short reign of Amadeus of Savoy, and during his tenure of office a treaty was entered into between the Grand Orients of Spain and Lusitania, granting a reciprocity of jurisdiction to the two contracting parties, February 12, 1872.[1] On the abdication of Amadeus, Ruiz Zorilla voluntarily resigned, and placed his powers at the disposal of the Craft, January 1, 1874. It was then agreed by some of the "Puissant" and "Illustrious" members of the 33° that Zorilla's reign should be considered as *non avenu*, null and void, and that Magnan should resume command as though his rule had never suffered interruption. Magnan appointed Carvajal as Lieut. G. Com., and immediately resigned in his favour. Carvajal was succeeded in turn as Sov. G. Com. by Ferrer, Conder, Avalos, Oriero, and Panzano y Almirall.

Some of the brethren, however, objecting to this resumption by Magnan as *ultra vires*, seceded and elected as Sov. G. Com., General La Somera in succession to Zorilla. Somera resigned after a twelvemonth in favour of Sagasta, afterwards Prime Minister, and the latter was followed by Antonio Romero Ortez, Governor of the Bank of Spain, who, dying early in 1884, was succeeded by Don Manuel Becerra. Under Somera, 1874-75, this Grand Lodge (it has dropped the title Orient) absorbed the Iberian Grand Orient mentioned above.

Besides these two Grand Orients there exists at present a National G.O. of Spain under the Marquis de Seoane. This National G.O. is Calatrava's Grand Orient of Hisperia, which is first heard of *circa* 1840-43. Calatrava must have considered himself at that date legitimately descended from the original Grand Lodge and the English Prov. G.L., for the official documents bear the following dates:—Grand Lodge, 1728;[2] Grand Orient, 1780; Supreme Council, 1808. Calatrava continued to be G.M. until his death, February 28, 1876.

But these three bodies not being sufficient for our Spanish brethren, a fresh schism arose in 1875. When Somera resigned—December 27, 1875—a certain Juan Antonio Perez, 30°, disapproving of Sagasta's election, induced a friend to pass him to the 33°, and erected a Grand Orient—comprising a Supreme Council and Grand Lodge—of his own. By dint of self-assertion this Grand Orient would appear to have prospered fairly well, judging from observations in the *Boletim Official* of the U.G. Lusitanian Orient for 1880, and the recognition of its Grand Lodge by several governing Craft bodies in America. I am unable to say whether it still exists, or has submitted to the authority of some other Grand Body in Spain. Perez is left unnoticed by the current Masonic journals, nor does his name appear in any of the numerous Calendars of the Craft—native and foreign—which I have consulted.

[1] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1875, p. 217.

[2] The year in which the Duke of Wharton founded the first Lodge in Madrid.

On December 28, 1879, two Lodges withdrew from the Grand Lusitanian Orient in a perfectly legal manner, and formed themselves into a Grand Central Masonic Consistory 32° at Malaga, with the professed intention of remaining independent for a time, and eventually joining the Grand Orient which should ultimately succeed in being universally recognised.

With a similar intention 13 Lodges of this same Grand Orient withdrew from its jurisdiction at about the same time, and formed themselves into a Masonic Confederation of the Congress of Seville, extending their sway also to the 32° only. The modesty with which these two bodies refrain from establishing a Supreme Council 33° proves at least the sincerity of their protestations. At the head of this Confederation is J. L. Padilla, 33°.

A further proof of the good intentions of this Confederation may be hailed with hope and rejoicing, although it has had the effect of still further increasing the number of governing bodies. On February 7, 1881, it divested itself of all control over Freemasonry, and now declares in its very title that it has jurisdiction "over the 4th and 32nd degrees" only. This at least was a wise step, in which it followed the example set in many other countries by bodies assuming the title of Supreme Council, A. and A.S.R. 33°.

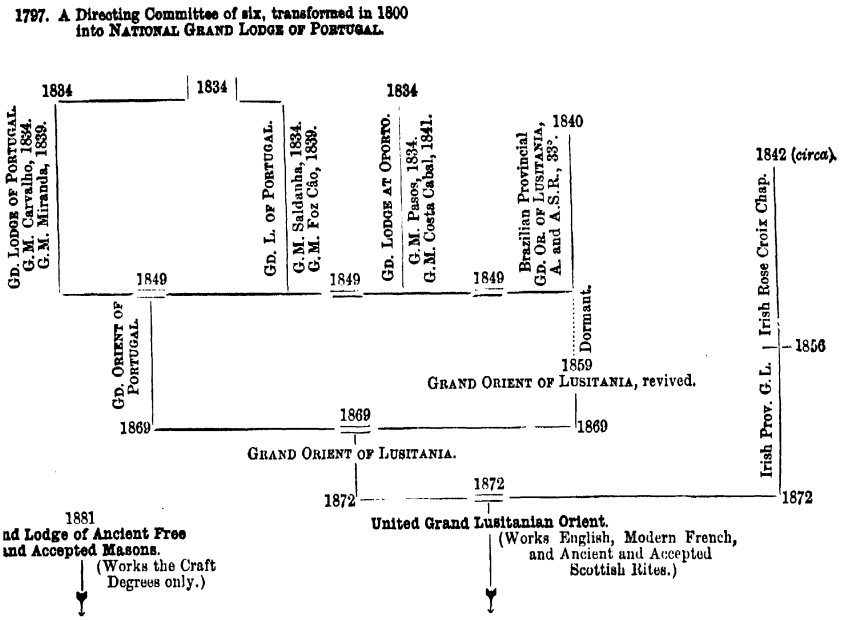
As a result, on the same date, February 7, the members of the Craft erected a Grand Spanish Independent Symbolic Lodge, "with jurisdiction over the first three degrees," at Seville, under Grand Master Castro, who has since been succeeded by Branlio Ruiz. In a circular of July 29, 1883, the number of subordinate Lodges under this Grand Body is stated to be twenty-one.

I think it quite possible that one more Grand Lodge exists—for when the Iberian Grand Orient was absorbed in 1874 by Somera, some Lodges, nine in all, increased to twelve by three seceders from Somera's Grand Lodge, were dissatisfied with the arrangement, and dissenting from the majority, revived or continued the Iberian G.O. In 1876 it reduced the 33 degrees to 7, condensing the pith of all the others, thus forming the Spanish reformed rite.[1] On the other hand it may be long since extinct.

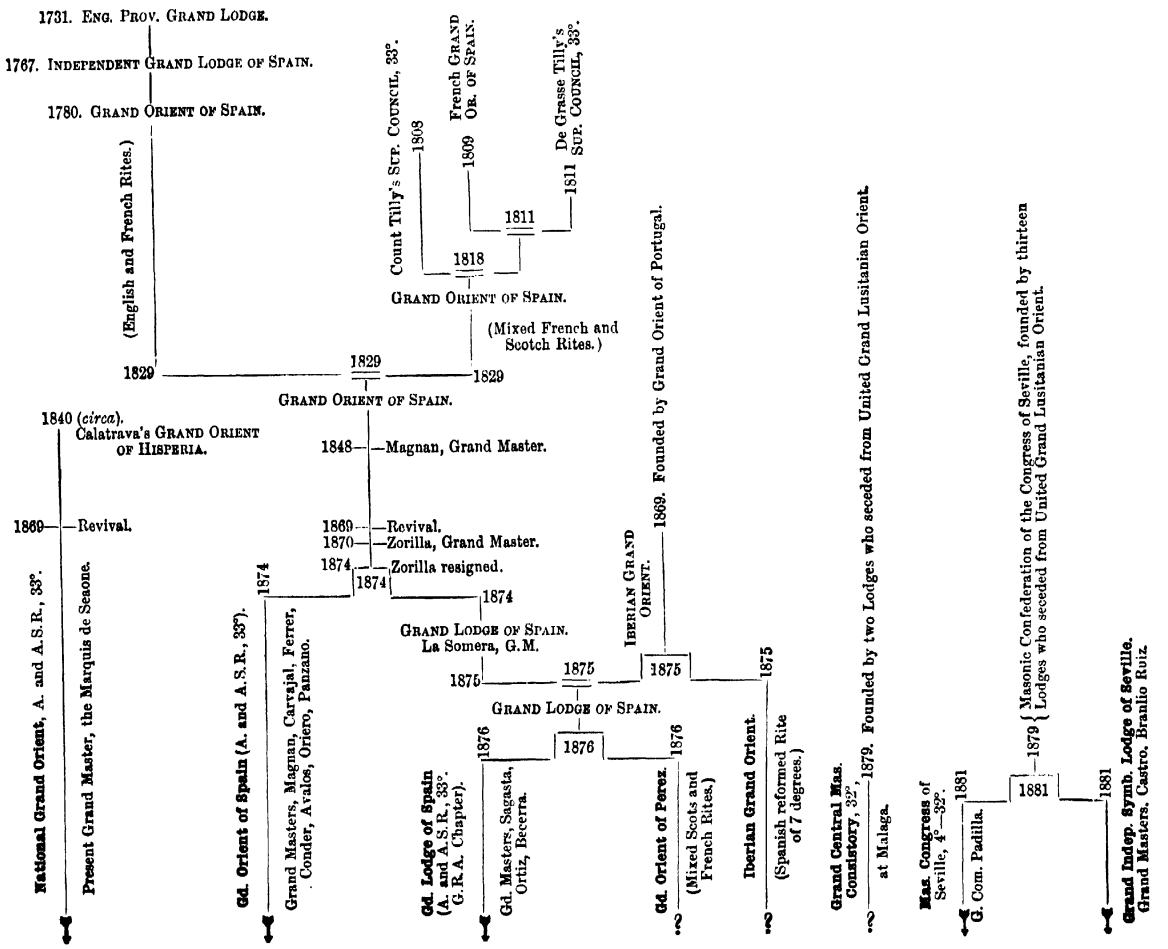
All these Grand Bodies, with the exception of the one at Seville, work the A. and A.S.R. 33°; that of Perez superadds the modern French Rite of 7 degrees. Of their strength it is impossible to present any statistics, Spanish Lodges being most ephemeral in their nature. The official lists as given in the various Masonic Calendars of current date are of little avail, for they comprise Lodges which long since became extinct. Thus Becerra's Grand Lodge has an *apparent* following of 299 subordinate Lodges, and according to an official bulletin issued eighty-two new charters in 1882. But the *Freemason* of August 7, 1880, gives a list of the active Lodges under this G.M., and although the last number is 142, the total of Lodges only mounts up to 45, or about a third. If we apply this scale of proportion—where necessary—to the last lists at my disposal, we obtain (approximately)—Grand National Orient, 1885, 60 Lodges; Grand Lodge, 1885, 100; G.O. of Perez, 1881, 60; G.O. of Portugal, 1885, Lodges in Spain, 41; G.O. of France, 1886, 1; Supreme Council 33° of France, 1885, 5; G.O. of Italy, 1885, 1; and the Grand Lodge of Seville, 1885, 25. The accompanying table of Spanish Grand Lodges may help to make the subject a little less confused; but I have omitted as beside the question non-Spanish Grand Lodges which possess daughter Lodges in the Peninsula.

[1] Handbuch, *s.v.* Spanien.

PORTUGUESE GRAND LODGES.



SPANISH GRAND LODGES.



GREECE.

Freemasonry was late in obtaining a footing on the mainland of this kingdom, but somewhat earlier accounts come to us from what is now an integral part of the territory of Greece, viz., the Ionian Islands. These islands, in early days the prey of Naples, Genoa, and Venice, were ceded to France in 1797. They were next successively taken possession of by Russia and Turkey in 1800, by France in 1807, and by England in 1809. The G.O. of France founded a Lodge at Corfu—St Napoleon—in 1809, and a second in 1810. In 1815 the islands were formed into the Ionian Republic under the protection of England, and a Lodge, No. 654, "Pythagoras" (to which a Royal Arch Chapter was subsequently attached), was erected at Corfu in 1837. About 1840 we hear also of a Grand Lodge of Greece at Corfu,[1] with Angelo Calichiopulo as G.M. He died November 13, 1842, and further information respecting this Grand Lodge is altogether wanting. Another English Lodge—No. 1182, Star of the East—was established at Zante in 1861. This and Lodge Pythagoras are still active. The Lodges under the G.O. of France (1809-10) are extinct, but two others were constituted by the same authority at Corfu—Phœnix, 1843—and at Zante—Star, 1859,—the former of which survives at this day.

On the mainland there was in existence in 1866 a Provincial Grand Lodge or Directory under the Grand Orient of Italy, with eight subordinate Lodges—at Syra, Athens, Pirœus, Chalkis, Corfu, Patras, Lamia, and Argos—dating from 1860-1866. In 1867, these eight Lodges, with the consent of the G.O. of Italy, formed themselves into an independent Grand Lodge of Greece. A council of nine members to direct the Grand Lodge was appointed by the representatives of the Lodges, July 9, 1872. By this council—July 11—Prince Rhodocanakis of Scio was elected G.M., and retained the office until 1881, when he was succeeded by Nicholas Damaschino. The Grand Lodge shook off the fetters of the high degrees, but otherwise retains much of an Italian impress. A Supreme Council 33° was, however, formed at a later period for the degrees of the A. and A.S.R., with the same individuals as office-bearers as in the Grand Lodge, but without any control over or influence in the latter. Of the subordinate Lodges, six are in a flourishing condition—at Athens, 3; Pirœus, Corfu, and Zante, 1 each—but the others can hardly be said to exist.

TURKEY.

Turkey can hardly be said to enter into the family of Grand Lodges at all, and possesses no independent or National Grand Lodge. Lodges, however, exist at Constantinople, Smyrna, Damascus, Beyrout, and Ephesus, hailing from England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Ireland. A warrant was also *granted* for a Lodge—the Royal Solomon—at Jerusalem, by the Grand Lodge of Canada in 1873! The earliest allusion to Masonry in Turkey that I have met with occurs in the *St James' Evening Post* of 1738, where, in a letter from Florence, dated May 24 of that year—which has been already referred to[2]—there appears:—"We hear

[1] Latomia, iv., p. 158.

[2] *Ante*, p. 300, note 5.

from Constantinople that the Lodges of Smyrna and Aleppo are greatly increased, and that several Turks of distinction have been admitted into them."

No Lodge, however, seems to have been erected in Turkey by virtue of any warrant or patent from a legitimate governing body until February 3, 1748, when, as related at an earlier page, a Lodge was constituted at Aleppo, either by, or under the auspices of, Alexander Drummond. This worthy, however, before receiving a "provincial commission" from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, "had taken up his residence at Alexandretta in Turkey, and erected several Mason Lodges in that part of the country."[1]

The curious manner in which the grant of an early Scottish charter was sometimes recorded, will be seen in the note below,[2] which evidently refers to a later Lodge established by Drummond at Aleppo, though singular to state—no corresponding entry is to be found in the books of the Grand Lodge.

Dr Dionysius Manasse was appointed English Prov. G.M. "for all Armenia in the East Indies," by Earl Ferrers, 1762-64, and his name only disappears from the official lists in 1805! Of this personage nothing further is known. Lodges came into existence, as we have already seen, under the Grand Lodge (and G.O.) of Geneva, in 1769 and 1787, at Constantinople and Smyrna respectively.[3]

After this period there is nothing to record until we approach our own times. Lodges were established at Constantinople (Pera) by the Grand Lodge of England—Oriental, No. 988—1856; by the Grand Orient of France—L'Étoile Du Bosphore—1858; and by the Grand Lodge of Ireland—No. 166—1865. The Grand Lodge of Scotland has been represented in Turkey (Syria) since 1861 by the Palestine Lodge, No. 415, at Beyrout. The Lodges under the G.O. of Italy have been previously referred to.[4]

In 1859—June 1—the Grand Lodge of England was informed by the Board of General Purposes that a communication had been received from the Oriental Lodge, No. 988, at Constantinople, respecting the existence of irregular Lodges at Smyrna. The Board expressed their belief that the Lodges in question—named Ionic, Anatolia, and Benzenzia—were irregular assemblies, and that the so-called Grand Lodge of Turkey, formed of those three Lodges, was also an irregular body until the same date.

At the next meeting of Grand Lodge—June 23—the President of the Board again called attention "to what was called 'The Grand Lodge of Turkey,' and explained that it had been formed by a brother who was at Smyrna at the end of the Crimean war, and who, it was stated—but no proof had been brought forward on the subject—was in possession of an Irish warrant. That this brother made about twenty Masons, and divided them into three Lodges, which afterwards called themselves 'The Grand Lodge of Turkey.' He therefore moved—'That the W. Masters of all regular Lodges be cautioned against

[1] *Ante*, p. 53; Lawrie, 1804, p. 165.

[2] The following extracts from the Minutes of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, Edinburgh, have been supplied to me by Mr A. Mackenzie:—April 8, 1752, "The Lodge being mett according to adjournment .·. .·. at the same time a charter for constituting a Lodge at Alleppo was signed by the Most Worshipful Master and the other proper office-bearers of the Grand Lodge, and also by the office-bearers of this Lodge." June 24, 1760, "the R.W. Master Desired leave to resign that office, and having accordingly declared the Chair vacant, he proposed for his successor our R.W. Brother, Alexander Drummond, Esq., late His Majesty's Consul at Aleppo."

[3] *Ante*, p. 290.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

receiving persons claiming admission (either as Visitors or joining Members) on the ground of their having been initiated by such irregular Lodges in Smyrna'—which was ordered accordingly."[1]

In 1861 the English Lodges were united in a District Grand Lodge under the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer, as D.G.M., who was followed in 1869 by John Porter Brown, and in 1873 by Stephen Scouloudi. The number of English Lodges within what for convenience sake may be termed the jurisdiction—for there is at present no District Grand Lodge—is ten—at Smyrna, 6; Constantinople, 3; and Ephesus, 1—an eleventh, composed of Germans, having been unable to maintain its existence. The Grand Orient of France owns 4 Lodges—Constantinople, 3; Beyrout, 1; that of Italy 3—Constantinople, 2; Damascus, 1; and the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland 1 each—at Constantinople and Beyrout respectively.

The Turks, however, are said to have always had secret societies of their own, that of the Begtaschi—it is alleged—numbering many thousands of Mussulmans in its ranks, and in which brotherhood none but a true Moslem can be admitted. The Begtaschi possess certain signs and passwords by which they are enabled to distinguish "true brethren" from vagabond impostors.

The Ancient and Accepted Scots Rite is represented by a Supreme Council 33° of Turkey, founded about 1869, with J. P. Brown as Sovereign Grand Commander. In 1872 he was succeeded by His Highness Prince Halim Pasha, the present head of the Turkish branch of the rite. The operations of this body are, however, confined to the so-called high degrees, so that Turkey can hardly be said to boast of an independent national Masonry.

ROUMANIA.

Prior to 1859 we hear nothing of Freemasonry in this principality. In that year, however, the G.O. of France warranted a Lodge in Bucharest, and the example was followed by others, so that in 1880 Lodges existed as follows:—Under the G.O. of France, 9; G.O. of Italy, 10; and the Grand Lodge of Hungary, 1. On September 8, 1880, the National Grand Lodge of Roumania was formed, and the official list of 1882 shows 19 Lodges, while that of 1884 presents us with the names of 23. But it may be observed that if Roumania began late, it lost no time in acquiring every possible grade and rite that Masonic inventors could supply. On June 24, 1881, the Supreme Council of the Rite of Memphis 95° was erected; on September 8, 1881, the Supreme Council 33° of the A. and A.S.R.; in 1882 the Supreme Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons; and finally—March 10, 1883—the Supreme Grand Lodge and Temple of the Swedenborgian Rite of Roumania. The Grand Lodge follows the Memphis or Ancient and Primitive Rite, with 23 Lodges as already stated, besides 9 Rose Croix Chapters, 1 Senate of Kadosch, 1 Grand Tribunal, and the Supreme Council. The Supreme R.A. Chapter has only 1 subordinate Chapter. The A. and A.S.R. 33° possesses 4 Lodges and 3 Chapters, and the Swedenborgians, 2 Lodges. The Grand Master of one and all these bodies is C. Moroin, Captain of infantry.

Roumania is a small province, but the wide world itself could scarcely offer a more choice selection of pretended Masonic wares.

[1] Proc. G.L. of England, June 1 and 23, 1859.

SERVIA.

In Belgrade, the capital, there are two Lodges under the Grand Orient of Italy.

MALTA.

This small link in England's chain around the globe has never possessed a Grand Lodge of its own, but deserves mention, because at the time of the revival, and until the close of the last century, it was an independent state governed by the military order of the Knights of Malta. It has been repeated *ad nauseam* by foreign writers that the Knights were inimical to the Craft, but so far from this being the case, it has been clearly shown by a recent writer[1] that as individuals they were in many instances stanch supporters of it, and that only officially, and under papal pressure, did the Grand Masters of the Order reluctantly interfere. Acting under this compulsion the G.M. in "1740 caused the Bull of Clement XII. to be published in that island, and forbade the meetings of the Freemasons." "In 1741 the Inquisition pursued the Freemasons at Malta. The G.M. proscribed their assemblies under severe penalties, and six Knights were banished from the island in perpetuity for having assisted at a meeting."[2]

But shortly afterwards Masonry was practised without any great effort at concealment, for an unchartered (or independent) Lodge which dissolved in 1771, reassembled July 2, 1788, under its old title of Secrecy and Harmony. The Master and Deputy Master were Tommasi and De Lovas, both Grand Crosses of the Order, and all the other officers were Knights. A letter of this Lodge is extant, and has been reprinted.[3] In 1789—March 30—the Lodge was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England as No. 539.

The more recent history of Freemasonry in Malta may be very shortly summed up. In 1815 Waller Rodwell Wright was appointed Prov. G.M., and his district was subsequently enlarged so as to embrace the whole of the Mediterranean. Under his successor, Dr Burrows, Gibraltar and Malta became a linked province, but each at the present day possesses its own District G.M. Tunis was incorporated with the Malta district in 1869.

In Malta itself there are six Lodges, five English—Nos. 349, 407, 515, 1923, and 1926—and one Irish—No. 387, formed in 1851—whilst at Tunis there are two—Nos. 1717 and 1835—both of which are on the roll of the G.L. of England. In the island itself, or rather at Valetta, the capital, where all the Maltese Lodges assemble, the membership, as a matter of course, shows a large military element.

[1] A. M. Broadley, The History of Freemasonry in Malta, 1880, pp. 3-8.

[2] Political state of Great Britain, vol. lix., 1740, p. 427; Acta Lat., pp. 47-49; and Broadley, *loc. cit.* The authorities quoted record the occurrence in almost, if not quite, identical terms.

[3] Rapp, Freimaurer in Tyrol, pp. 134, 135; see also the "Handbuch," vol. iii., *s.v.* Malta.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FREEMASONRY IN ASIA—AFRICA—WEST INDIES—MEXICO—CENTRAL AMERICA—SOUTH AMERICA—AUSTRALASIA—OCEANIA.

Freemasonry in Asia.

IT has been the practice of Masonic writers to pass very lightly over the history of Freemasonry in non-European countries, and to exclude almost from mention the condition or progress of the Craft in even the largest Colonies or Dependencies within the sovereignty of an Old World power. Thus we are told by Findel that "the Lodges existing in these quarters of the globe were one and all under the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, Holland, or France, and therefore their history forms an inseparable part of that of the countries in question."[1] With all deference, however, the position here laid down must be respectfully demurred to. In the East and West Indies—and elsewhere—the natives of many countries commingled, Lodges existed under a variety of jurisdictions, and if an intelligent appreciation of Freemasonry is best attained by comparing one Masonic system with another, the brethren at a distance from Europe enjoyed in many cases opportunities denied to those residing in London, Paris, or Berlin. The most popular and extensively diffused of the Masonic Innovations which either claim an equality with, or a superiority over, the Grand Authority of the Craft, was cradled in the Greater Antilles;[2] whilst in the Lesser Antilles—as in the East Indies—British, French, and Dutch Lodges existed side by side. Indeed, in some of these islands, there were, as will shortly appear, Lodges under still other jurisdictions than those already enumerated, and the reader desirous of studying the Masonic history of the West Indies, would, in the absence of any further materials to facilitate his inquiry, be left very much in the position of an astronomer without a telescope, who might seek to compute the path of a planet by conjecture.

I shall therefore do my best, in all cases where there has been a conflict of jurisdictions, to enable those of my readers who are especially interested in the department of inquiry we are now pursuing, to take what I may venture to term "a bird's-eye view" of Freemasonry—both in a general and contemporaneous aspect—as existing at any time in the various portions of the earth's surface which fall within the purview of the present chapter.

According to Rebold, "After Holland had become incorporated with the French Empire (July 1810), the Grand Orient of France assumed the control of all the Dutch Lodges which

[1] P. 614.

[2] *Cf. ante*, pp. 59, 124, and *post*, p. 353

then existed, with the exception of those of the Indies, which remained under the obedience which had created them, and which carried on the title of Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of the Low Countries."[1]

Thus, for a time, and during the temporary obliteration of Holland as a kingdom, what had been the Colonial Lodges of that monarchy, became, in strictness, the only component members of the Grand Lodge.

In another way, as will be presently narrated, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, in British India, became, on more than one occasion, in everything but name, a Grand Lodge, independent of the mother country, and unless its proceedings formed the subject of a separate inquiry, the student who in all good faith accepted the assurance of Findel, that the history of Masonry in Hindostan was inseparable from that of England, would vainly search the archives of the Premier Grand Lodge of the World, for the names of Lodges that never appeared on her roll, or for an account of transactions that were never entered in her records.

INDIA.

BENGAL.—In 1728 a deputation was granted by the Grand Lodge of England to George Pomfret, Esq., authorising him "to open a new Lodge in Bengal." Of this personage nothing further is known; but under Captain Ralph Farwinter, who in the following year succeeded him as "Provincial Grand Master of India," a Lodge was duly established in 1730, which in the Engraved Lists is distinguished by the arms of the Company, and is described as No. 72, at Bengal, in the East Indies.

The next P.G.M.'s were James Dawson, *temp. incert.*, and Zech. Gee, who held the office in 1740; after whom came the Honourable Roger Drake, appointed April 10, 1755. The last named was Governor of Calcutta at the time of the attack made on the settlement by Surajah Dowlah in 1756. Drake escaped the horrors of the Black Hole by deserting his post and flying to the shipping; but though present at the re-taking of Calcutta in January 1757 by the forces under Clive and Watson, it is improbable—after the calamity which befel he Settlemen t—that he resumed the duties of his Masonic office.

The minutes of Grand Lodge inform us that William Mackett, Prov. G.M. of Calcutta, was present at a meeting of that body, November 17, 1760; and we learn on the same authority, that at the request of the Lodges in the East Indies, "Culling Smith, Esq.," was appointed P.G.M. in 1762. At the period in question it was the custom in Bengal "to elect the Prov. G.M. annually, by the majority of the voices of the members then present, from among those who had passed through the different offices of the [Prov.] Grand Lodge, and who had served as Dep. Prov. G.M." This annual election, as soon as notified to the Grand Lodge of England, was confirmed by the G.M. without its being thought an infringement of his prerogative.

In accordance with this practice Samuel Middleton was elected P.G.M. (*circa*) 1767; but in passing I may briefly observe, that a few years previously a kind of roving commission had been granted by Earl Ferrers—1762-64—to "John Bluvitt, commander of the Admiral Watson, Indiaman, for East India, where no other Provincial is to be found."

[1] Hist. des Trois Grandes Loges, p. 119. *Cf. ante*, p. 205.

Middleton's election was confirmed—October 31, 1768—and as the Dispensation forwarded by the Grand Secretary was looked upon as abrogating the practice of annual elections, he accordingly held the office of Prov. G.M. until his death in 1775.[1]

The records of the Provincial Grand Lodge only reach back to 1774, and it will therefore be convenient if, before leaning on their authority, I give a preliminary outline of the progress of Masonry in Bengal from the erection of the first Lodge in 1730.

A second Lodge soon after sprang into existence, which, becoming too numerous, seven of its members were constituted—April 16, 1740—by the Prov. Grand Lodge into a new and regular Lodge. Of the former nothing further is known; but the Grand Lodge of England, on the petition of the latter, ordered "the said Lodge to be enrolled (as requested) in the list of regular Lodges, agreeable to the date of their Constitution."[2]

A Lodge—No. 221—was formed at "Chandernagore, ye chief French Settlement," in 1752.[3] Others sprang up at Calcutta, 1761—No. 275, *now* Lodge of Industry and Perseverance, No. 109; and at Patna and Burdwan, 1768—Nos. 354 and 363, erased in 1790. As the last named, however, were styled respectively the 8th, 9th, and 10th Lodges, some others of local constitution must have been erected.

Five Lodges—Nos. 441-445—were warranted in 1772, the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Lodges of Bengal. These were at Dacca, Calcutta, and with the 1st, 3d, and 2d Brigades respectively. All, however, with the exception of the 6th Lodge, No. 442, Calcutta—afterwards "Unanimity"—were erased in 1790.[4]

The 10th and 11th Lodges of Bengal—Nos. 452 and 453—were added to the roll in 1773, and the 12th—No. 482—in 1775. The former were at Moorshedabad and Calcutta respectively; whilst the latter was "with the 3d Brigade." No. 453, which underwent many vicissitudes, appears later as Lodge Humility with Fortitude; whilst No. 482 is described in 1793 as the Lodge of St George in the East, and in the following year—having then become No. 316—as the Lodge of True Friendship, with the 3d Brigade.

Returning to the year 1774, there appear, from the records of the Prov. Grand Lodge, to have been at that time only three Lodges in Calcutta, viz., (*local*) Nos. 1, Star in the East—constituted in 1740 as the *third*, but which became the *first*, Lodge of Bengal on its predecessor of 1730 dropping out in 1770; 2, Industry and Perseverance; and 3, Humility with Fortitude. Besides these, however, there were Lodges at Chandernagore, Patna, Burdwan, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, and also at some of the military stations or with the army brigades. The Provincial Grand Lodge under England seems to have worked in perfect harmony with a similar body under Holland,[5] "The Grand Lodge of Solomon at Chinsura;" and the officers and members of the two Societies exchanged visits and walked together in processions.

In 1775—February 15—the Prov. Grand Lodge, "taking into consideration the propriety

[1] According to the terms of the Patent, in the absence of Middleton, Thomas Burdell might act until a new Provincial was appointed. It appears, also, that one John Graham was *elected* P.G.M. in 1769 to succeed in like manner.

[2] G.L. Min., April 8, and December 16, 1747. *Cf.* The Four Old Lodges, p. 53.

[3] Dormant in 1788; erased in 1790.

[4] Became No. 292 in 1792, but lapsing in the following year, its place was assigned to Lodge Anchor and Hope, Calcutta, on the *Provincial* establishment.

[5] Constitutions were granted by the Grand Lodge of Holland to the following Lodges in Bengal:—Solomon, 1759; Perseverance, 1771; and Constancy (Hooghly), 1773.

of preserving concord and unanimity, recommend it to the Brethren who call themselves 'Scott and Elect,' that they do lay aside the wearing of red ribbons, or any other marks of distinction but such as are proper to the Three Degrees, or to the Grand Lodge as such"—a request, we are told, which was cheerfully complied with.

In the same year Middleton died, and in 1776 Charles Stafford Pleydell was elected in his room; but the confirmation of the Grand Lodge of England was withheld until 1778. The latter was succeeded by Philip Milner Dacres, under whose presidency the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal had a very brief existence. It assembled for the last time January 25, 1781. Doubtless, the war in the Carnatic, which broke out about that time, had much to do with its dissolution, and Masonry in India was very nearly swept away by it. Every Lodge in Calcutta, where alone in Bengal, Masonry may be said to have existed, was extinguished, with the exception of "Industry and Perseverance," and even there the light glimmered feebly. But the members of that Lodge nobly determined that the light should not go out.

The Provincial Grand Lodge was reopened July 18, 1785 under the presidency of George Williamson, a former Deputy P.G.M., who, on the same date, produced a patent from England, appointing him Acting P.G.M., and directed that a meeting of the Prov. Grand Lodge should be held a fortnight later for the express purpose of electing a Grand Master.[1]

The election, however, did not take place until November 14, when *four* votes were cast for Williamson, and *six* for Edward Fenwick, a former Grand Warden.

The new Prov. G.M. was installed March 17, 1786, although the patent granted to Williamson clearly indicated that he was to retain his *acting* appointment until the confirmation from London of the person who might be *elected* to the office. This led to serious disagreements, which harassed the Fraternity for some years. Williamson was supported by the Grand Lodge of England, but the Prov. Grand Lodge stoutly refused to yield to its mandate;[2] and in spite of repeated protests by the Prov. G.M. *de jure*, Fenwick continued to exercise all the duties of that office, until his election was confirmed, May 5, 1788.[3]

An interesting account of the state of Masonry in Bengal appears in a letter of February 6, 1788, from the Prov. Grand Lodge to Grand Secretary White, from which I extract the following:—

"We earnestly wish to see the whole number of Lodges which existed in 1773 or 1774 re-established. But the Subordinates at Patna, Burdwan, Dacca, and Moorshedabad now consist of such small societies, and these so liable to change, that we must confess it rather to be our wish than our hope to see Lodges established at any of these places.

Country Lodges.

"With respect to the Brigades, they have been divided into six of Infantry and three of Artillery. This regulation has lessened the number of officers in each, and they will be more liable to removals than formerly. The first circumstance must be a great discouragement to the formation of

Military Lodges.

[1] At this assembly, the Wardens of Lodge "Star in the East" said their meetings had been interrupted, because, in the absence of the Prov. Grand Lodge, no new Master could be installed. Williamson, however, ordered them to proceed with the election of a new Master, and engaged to convene a Prov. Grand Lodge for his installation.

[2] A letter from G. Sec. White, dated March 24, 1787—continuing to Williamson the powers specified in his patent of 1784—was read in the Prov. Grand Lodge on August 27 of that year. In the discussion which ensued, the Master of Lodge Star in the East observed:—". . Mr Williamson, whose affairs have long been in a most anxious situation—who has been obliged, for a long time past, to live under a foreign jurisdiction—who now cannot come to Calcutta, but on a Sunday, or, if he comes on any other day, is obliged to conceal himself during the day time, and to be extremely cautious how he goes out even when it is dark"!

[3] The patent, however, did not arrive in India until March 4, 1789.

Lodges in the Brigades, and the second would sometimes expose such Lodges to the risk of being annihilated. However, we shall give all encouragement to the making of applications, and all the support we possibly can to such Lodges as may be constituted."

A grand ball and supper was given by the Prov. Grand Lodge, January 14, 1789, to which invitations were sent, not only to residents in Calcutta, but also to "Bro. Titsingh, Governor of Chinsurah, and other Masons of that Colony; to Bro. Bretel, and the other Masons of Chandernagore; and also to the Masons of Serampore, and to the Sisters of these Colonies, according to what has been customary on such occasions formerly."[1]

In 1790—December 27—Fenwick resigned; and on the same day the Hon. Charles Stuart was elected and installed as his successor. The latter, however—owing to the government of the country devolving upon him in consequence of the absence of Lord Cornwallis from Calcutta—appointed Richard Comyns Birch "Acting Prov. G.M. of Bengal."

The Lodges in the Presidency are thus described in the *Freemasons' Calendar* for 1794:—

Nos.		
70.	Star in the East, Calcutta, 1st L. of Bengal,	1740
143.	Lodge of Industry and Perseverance, Calcutta, 2d Lodge of Bengal, . . .	1761
288.[2]	Lodge of Unanimity, Calcutta, 3d Lodge of Bengal, ...	1772
292.[3]	Anchor and Hope, Calcutta, 6th Lodge of Bengal, ...	1773
293.[4]	Lodge of Humility with Fortitude, Calcutta, 5th Lodge of Bengal, . .	1773
316.[5]	Lodge of True Friendship, with the 3d Brigade, 4th Lodge of Bengal, . .	1775
399.[6]	At Futty Ghur, Bengal, ...	1786
464.	Lodge of the North Star,[7] Fredericksnagore, 7th Lodge of Bengal, . .	1789
528.[8]	At Chunar, in the East Indies, 8th Lodge of Bengal, ...	1793
529.	Lodge of Mars, Cawnpore, 9th Lodge of Bengal, ...	1793

There was also in existence about this time the "Marine Lodge,"[9] Calcutta, which, however, only obtained a local number; and a Stewards' Lodge—established June 24, 1786—with privileges akin to those of its prototype under the Grand Lodge of England.

It unfortunately happened, that the officers of the Prov. Grand Lodge had always been selected from the first two Lodges on the above list, and this circumstance led to no slight dissatisfaction on the part of the other Lodges, who, feeling themselves aggrieved, were not slow to resent the treatment. This it was which mainly conduced to the almost general

[1] Chinsurah, Chandernagore, and Serampore were Dutch, French, and Danish settlements respectively.

[2] Constituted 1771; revived—then consisting of handicraftsmen in Calcutta—1787.

[3] According to the Grand Lodge Records, the Lodge was placed at this *vacant* No. in 1793.

[4] Constituted 1774, but became dormant. Constituted anew by Acting P.G.M. Williamson as No. 14, and given the local No. 11 in 1787.

[5] 1773, constituted by Middleton; 1787, composed of non-commissioned officers and privates belonging to the 3d Brigade, and called No. 10; 1788, the 3d Brigade moving to Berhampore, a new warrant—No. 12—granted to seven members remaining in Calcutta. Whether Nos. 10 or 12 survived in the Lodge above is uncertain; but the latter supposition is the more probable.

[6] Constituted by Williamson; dormant in 1788; erased 1794.

[7] The Danish Factory in Bengal. Constituted—as Lodge No. 13 of Bengal—by the Prov. G.M., March 8, 1789.

[8] Lodge of Sincere Friendship. Dormant 1796-1812. Erased from the *English* roll 1813, though, according to the records of the Prov. Grand Lodge, "doing well, and their members daily increasing," Nov. 23, 1814.

[9] Originally formed by persons employed in the marine service of the Government.

defection, about the close of the century, from the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal, and consequently from the older or legitimate Grand Lodge of England. A Lodge—No. 146—under the Atholl (or *Ancient*) Grand Lodge, was established at Calcutta in 1767, but it took no root, and it does not appear that any further Lodges were erected by the same authority until the secession I am now about to describe. The Lodges "True Friendship" and "Humility with Fortitude" were the first who transferred their allegiance, the former becoming No. 315,[1] or No. 1 of Bengal—Dec. 27, 1797, and the latter, No. 317,[2] or No. 2 of Bengal—April 11, 1798. The "Marine Lodge" followed their example, and obtained a similar warrant—No. 323[3]—March 4, 1801. Meanwhile, Lodge "Star in the East" fell into abeyance, and "Industry and Perseverance" was on the point of closing also. *One* meeting only was held in each of the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, after which, for a long period, there were no more. Lodge "Anchor and Hope" obtained an Atholl warrant as No. 325[4]—Oct. 1, 1801. Little is known of Lodge "Unanimity," which, though carried forward at the Union (1813), must have died out at least several years before.

During the ten or eleven years that intervened between the obliteration of the Prov. Grand Lodge and its re-establishment in 1813, Masonry in Calcutta was represented almost exclusively by the Lodges which had seceded from the (older) Grand Lodge of England.

On St John's Day (in Christmas) 1809, the Lodges, True Friendship, Humility with Fortitude, Marine, No. 338 (*Ancients*) in the 14th Foot, and the "Dispensation Lodge," working under a warrant granted by No. 338, walked in procession to St John's Church, where a Masonic sermon was delivered by the Rev. Dr James Ward.

Happily, Lodges Star in the East, and Industry and Perseverance, were revived in 1812, and on December 22 of that year, accompanied by the "Officers' Lodge,"[5] No. 347 in the 14th Foot, and Humility with Fortitude, also walked in procession to the same church, and benefited by a like sermon from Dr Ward.

On October 4, 1813, the Earl of Moira—who had been appointed Acting Grand Master of India—arrived in Calcutta. The first Masonic act of the Governor-General was to constitute a new Lodge in that city—the Moira, Freedom and Fidelity—November 8, and his second, to re-establish the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal under the Hon. Archibald Seton.

As soon as the union of the two Grand Lodges of England became known in India, the "Atholl" Lodges at Calcutta tendered their allegiance to the Prov. Grand Lodge. These were, True Friendship, Humility with Fortitude, and Marine. The Anchor and Hope—which also seceded from the legitimate Grand Lodge of England—is not mentioned in the records of the Province 1814-40.

At the period of this fusion, there were the following Lodges under the older sanction: The Stewards,[6] Star in the East, Industry and Perseverance, and Sincere Friendship (Chunar). Of these Lodges, the first never held a London warrant, and the last was struck off the roll inadvertently at the Union. There were also then in existence the Moira Lodge, and three others constituted since the revival of the Prov. Grand Lodge, the names of which head the following table of Lodges erected during the period 1813-26:—

[1] Now No. 218. [2] Now No. 229. [3] Now No. 232. [4] Now No. 234.
[5] Possibly the "Dispensation Lodge" before alluded to. [6] Abolished December 27, 1819.

1. Moira,[1] Calcutta, November 13, 1813.
2. Oriental Star,[2] Noacollee, April 21, 1814.
3. Aurora,[3] Calcutta, June 23, 1814.
4. Courage with Humanity,[4] Dum Dum, July 12, 1814.
5. Northern Star, Barrackpore, July 18, 1816.
6. Sincerity, Cawnpore, January 8, 1819.
7. Hastings Lodge of Amity and Independence, Allahabad, April 9, 1821.
8. United Lodge of Friendship, Cawnpore, June 13, 1821.
9. Humanity with Courage, Prince of Wales' Island, July 1822.
10. Amity, St John's, Poona (Deccan), Jan. 30, 1824.
11. Kilwinning in the West, Nusseerabad, October 20, 1824.
12. Larkins' Lodge of Union and Brotherly Love, Dinapore, October 20, 1824.
13. Independence with Philanthropy, Allahabad, October 26, 1825.
14. South-Eastern Star of Light[5] and Victory, Arracan, October 26, 1825.
15. Tuscan, Malacca, October 26, 1825.
16. Royal George, Bombay, December 9, 1825.
17. Union and Perseverance, Agra, October 23, 1826.
18. Kilwinning in the East, Calcutta, Dec. 23, 1826.

Out of these *eighteen* Lodges, however, only *seven*—Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, and 18 above—secured a footing on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England,[6] and it is not a little curious that of the two now alone surviving, Courage with Humanity (1814), and Independence with Philanthropy (1825), which were placed on the general list in the same year (1828) in juxtaposition, the latter bears the earlier *number*, and has the higher precedence!

The sway of Earl Moira extended over the whole of India, and he was empowered by the Duke of Sussex to appoint Provincial Grand Masters for Districts, with rank and authority equal to those appointed by the Grand Master himself.

The Acting Prov. G.M.—Seton—left India in 1817, and the Governor-General—then Marquis of Hastings—intimated to the Prov. Grand Lodge that he had selected the Hon. C. Stuart to succeed him. The latter does not appear, however, to have entered upon the duties of his office; and in the following year—January 17—the Hon. C. R. Lindsay was successively appointed, by warrants of Lord Hastings, Prov. G.M. of Bengal, January 17, 1818, and Deputy G.M. of India, January 13, 1819.

On November 30, 1818, an application was made to the Grand Master of India, by eight brethren residing at Poona, in the Deccan, praying for authority to meet as Lodge "St Andrew" at that station, and also for "a dispensation for holding a Provincial Lodge, for the purpose of making the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone a Mason, he having expressed a wish to that effect." The petitioners further requested "that his name might be inserted in the body of the warrant, authorising them to install him, after being duly passed and raised, a Deputy G.M. of the Deccan." Of the reply made to this application, no record has been preserved.

[1] Of this Lodge—the only one in India warranted by Earl Moira—the first Master was Major-General Sir W. G. Keir, and the first Wardens Col. C. J. Doyle and Commodore Hayes. It numbered thirty-eight members within a month of its constitution, but had ceased to work in 1821.

[2] Sent £100 to the English charities, 1816; warrant surrendered 1821.

[3] Amalgamated with Lodge True Friendship, 1830.

[4] Composed for many years of non-commissioned officers of the Bengal Artillery. It threw off a shoot in Penang—Humanity with Courage—in 1822, which took the place of the Neptune Lodge (*Atholl*), No. 344, established in 1809.

[5] Owing to the dispersion of the petitioners, never actually established.

[6] Nos. 685, Oriental Star, 1817; 816, Aurora, 1827; 822, Independence with Philanthropy; and 823, Courage with Humanity, 1828; 824, Sincerity; 825, Hastings; and 845, Kilwinning in the East, 1829.

Lindsay was succeeded as Deputy G.M. of India, and Prov. G.M. of Bengal, by John Pascal Larkins, December 24, 1819. In 1822—December 20—an address was presented to Lord Hastings on his approaching departure; and a week later, on the Festival of St John, that nobleman was present at the Cathedral Church—whither the Lodges had walked in procession—in his capacity of Grand Master.

Larkins returned to Europe in 1826, from which date until 1840 the Craft in Bengal was (nominally) ruled by a Prov. G.M. in England, with a Deputy at Calcutta. This resulted in the extinction of the Prov. Grand Lodge, and the annihilation of all order and constituted authority for a time. In 1827—November 22—Lodge Independence with Philanthropy, at Allahabad, so resented the conduct of the P.G.L. as to return its warrant, intimating that its future meetings would be held under a dispensation obtained from Lodge Union, No. 432 (Irish Register), in the 14th Foot,[1] until a warrant could be obtained from England, for which application had been made direct.[2]

The Lodges in Bengal made their returns regularly, and forwarded their dues punctually, to the Prov. Grand Lodge; but as no steps were taken for the transmission of these returns and dues to their destination, the Grand Lodge of England ceased to notice or regard the tributary Lodges of Bengal. On the submission of a motion for inquiry—March 22, 1828—the Deputy Prov. G.M. "felt himself constrained to resign his chair on the spot, and the Grand Wardens also tendered their resignations."

This led, at the instance of Lodge Aurora—to the formation of a representative body, styled the LODGE OF DELEGATES, who were charged with the duty of preparing a memorial to the Grand Lodge of England, which, bearing date August 28, 1828, was sent to the Duke of Sussex, signed by the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges:—True Friendship, Humility with Fortitude, Marine, Aurora, Courage with Humanity, and Kilwinning in the East.

To this no reply was vouchsafed. The letters of the Lodges in Bengal remained unanswered, and their requests unheeded. The usual certificates for brethren made in the country were withheld, notwithstanding that the established dues were regularly remitted; and applications for warrants were also unnoticed, though they were accompanied by the proper fees. This state of affairs continued until 1834, when the question of separation from the Grand Lodge of England was gravely and formally mooted in the Lodges. Overtures for a reconciliation at length came in the shape of certificates for brethren who had by this time grown grey in Masonry. Answers to letters written long ago were also received; but the most important

[1] In 1834, some Masons at Delhi applied to their brethren at Meerut for an acting constitution of this kind, which might serve their purpose until the receipt of a warrant from the Grand Lodge of *England*. At the latter station there were two Lodges, one of which, however, was itself working under dispensation, and could not therefore dispense grace to another. The other belonged to the 26th Foot, No. 26, under the Grand Lodge of *Ireland*. This Lodge declined giving a dispensation, for the somewhat Irish reason that the Cameronian Lodge had already granted one to another Lodge, *of the propriety of which act they had great doubt;* and that until an answer had been received from Ireland, they could not commit a second act of doubtful legality! The custom, however, was a very old one. In 1759, Lodge No. 74, I.R., in the 1st Foot (2d Batt.), granted an exact copy of its warrant—dated October 26, 1737—to some brethren at Albany, to work under until they received a separate charter from *Ireland*. This was changed—February 21, 1765—for a warrant from George Harrison, *English* Prov. G.M. of New York; and the Lodge—Mount Vernon—is now No. 3 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of that State. *Cf.* Barker, Early Hist. of the G.L. of New York, preface, p. xviii.

[2] The request appears to have been granted, as the Lodge was placed on the English roll—as No. 822—in 1828. *Cf. ante*, p. 330, note 6.

concession made by the Grand Lodge of England was the constitution of the first District Grand Lodge of Bengal—under Dr John Grant—which held its first meeting, February 28, 1840.[1]

During the decade immediately preceding this epoch eight new Lodges had been erected in Bengal; and from 1840 down to the present year there has been an addition of 81 under the English and 11 under the Scottish registers respectively.

Although the Masonic jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland has always been a favourite one with the rank and file of the British army, and the number of military Lodges under it has ever been vastly in excess of those owning allegiance to any other authority, only a single Irish warrant for a stationary Lodge in India appears to have been issued. This was granted in 1837 to some brethren at Kurnaul, but its activity seems not to have outlasted the year of its constitution. An attempt was made in 1862 to establish an Irish Lodge in Bombay, but on the representation of the Grand Secretary of England to the Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland that it would be objectionable "to create a third Masonic independent jurisdiction in the province, there being already two, viz., English and Scotch," the Grand Lodge of Ireland declined to grant the warrant.[2]

In the decennial periods 1840-50 and 1850-60 there were in each instance 12 additions to the roll. In 1860-70 the new Lodges amounted to 19, and in 1870-85 to 38. These figures are confined to the English Lodges, but extend over the area now occupied in part by the District Grand Lodges of Burma and the Punjaub, both of which were carved out of the territory previously comprised within the Province of Bengal, in 1868. The following statistics show the number of Lodges existing—January 1, 1886—in the various states and districts which until 1868 were subject to the Masonic government of Bengal: under the Grand Lodge of England—Bengal (D.G.L.), 39; British Burma (D.G.L.), 7; and Punjab (D.G.L.), 24. Under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 11—the earliest of which, St David (originally Kilwinning) in the East, No. 371, Calcutta, was constituted February 5, 1849.

The Dutch Lodges in Hindostan have passed out of existence, but with regard to these, and also to certain other Lodges established by the Grand Lodge of Holland in various places beyond the seas, the materials for an exhaustive list are not available to the historian.

MADRAS.—The earliest Lodge in Southern India—No. 222—was established at Madras in 1752. Three others—Nos. 353-355—were formed at the same station in 1765. Shortly afterwards, about 1766, Captain Edmond Pascal was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Madras and its Dependencies; and in the following year a fifth Lodge, No. 323, was erected at Fort St George. It is worthy of recollection that for a short period this Presidency was predominant over all the other English settlements in India; and during the latter half of the eighteenth century the continuous wars with the French, and afterwards with Hyder Ali and his son, cause the Carnatic to figure largely in Indian history.

[1] Authorities up to this point:—G. L. Records; Constitutions; Masonic Calendars—England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, France, and Bengal; A. D'Cruz, "Freemasonry in Bengal," 1866; Communications from the Grand Secretaries of Scotland, Ireland, and Holland, and from Mr H. D. Sandeman—Prov. G.M. of Bengal, 1862-75; F. Q. Rev., 1838, p. 465 *et seq.*; 1845, p. 377. For what follows in the text—in addition to the above—I have consulted Laurie, pp. 219, 256, 271, 276, 395; Constitutions, Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1881, pp. 154, 160; Preston, edit. 1821, p. 258; Freemasons' Magazine, 1863, pt. i., p. 442; Freemasons' Chronicle, vol. v., 1877, pp. 274, 290; and am indebted somewhat to my own personal recollections.

[2] Grand Lodge Minutes, June 4, 1862.

In 1768, a Lodge—No. 152—was established by the Atholl (or *Ancient*) Grand Lodge of England at Fort St George; and in 1773 one by the Grand Lodge of Holland at Negapatam. The next event of importance was the initiation, in 1776, of Umdat-ul-Umará,[1] eldest son of the Nabob of Arcot, at Trichinopoly—who, in his reply to the congratulations of the Grand Lodge of England, stated "he considered the title of an English Mason as one of the most honourable he possessed."

A Provincial Grand Lodge under the Atholl sanction was established at Fort St George in 1781, "but the dissensions in the settlements had so rent asunder every link of social life, that even the fraternal bond of Masonry had been annihilated in the general wreck."[2]

In 1786—February 20—Brigadier-General Horne was appointed (by the Duke of Cumberland) "Prov. G.M. for the Coast of Coromandel, the Presidency of Madras, and parts adjacent," and under this able officer a union of the brethren in Southern India was effected.

At this period all the Lodges under the older Grand Lodge of England seem to have been extinct; but in 1786 the Carnatic Military Lodge, No. 488, was established at Arcot; and in the following year the Lodge No. 152 tendered its allegiance to General Horne, and surrendering its warrant, joined one of the Lodges under that officer. Of these, four were *added* to the roll in 1787, Nos. 510-513—Perfect Harmony, St Thomas Mount; Social Friendship, Madras; Trichinopoly; and Social Friendship, St Thomas Mount—and styled Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, Coast of Coromandel.[3] Two other Lodges were also *established* in the same year, the Stewards and Perfect Unanimity, which, according to the loose practice of those days, were given the *places* on the list of the two earliest Madras Lodges, and became (in 1790) Nos. 102 and 233[4] respectively.

A Lodge of happy nomenclature—La Fraternité Cosmopolite—was constituted at Pondicherry in 1786 by the Grand Orient of France, and a second—Les Navigateurs Réunis—in 1790.

In the latter year—July 5—John Chamier received a similar patent—as Prov. G.M.—to that previously held by General Horne, and was succeeded by Terence Gahagan, 1806; and Herbert Compton,[5] 1812. During this period four Lodges were added to the roll—Solid Friendship, Trichinopoly, 1790; Unity, Peace, and Concord, 1798; St Andrew's Union 19th Foot, 1802; and Philanthropists, in the Scotch Brigade [94th Foot], 1802, at Madras. These Lodges were numbered 572, 574, 590, and 591 on the *general*, and 7, 9, 10, and 11 (Coast of Coromandel) on the *local* lists respectively.[6]

After the Union, the province was ruled by Dr Richard Jebb, 1814; George Lys, 1820;

[1] The last reigning Nabob of Arcot (1795-1801). The dignity was abolished in 1855, but that of Prince of Arcot was granted by letters patent to Azím Jáh (uncle of the last titular Nabob), in 1865.

[2] Letter from Sir John Day, Advocate-General, Bengal, to Umdat-ul-Umará, 1778, accompanying an Apron and Book of Constitutions, entrusted by the Grand Lodge of England to the former for presentation to the latter (Freemasons' Calendar, 1781, p. 43).

[3] Nos. 488, 510, and 512 were "dropped out" at the Union (1813), and 511 and 513 were erased March 5, 1862; 511, however, was subsequently restored to the roll, and is *now* Lodge of the Rock, Trichinopoly, No. 260.

[4] The numbers allotted to the Nos. 222 and 353 of 1752 and 1765 respectively at the closing up of numbers in 1782. Perfect Unanimity still exists (No. 150), but the Stewards Lodge is extinct.

[5] S.G.W. of England, 1809.

[6] None were carried forward at the Union (1813) except No. 574, which about 1826-27 was attached to the 1st Foot (the Royal Regiment), and still exists.

and in 1825 by Compton once more. The name of this worthy only disappears from the *Freemasons' Calendar* in 1842, and with it the provincial title, "Coast of Coromandel" —exchanged for "Madras," over which Lord Elphinstone had been appointed Prov. G.M. in 1840.

Within this period—1814-42—numerous Lodges were warranted locally, as in Bengal; but 13 only—of which 7 were in Madras itself—secured places on the London register. Eighteen English Lodges have since been established in the Presidency, and there are at present in existence 20 Lodges on the register of England and two on that of Scotland—both erected in 1875—but the introduction of Scottish Lodges into India will be referred to in the ensuing section.

The French Lodge at Pondicherry—La Fraternité Cosmopolite—was revived (or a new one established under the old title) in 1821. Another—L'Union Indienne—was erected at the same station in 1851. At the present date, however, there exist throughout India and its dependencies no other Lodges than those under the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland respectively.

BOMBAY.—Two Lodges were established in this Presidency during the last century—Nos. 234, Bombay, in 1758, and 569, Surat, in 1798, both of which were carried on in the lists until 1813, but disappear at the Union. A Provincial Grand Master—James Todd—was appointed in 1763, whose name only drops out of the *Freemasons' Calendar* in 1799. In 1801, an Atholl warrant, No. 322, was granted to the 78th Foot, which regiment was engaged in the Mahratta war under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and took part in the decisive victory of Assaye (1803). In 1818, as we have already seen,[1] Lord Moira was asked to constitute a Lodge at Poona. But none were again established in the Presidency until 1822, in which year the Benevolent Lodge, No. 746, Bombay, was placed on our lists.[2] In 1823, a Military Lodge—Orion in the West—was formed in the Bombay Artillery, and "installed" at Poona as No. 15, Coast of Coromandel, November 15. According to the early proceedings of this Lodge, members "were examined in the Third Degree, and passed into the chair of the Fourth Degree" —for which a fee of three gold mohurs was exacted. In the following year, a second Lodge at Poona was established by the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal,[3] which, however, has left no trace of its existence. In 1825, the civilian element of Orion seceded, and formed the Lodge of Hope, also at Poona, No. 802. Here, Orion, unrecognised at home, aided in the secession of

[1] *Ante*, p. 330.

[2] Among the Masons about this time in Bombay were thirteen non-commissioned officers who were too poor to establish a Lodge of their own, and too modest to seek admittance in what was considered an aristocratic Lodge. They met, however, monthly in the guard-room over the Apollo Gate, for mutual instruction in Masonry. This coming to the knowledge of the Benevolent Lodge, the thirteen were elected honorary members of No. 746, for which they returned heartfelt thanks. At their first attendance, when the Lodge work was over, and the brethren adjourned to the banquet, the thirteen were informed that refreshments awaited them *downstairs*. Revolting at the distinction thus made among Masons, they one and all left the place. The next morning they were sent for by their commanding officer, who was also one of the officers of the Lodge, and asked to explain their conduct. One of the party—Mr W. Willis (by whom this anecdote was first related to me), told him that as Masons they were bound to meet on the Level and part on the Square; but as this fundamental principle was not practised in No. 746, of which they had been elected honorary members, they could not partake of their hospitality. The astonished colonel uttered not a word, but waved his hand for them to retire. Ever after this, the Benevolent Lodge—including the thirteen—met on the Level, both in Lodge and at the banquet-table.

[3] *Ante*, p. 330.

some of its members, who obtained a warrant, on the recommendation of the parent Lodge, from the Grand Lodge of England. A Lodge was erected at Bombay—Perseverance, No. 818—in 1828. Two years later it was discovered that no notification of the existence of Orion in the West had reached the Grand Lodge of England, nor had any fees been received, though these, including the quarterages, had been regularly paid to the Prov. Grand Lodge of the Coast of Coromandel. It was further ascertained that in granting a warrant for a Bombay Lodge, the Prov. G.M. of the Coast of Coromandel had exceeded his powers. Ultimately, a new warrant, No. 598, was granted from England, July 19, 1833.

Up to this time the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England had not been invaded; but in 1836 Dr James Burnes[1] was appointed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, Provincial G.M. of Western India and its dependencies. No Prov. Grand Lodge, however, was formed until January 1, 1838. A second Scottish Province—of Eastern India—was subsequently erected, which, on the retirement of the Marquis of Tweeddale,[2] was absorbed within the jurisdiction of Dr Burnes, who, in 1846, became Prov. G.M. for all India (including Aden), but with the proviso, that this appointment was not to act in restraint of any future subdivision of the Presidencies.

Burnes, in 1836, may be best described, in ecclesiastical phrase, as a Prov. G.M. "*in partibus infidelium*," for whatever Lodges then existed throughout the length and breadth of India were strangers to Scottish Masonry. But the times were propitious. There was no English Provincial Grand Lodge of Bombay; and under the Chevalier Burnes, whom nature had bountifully endowed with all the qualities requisite for Masonic administration, Scottish Masonry presented such attractions, that the strange sight was witnessed of English Masons deserting their mother Lodges to such an extent that these fell into abeyance, in order that they might give their support to Lodges newly constituted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. In one case, indeed, a Lodge—Perseverance—under England went over bodily to the enemy, with its name, jewels, furniture, and belongings, and the charge was accepted by Scotland.

From this period, therefore, Scottish Masonry flourished, and English Masonry declined, the latter finally becoming quite dormant until the year 1848, when a Lodge, St George—No. 807 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England—was again formed at Bombay, and for some years was the solitary representative of English Masonry in the Province.

In 1844, Burnes established a Lodge, No. 413, "Rising Star," at Bombay, for the admission of natives—by whom a beautiful medal, cut by Wyon, was struck in consequence[3]—and No. 414, St Andrew in the East, at Poona. These were followed by Nos. 421—Hope, Kurrachee—and 422—Perseverance, Bombay—in 1847.[4]

Scottish Lodges were next erected in Bengal—No. 353, *now* 371, Kilwinning in the East, Calcutta, 1849; and in Arabia—No. 355, Felix, Aden, 1850. At the close of 1885, 33 Lodges

[1] *Ante*, p. 68; and see Chap. XI., p. 504.

[2] So far Laurie (edit. 1859, p. 395); but I am informed by Lyon (on whose authority is given what follows in the text) that though Lord Tweeddale was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras from April 1842 to September 1848, his name does not occur in any records of the Grand Lodge of Scotland of that period, nor indeed of any other, as Prov. G.M. of Eastern India. It may be added that the first Scottish Lodge constituted in any other Presidency than Bombay was No. 353, "Kilwinning (*now* St David) in the East," Calcutta, erected February 5, 1849.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 68, note 7.

[4] The dates here given merely represent when the charters granted by Burnes were confirmed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. As Nos. 421 and 422 enjoy precedence from 1842, they were probably locally constituted in that year.

in all—or under Bombay, 19; Bengal, 11; Madras, 2; and in Afghanistan, 1—had received Charters from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. With a single exception—which reduces the Bombay Lodges to 18—these are all in existence.

Burnes left India in 1849, and was succeeded by a Prov. G.M. of Western India only. In 1874, however, Captain Henry Morland became Prov. G.M. of Hindostan, and was subsequently commissioned as Grand Master of All Scottish Freemasonry in India.

Returning to the Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England. St George—No. 807—constituted in 1848, was for ten years the only representative of its class. In 1858, however, Lodges "Concord"—No. 1059—and "Union"—No. 1069—were established at Bombay and Kurrachee respectively. A year later, "Orion in the West" awoke from its dormancy.[1] In 1861, a Provincial Grand Lodge was established, and since that date 18 Lodges have been chartered in the district, 15 of which survive, and, together with Orion, St George, Concord, and Union, form a grand total of 19 Lodges under the District G.M. of Bombay.

Until of late years, it cannot be said that Freemasonry has taken any real root among the native population of India. Umdat-ul-Umará, son of the Nabob of Arcot, was admitted a member of the Society, as we have already seen, in 1776. The princes Keyralla Khan (of the Mysore family) and Shadad Khan (ex-Ameer of Scinde) joined, or were made Masons in, the Lodge of "True Friendship" in 1842 and 1850 respectively; and in 1861 the Maharajahs Duleep and Rundeer Sing were initiated in Lodges "Star of the East" and "Hope and Perseverance"—the last-named personage at Lahore, and the other three in Calcutta.

A by-law of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal, forbidding the entry of Asiatics without the permission of the P.G.M., was in force until May 12, 1871; and there was at least a popular belief in existence so late as 1860,[2] that Hindus were ineligible for initiation. The Parsees of Western India were the first of the native races who evinced any real interest in the institution, and are to be congratulated on the recent election (1886) of one of their number—Mr Cama—to the high position of Treasurer of the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1876, a Scottish Lodge, No. 587, "Islam"—presumably for the association of Mohammedans—was erected at Bombay. The extent to which Freemasonry is now practised by the Hindus—who form 73½ per cent. of the total population of India—I am unable to determine. The first of this class of religionists to fill the chair of a Lodge was Mr Dutt, whose election in 1874 may not have been without influence in the diffusion of Masonic light.

The *Indian Freemasons' Friend*, a publication of rare merit, was set on foot at Calcutta in 1855, but was short-lived. A new or second series was commenced in May 1861, and lasted

[1] It was at my instance that this Lodge was revived, and I had the pleasure—being then W.M. of No. 1045, attached to the 31st Foot—of installing the Master—Colonel Forster, R.A., an old P.M. of the Lodge—on the occasion.

[2] An assistant military apothecary was initiated in the Meridian Lodge, 31st Foot, in that year. The legality of this act—on the score of the intrant being a Brahmin—was demurred to in the Masonic press; and the 31st Regiment being with the Expeditionary Force in China, Mr G. W. Ingram, P.M., No. 345, took up the cudgels on behalf of the Lodge, pointing out, in an elaborate argument, "that the very ground-work of the Brahmin faith is the belief in one Grand Superintending Being." The journal in which these letters appeared ultimately reached the Lodge—then at Tien-Tsin—when I addressed to it a final letter, deposing that, having filled the chair on the occasion alluded to, the individual whose admission had been called in question was, "by his own statement, delivered to me in person, a Christian." *Cf.* Freemasons' Magazine, April 21, September 8, and October 13, 1860; and May 18, 1861; and for some startling assertions respecting Freemasonry forming a portion of the Brahminical knowledge, see Higgins, Anacalypsis, 1836, vol. i., pp. 767-69; and H. Melville, Revelation of Mysteries, etc., 1876, p. 17.

to the end of 1867. In Bombay, the *Masonic Record of Western India* enjoys an extensive circulation, and is very ably conducted.

East India Islands.

Ceylon.—Masonry was established in this island—which I here group with all those which in former days were conveniently included in the expression "East Indies"—by the Grand Lodge of Holland. Lodges were erected at Colombo—Fidelity—1771; Point de Galle—Sincerity—1773; and at Colombo again—Union—1794. In 1795 the British took possession of the Dutch settlements on the island, and annexed them to the Presidency of Madras; but six years after, in 1801, Ceylon was formed into a separate Crown colony.

At this period—February 9, 1801—a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland was granted to the officers of the 51st Regiment, stationed at Colombo, for the Orange Lodge, No. 274. Lodges under the Atholl (or *Ancient*) sanction were also formed on the island—Nos. 329—in the 6th Battalion R.A.—1802; and 340—in the 34th Foot—1807.

Under the older Grand Lodge of England, a Provincial Grand Master—Sir Alexander Johnston—was appointed in 1810, whose name, however, disappears from the lists before the establishment of the first stationary English Lodge—St John's, No. 665—in 1838. But in the meantime greater activity was displayed under other jurisdictions. An Irish Lodge—No. 62—sprang up at Colombo in 1821, and a French one—Union, under the G.O.—in 1822. The latter of these was revived, or a new Lodge formed with the same name, in 1832.

At the present time there are six Lodges on the island, four Irish—Nos. 107, 112, 115, and 298, dating from 1861, 1863, 1868, and 1874, respectively; one English—St John's above, *now* No. 454; and one Scottish—No. 611, dating from 1877; an earlier Lodge—No. 446, erected at Kandy in 1865—having ceased to exist. The Irish Lodges are subject to a Prov. G.M. appointed in 1877, and No. 611 to the G.M. of All Scottish Freemasonry in India.

The Dutch Lodges, though now extinct, evinced great tenacity of existence. The two named above survived until within recent memory, and others were constituted, not only in Ceylon, but also in the East and West Indies, of which a very imperfect record has been preserved.[1]

Sumatra.—An English Lodge—No. 356—was established at Bencoolen in 1765, and two others—Nos. 424 and 559—at Fort Marlborough in 1772 and 1796 respectively. These continued to appear in the lists until 1813; but only one, the "Marlboro" (afterwards "Rising Sun") Lodge (1772), was carried forward at the Union, which ultimately became No. 242, and having omitted to make any returns for several years, was erased March 5, 1862.

Sumatra was erected into an English province in 1793 under John Macdonald, who was succeeded as Prov. G.M.—December 10, 1821—by H. R. Lewis, and the latter continued to hold office until his death in 1877, there having been *one* Lodge in existence at the time of his original appointment, and none at all for fifteen years preceding his decease.

At the present date there are two Lodges on the island, one—No. 41, Mata Hari, at

[1] An exhaustive list of the Lodges chartered *out of Holland* by the Grand Lodge of that country is a *desideratum* in Masonic literature. The accounts of the *earliest* Dutch Lodges in the East and West Indies are derived from the (English) "Freemasons' Calendar," 1776 and 1778, and the (German) "Handbuch," which are substantially in accord. For a list of the Dutch Colonial Lodges at the present date I am indebted to Mr J. P. Vaillant.

Padang; the other—No. 75, Prince Frederick, at Kotta Raja (Atchin). These were constituted by the Grand Lodge of Holland in 1858 and 1880 respectively.

JAVA.—Masonry was introduced into this island in 1769, and a Lodge—Star in the East—constituted by the Grand Lodge of Holland at Batavia, which still exists. Others soon after sprang up in the capital and the larger towns, of which, however, no precise record is obtainable. A second Lodge was erected at Batavia in 1771, and charters were granted to brethren at Samarang in 1801, and at Sourabaya in 1809. At the present time (1886) there are eight Lodges in Java—at Batavia, Samarang, Sourabaya, Djokdjokarta, Rambang, Surakarta, Salatiga, and Problingo. These are governed by Mr T. H. Dei Kinderen, Deputy National Grand Master for the East Indies of the Netherlands.

CELEBES.—A Lodge—Arbeid Adelt (*Labour ennobles*), No. 79—under the Grand Lodge of Holland, was erected at Macassar in 1883.

BORNEO.—On this, the largest island of the world—if we regard Australia as continental—an English Lodge was established in 1885, No. 2106, Elopura, at the station of the same name in North Borneo.

THE PHILIPPINES.—Masonry in these islands is of recent introduction, but at Manilla, the capital, there are now (1886) four Lodges in existence; one—No. 39—under the National Grand Orient, and three—Nos. 179, 204, and 208—under the Grand Lodge of Spain. The latter form a Province, and are subject to a Provincial Superintendent.

PERSIA.

Thory informs us that Askeri-Khan, ambassador of the Shah at Paris, and who was himself admitted into Masonry in that city—November 24, 1808—took counsel with his French brethren respecting the foundation of a Lodge at Ispahan.[1] Whether this project was ever carried into effect it is impossible to say, but two years later we find another Persian—also an ambassador—figuring in Masonic history. On June 15, 1810, "His Excellency Mirza Abul Hassan Khan" was granted the rank of Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England.[2] This personage—the Minister accredited from the Court of Persia to that of Great Britain—in addition to having been a great traveller both in Hindostan and Arabia, had also performed his devotions at Mecca. In the course of his journey from Teheran he passed through Georgia, Armenia, and Anatolia. At Constantinople he embarked in a British man-of-war, and reached England in December 1809. Sir Gore Ousely, Bart., who was selected to attend upon the Mirza "as Mehmander—an officer of distinction, whose duty it is to receive and entertain foreign princes and other illustrious personages"[3]—in the following year (1810) received the appointment of ambassador to the Shah of Persia, and was also granted an English patent as Provincial G.M. for that country. No Lodges, however, were established in Persia at any time by the Grand Lodge of England, nor,—so far as the evidence extends—by any other external authority. The Mirza Abul Hassan Khan was made a Mason by Lord Moira in 1810.[4] The extent of his services to the Craft we must leave undecided; but it was stated somewhat recently in the Masonic journals, on the authority of a Persian

[1] Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 237; *cf. ante*, p. 119.
[2] European Magazine, vol. lvii., 1810, p. 403.
[3] Grand Lodge Records.
[4] Freemasons' Magazine, Jan. 2, 1864.



GENERAL J. S. BROWNRIGG, C.B.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER, SURREY

military officer[1] then pursuing his studies in Berlin, that nearly all the members of the Court of Teheran are brethren of our Society.

The Straits Settlements.

The Neptune Lodge, No. 344, was established at Penang (or Prince of Wales Island) by warrant of the Duke of Atholl, September 6, 1809, but became extinct in 1819. Three years later, a Military Lodge—Humanity with Courage—was warranted from Bengal.[2] The proceedings of this body, however, becoming irregular by the initiation of civilians, the Duke of Sussex renewed the charter of the Atholl Lodge, which flourished for a time, but eventually fell into decay, and was erased, together with another Lodge, "Neptune"—also at Penang, erected in 1850—No. 846 on the English roll, March 5, 1862. The only Lodge now existing in this settlement is No. 1555, warranted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1875.[3]

Passing over Malacca—where a Lodge was formed under the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal in 1825, but which never secured a place on the general list—we next come to Singapore, where English Lodges were established in 1845, 1858, and 1867, named Zetland in the East, Fidelity, and St George, Nos. 748, 1042, and 1152 respectively. Of these the first and last survive, and, together with the Lodge at Penang, compose the province of the Eastern Archipelago, of which Mr W. H. Read was appointed the first Prov. G.M. in 1858.

Cochin-China.

In this French dependency, a Lodge—Le Réveil de l'Orient—was established by warrant of the Grand Orient of France, October 22, 1868.

China.

During the last century, two Lodges of foreign origin were constituted in the Celestial Empire—the Lodge of "Amity," No. 407, under an English, and "Elizabeth" under a Swedish, warrant. The former was erected in 1767, the latter in 1788; and in each case the place of assembly was Canton. The English Lodge was not carried forward at the Union (1813), and "Elizabeth," as I am informed by the Grand Secretary of Sweden, came to an end in 1812.

The next Lodge erected on Chinese soil was the Royal Sussex, No. 735, at Canton, for which a warrant was granted by the United G.L. of England in 1844. A second—Zetland, No. 768—was established at Hong-Kong under the same sanction, in 1846; and a third—Northern Lodge of China—at Shanghai, in 1849. No further increase of Lodges took place until 1864, in which year two were added to the English roll, at Hong-Kong and Shanghai respectively; and one each at the latter port under the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Massachusetts.[4] The progress of the Craft in the "Middle Kingdom" has since been marked, but uneventful, though as yet Freemasonry has failed to diffuse its light beyond the British colony

[1] A Mussulman, admitted (after examination) into a Berlin Lodge. *Cf.* Freemason, June 28, 1873.

[2] *Ante*, p. 330. [3] *Cf.* F. Q. Rev., 1835, p. 460; 1846, p. 375; and Atholl Lodges, p. 62.

[4] At the time this occurred, I was W.M. of the Northern Lodge of China, *now* No. 570, and can therefore bear witness to the unity and concord which pervaded all the Lodges in Shanghai at that period. In the following year (1865), a few days before my departure from the Settlement, by desire of the associated Lodges—English, Scottish, and American—I laid the foundation-stone of a Masonic Hall, which is not the least of the pleasing recollections connected with my sojourn in the East.

of Hong-Kong, and the various ports on the mainland opened up by treaty to the merchants of foreign powers. Mr Samuel Rawson was appointed by Lord Zetland Prov. G.M. for China in 1847; and a second Province was carved out of the old one in 1877, by the appointment of Mr Cornelius Thorne as District G.M. for Northern China.

At the present time (1886) there are in existence at Victoria (Hong-Kong), and the Chinese treaty-ports, 13 English, 1 American, and 4 Scottish Lodges; and with a solitary exception—No. 1217, at Ningpo, formed in 1868, under the Grand Lodge of England, but now extinct—all the Lodges erected in China or Hong-Kong since the revival of Masonry in the Far East (1844), are still active, and can therefore be traced in the calendars of current date, by those desirous of further information respecting them.

Many secret societies exist in China, which, under slightly varied names (and spellings), will be found alluded to in the note below.[1]

The best known of these is the Triad Society, which has its headquarters in the Straits Settlements, no longer daring to show itself as an institution within the limits of the Middle Kingdom, though not a few of its members are to be found at and about Amoy. It took its rise some hundred and fifty years ago. The term "Triad" here alludes to a conjunction of the three great powers in nature—Heaven, Earth, and Man; hence it is sometimes called the Heaven and Earth Society. It admits members with ceremonies very similar to our own.[2]

JAPAN.

English Lodges bearing the following numbers were erected at Yokohama—1092 and 1263—in 1866 and 1869; at Yedo (now extinct)—1344—in 1870; at Kobe—1401—in 1872; and at Tôkiô—2015—in 1883. These are subject to a Prov. G.M., who was appointed in 1873.

There are also three Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Scotland—Nos. 498, 640, and 710—at Kobe, Yokohama, and Nagasaki, established in 1870, 1879, and 1884 respectively.

There are numerous stories by the Japanese, during the latter part of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, of mysterious documents carefully preserved in secret by the natives—precious heirlooms. Several of these are matters of history; and a theory has been advanced that the documents in question were the more important vouchers of Masonic Lodges, warrants, lists of affiliated brethren, etc., and in some instances the certificates of ancestors.[3] A noted Secret Society of Japan, that of the *Komosô*, now extinct or in abeyance, has been referred to at a previous page.[4]

NORTH AFRICA.

EGYPT.—Masonry, according to the "Official Bulletin" of the National Grand Orient at present existing in the valley of the Nile—in the form of a Memphis Lodge—was introduced into the country by Napoleon, Kleber, and other French officers in 1798 (?). Lodges of the Craft, however, practising pure and ancient Freemasonry, are not heard of until 1802,

[1] Thory, Ann. Or., 1813, pp. 233, 235; Gustave Schlegel, Thian ti hwi, the Hung-League, or Heaven-Earth-League, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India, Batavia, 1866; L. de Rosny, La Franc-Maçonnerie chez les Chinois, 1844; K. R. H. Mackenzie, Royal Mas. Cycl., p. 679, and Mas. Mag., vol. ix., 1881, pp. 89, 133; Notes and Queries, 1st ser., vol. xii., p. 233; and H. A. Giles, Freemasonry in China, 1880.

[2] Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 27, *ut supra.*

[3] Outlines of a Lecture on Masonry in Japan in the Seventeenth Century (Mas. Mag., vol. vii., 1880, p. 318).

[4] Chap. I., p. 30, note 4.

when *La Bienfaisance* was established at Alexandria; which was followed by a second, *Les Amis de Napoleon le Grand,* at the same city, in 1806. Both Lodges were under the Grand Orient of France. Others have since been constituted by the same authority, at Alexandria, 1847 and 1863; Cairo, 1868; and Mansourah, 1882; the first and last of these are still active. Under the rival French jurisdiction—Supreme Council 33°—a Lodge was constituted at Alexandria in 1862, and others at Ismailia, Port Said, and Suez in 1867—all of which (except the last named) are on the roll for 1886. Still another Lodge of French ancestry—under the newly formed Grand Independent Symbolic Lodge[1]—appears to have been in existence in 1879. Under the Grand Lodge of England Lodges have been formed at Alexandria, Nos. 1221 in 1862, 1082 in 1865, 1154 and 1157 in 1867; at Cairo, Nos. 1068 in 1865, 1105 in 1866, 1156 in 1867, 1226 in 1868, and 1855 in 1871; and at Ramleh, No. 1419 in 1872. Of these No. 1157, at Alexandria, and all the Cairo Lodges, with the solitary exception of No. 1156, are still active. Two Lodges—Nos. 472 and 707—were erected by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, at Suez and Alexandria, in 1867 and 1884 respectively. Under the G.O. of Italy there are now four Lodges each at Cairo and Alexandria, besides one at Mansourah, but the dates of their introduction I am unable to give.

The Rite of Memphis has been referred to in previous chapters,[2] and it again at this point crosses the path of Freemasonry. It will be recollected that in 1862 J. E. Marconis abdicated his position as Grand Universal Hierophant in favour of the Grand Orient of France. According, however, to the "Official Bulletin" already quoted, "long before Marconis treated for the transmission of the Rite to the G.O. of France, he constituted in Cairo the Lodge Menes, and in Alexandria founded a Supreme Council of the Order, with the distinctive title of Grand Orient of Egypt, with authority to confer from the *first* to the *ninetieth* degree, and to found Lodges, Chapters, Areopagi, Senates, and Consistories."

Upon these (and other) premises, therefore, it is laid down in the same publication, that the course adopted by Marconis was illegal, that he could not cede a Rite which was entrusted to him only as a sacred deposit to be preserved, etc. We next learn that the Grand Orient of Egypt, in accordance with powers which are duly set forth, convoked all the Patriarchs—of whom 95, created such by Marconis, resided in Egypt—and founded the first Sanctuary of Memphis in Egypt, in substitution of the demolished Sanctuary in Paris.

This occurred in 1867, and Prince Halim Pasha, son of the famous Mehemet Ali, was elected Grand Master of the Order, which prospered greatly until 1868, when the G.M. was exiled, and the Lodges and Councils ceased to work. In 1869 the Sanctuary, which worked for a time in secret with a limited number of Patriarchs, also fell into abeyance; but the Rite of Memphis—which at that time had not resigned its pretensions to control the three degrees of the Craft—revived December 21, 1872, when, with the sanction of the Khedive, S. A. Zola was elected and proclaimed G.M. of the Sanctuary of Memphis—Grand National Orient of Egypt; and in 1874 was further authorised to assume the title of Grand Hierophant—97°—the supreme office of the Rite. In the following year two treaties were concluded between the Grand Orient of Egypt—*i.e.*, the Rite of Memphis working 96 degrees—and the A. and A.S.R., working the 33d and some other (so-called) lower degrees. By these treaties, which recited that the A. and A.S.R. (in Egypt) was established in 1864 by charter from the G.O

[1] *Ante*, p. 193.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 189, 194.

of Naples—which in like manner had derived its authority from a Spanish source—and that the Order of Memphis (in Egypt) held under a charter from Paris, dated 1864, it was agreed:—That a Body should be formed like the Grand Council of Rites in Ireland; that the jurisdiction "of the G.O. of Egypt should be limited to the first three symbolic grades, and that the Rites of Memphis, and of the A. and A.S.R., should work the remainder."

In 1876—May 8—the Grand Orient was reorganised, and constituted a Federal Diet of Egyptian Masonry. It was resolved that there should be three Grand Masonic Bodies in the Valley of the Nile, each of which should be different, distinct, and separate from the others:—I. The National Grand Lodge of Egypt; II., The Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33°; and III. The Sov. Grand Council of the 96° of the Memphis Rite. The two latter bodies were to work from the 4° and upwards, never interfering with the three first or symbolical degrees, which were to wholly belong to the National Grand Lodge of Egypt.

It has been asserted that in the formation of an Independent Grand Lodge, the initiative was taken some years previously by a few French and Italian Lodges, but even if this was the case, the earlier movement certainly merged into the proceedings of 1876. At this period the number of subordinate Lodges had risen from 8 to 15. In 1878 the Grand Lodge of Egypt was included in the family of European Grand Lodges noticed in the official calendar of the Grand Lodge af England.

Down to 1879 Zola was at the head of each of the three divisions of the Diet; but in that year, in order if possible to bring the English Lodges within the fold, Ralph Borg was elected to the chair of the Grand Lodge, which soon after separated from the other divisions, and proclaimed itself free, sovereign, and wholly independent of the Federal Diet. In the same year the National Grand Lodge entered into a concordat with the National Grand Orient—under Zola—whereby the Memphis Rite, "out of courtesy and goodwill towards its offspring, the Grand Lodge of Egypt," agreed to waive its right to work the three first degrees of Masonry.

Zola resigned the position of Grand Hierophant—97°—April 6, 1883, in favour of Professor Oddi.

Under the National Grand Lodge of Egypt there are now (1886) 25 Lodges, with a total membership of about 400. The G.M. is Dr Iconomopulo.[1]

TUNIS.—In this Regency, as in many other parts of the world where the exercise of "concurrent jurisdiction" by competing Grand Bodies is indulged in, the Craft is represented by a variety of Lodges, which reflect pretty clearly the national instincts of the brethren who compose them. The French Lodges are three in number, the English two, and there is one under the G.O. of Italy. Of the French Lodges, two hail from the Grand Orient—Perseverance (1860) and New Carthage (1885), and one from the S.C. 33°—Secrecy (1862). The dates of formation of the English Lodges have been already given;[2] that of the Italian Lodge—Resurrection—I am unable to supply.

Besides the above, a Grand Lodge of Tunis held its first session July 17, 1879, under a Signor Cassanello as G.M., and claimed at that date to have eight Lodges under its jurisdic-

[1] Authorities:—Masonic Calendars; Bolletino Officiale del Grande Oriente Nazionale Egiziano, April 1883, and December 1875; the Kneph; and Letters from Professor F. F. Oddi and Mr John Yarker.

[2] *Ante*, p. 323.

tion. Two years later—May 2, 1881—this apparently became a Grand *Orient* under an authority from the Supreme Council—A. and A.S.R. 33°—of Italy.

It remains to be stated that according to the leading journal of this country there is in existence a widely spread system of "Moslem Political Freemasonry." This has five subdivisions, one of which—the powerful confraternity of Sidi Abdel Kader el Chiliani—possesses a college at Kairwan.[1]

ALGERIA.—In this French province there are at the present time ten Lodges under the G.O. and five under the S.C. 33° of France. The earliest—Belisarius—which still exists, was founded by the former, January 1, 1832. It may be added that throughout Africa the native race taking the most intelligent interest in Freemasonry are the Arabs of Algeria, of whom the late heroic Emir, Abd-el-Kadr, may be cited as the most prominent example.

MOROCCO.—A Lodge was formed at Tangier—Union, No. 194—under the S.C. of France in 1867, and one also exists—or at least did so, until quite recently—under the G.O. of Spain at Ceuta.

In 1882, the number of competing jurisdictions in the Sultanate was increased by the action of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba, which in that year proceeded to throw off a shoot in Morocco. This, however, was effected in a somewhat singular manner, as the "Special Deputy" entrusted with a warrant for the establishment of a Lodge at Tangier, granted the founders permission to assemble temporarily at Gibraltar—and subsequently at St Roque, in Andalusia. The course thus pursued was disavowed, and the commission of the Special Deputy revoked, but the Lodge—Al-Moghreb-Al-Aksa—is now at work in Tangier, which is the seat of government of the "Masonic District of Morocco," under the Grand Lodge of Manitoba.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA.

Richard Hull was appointed Provincial G.M. for Gambay, West Africa, in 1735; David Creighton, M.D., was similarly commissioned for Cape Coast in 1736; and William Douglas for the African Coast and American Islands in 1737. Notwithstanding these appointments by the (older) Grand Lodge of England, the earliest Lodge in the western portion of the Continent established by that body, seems to have been No. 586, at Bulam, constituted in 1792. After this came the Torridzonian Lodge, No. 621, at Cape Coast Castle, in 1810. The former of these disappeared at the Union (1813), but the latter was only erased March 5, 1862, though doubtless inactive for a long time previously, as three Lodges of much later constitution—Nos. 721, Sierra Leone, 1820; 599, Cape Coast, 1833; and 867, Bathurst, River Gambia, 1851—were likewise struck off the roll on the same occasion. Two further English Lodges were established in the district—Nos. 1075, Cape Coast Castle, 1859; and 1171, Lagos, West Coast, 1867—both of which are still shown in the list.

At Senegal, the name given to the French possessions in Senegambia, there are two Lodges, one—Union, 1874—under the G.O. of France; the other—Misa—under that of Italy.

LIBERIA.—This remarkable State, colonised in 1821 by a handful of freed slaves from the United States, recruited ever since by emigrants of the same class and by the wretched cargoes of captured slave vessels, acknowledged in 1847 as an independent Republic, governed, and

[1] *The Times*, September 27, 1881. Kairwan, long the capital of Moslem Africa, and formerly a place of great literary eminence, is still considered a sacred town.

well governed too, on the American model, by the elsewhere despised negro race, with a navy of one vessel (a present from England), a college with professorial chairs all filled by negroes, —this successful outcome of a daringly humane experiment, which has partly civilised countless hordes of natives on its borders, possesses an independent Grand Lodge of its own, with a seat at Monrovia, the capital. I can well imagine that its Masonic history, properly told, would prove both interesting and instructive, but unfortunately nothing beyond the barest statistics are at my command. A Grand Lodge was established in 1867, of which the first G.M. was Amos, an ex-Pennsylvanian slave. In 1870 he died, and was followed by Joseph Roberts, an ex-President of the Republic. According to the Masonic Calendars, in 1876 C. B. Dunbar was the Grand Master, with five Lodges; in 1877, Reginald A. Sherman; and in 1881, William M. Davis, with six Lodges and 125 members. No enlargement of the jurisdiction has since occurred, the same G.M. is in office, and the Rite practised is the pure one of the English Craft.

THE AZORES.—In these, which form a province, and not a dependency, of Portugal, there is a Lodge under the United Grand Lusitanian Orient. That jurisdiction is a favourite one in the islands of the North Atlantic, as we find in MADEIRA three, and in the CANARIES [1] nine, Lodges holding warrants from the same G.O.

ST HELENA.—An (Atholl) Lodge—No. 132—was established in this island in 1764, and another—No. 568—under the (older) Grand Lodge of England in 1798. The former became extinct in 1766, but the latter was carried forward at the Union (1813), though it did not survive the renumbering of 1832. Lieut.-Colonel Francis Robson was appointed Prov. G.M. in 1801, and David Kay, M.D., in 1803, both holding office under the senior of the two Grand Lodges. The latter continued for several years to preside over a Province in which there was no Lodge; but a revival took place in 1843, when No. 718 was erected, and a second Lodge—No. 1214—came into existence in 1862. Both of these meet at James Town, and are still active.

The 20th Foot—to which the famous "Minden Lodge," No. 63, was attached by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1748—formed the guard over Napoleon in 1819-21; but the historian of the Lodge informs us, "the political and peculiar state of the island during our station at St Helena, the severity of duty, the want of a building, all operated to prevent the best intentions ∴ ∴ to assemble for Masonic purposes." [2]

In the only other British island on the coast of Africa lying south of the Equator—ASCENSION—a Lodge, No. 1029 on the English roll, was erected in 1864, but has ceased to exist.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The Cape Settlement was taken by a British naval force in 1795, restored to Holland in 1802, retaken in 1806, and permanently ceded to Britain at the Congress of Vienna.

Dutch Lodges—"Of Good Hope," and "Of Good Trust"—were erected at Cape Town in 1772 and 1802 respectively. These, happily, survive; but several Lodges, at least, in South Africa under the same jurisdiction appear to have passed away without leaving any trace of their existence.

After the final cession of the colony, Lodges under the rival Grand Lodges of England were

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 315.

[2] Sergeant-Major J. Clarke, Hist. of the Minden Lodge, 1849, p. 18.

established at the capital in 1811 and 1812 respectively—in the former year, the "British," No. 629, under the older sanction; and in the latter, No. 354, the "Cape of Good Hope" Lodge, in the 10th Battalion of the Royal Artillery, under an Atholl warrant.

The first band of English settlers arrived in 1820, and in the following year a second stationary Lodge, under the United Grand Lodge of England—Hope, No. 727—was erected at Cape Town—where, also, a Lodge bearing the same name, under the G.O. of France, sprang up, November 10, 1824. A third English Lodge—Albany, No. 817—was established at Grahamstown in 1828. "The Dutch Lodges received the English brethren with open arms, and with great satisfaction. When English Masonry had increased, and it was considered right to form a Provincial Grand Lodge, the brother selected for the office of Prov. G.M. was the Deputy G.M. of the Netherlands, who continued till his death to hold the two appointments."[1] This must have been Sir John Truter, who received an English patent in 1829; for although an earlier Prov. G.M. under England—Richard Blake—had been appointed in 1801, the words quoted above will not apply to the latter. Between 1828 and 1850 there was no augmentation of the Lodges; but in the latter year a revival set in, and during the decade immediately ensuing—1851-60—six[2] were warranted by the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1860, to the jurisdictions already existing (those of Holland and England) was added that of Scotland, under the Grand Lodge of which country a Lodge—Southern Cross, No. 398—was erected at Cape Town. Shortly afterwards, in a single year (1863) two Dutch Lodges were established in Cape Colony, and one at Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State. This period coincides with the appointment—after an *interregnum*—of the Hon. Richard Southey as Prov. G.M. under the G.L. of England; and it will be convenient if I here proceed to describe *seriatim* the progress of Masonry under the three competing jurisdictions. Commencing with that of England, between the date to which the statistics were last given (1860) down to the close of 1885, 62 Lodges were added to the roll. The number at present existing in South Africa, as shown by the official calendar of current date, is 54, viz.: Eastern Division, 24; Western Division, 8; Natal, 11; and 11 not subject to any provincial authority, some of which were formerly under the District Grand Lodge of Griqualand (*now* abolished), and two—Nos. 1022, at Bloemfontein (Orange Free State), and 1747, at Pretoria (Transvaal)—are situate in foreign territory. Within the same period—1860-85—12 Lodges have been established under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and now compose a Masonic District (or Province). The Dutch Masonic Calendar for 1886 shows 23 Lodges as existing in South Africa. Of these, as already related, two were erected before 1803, and three in 1863. The latest on the present list dates from 1884. These Lodges are distributed throughout the British possessions and the different Boer Republics as follows, viz.: In British South Africa, 16;[3] in the Orange Free State, 4; and in the Transvaal, 3; and at the head of all is a Deputy National G.M.—Mr J. H. Hofmeijr—at Cape Town.

The relations between the English and Dutch Masons at the Cape have always been of the

[1] Proceedings, Grand Lodge of England, June 5, 1867.

[2] Nos. 871, 884, 987, 1013, 1040, and 1130—in the Sovereignty, Fort Beaufort, King William's Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, and Grahamstown respectively.

[3] The date of constitution of one of these—the "Union," No. 50, at Graaf Reinet—is given as $\frac{1834}{1854}$ in the Official Calendar. From this may be inferred, that it was originally formed in 1834, and revived in 1866; also, that other Dutch Lodges were constituted in South Africa between 1802 and 1860, which have ceased to exist?

most friendly character. When the D.G.L. under England was re-erected (1863), the Deputy G.M. under the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands assisted at its re-inauguration, and placed at the disposal of the English brethren, the Masonic Hall belonging to the Dutch Fraternity. At the celebration of the festival of St John, it has long been customary for the English and Dutch Masons to assemble at different hours of the day, in order that the brethren under each jurisdiction might be present at both meetings.

At a quarterly communication of the Grand Lodge of England, held June 5, 1867, it was stated, "recently an objection has been raised by some of the younger English Masons against the establishment of some new Lodges lately formed by the Dutch, on the ground that the Convention of 1770[1] prohibits their doing so, the Cape now being an English possession, and having been so since the early part of the present century. In this view, the District Grand Lodge does not seem to participate. That body is anxious that the amicable relations that have so long subsisted between the English and Dutch Masons should continue. ∴ ∴ After setting the foregoing facts before the Grand Lodge, the Grand Registrar expressed an opinion that whatever might have been the intention of the Convention of 1770, it had not been acted on in the Cape Colony, but that the G.M. of England, by appointing the Deputy G.M. of the Netherlands to be his Prov. G.M. over English Lodges, virtually recognised the Dutch Lodges. It must be taken for granted that both the contracting parties have tacitly consented that it should not apply to the Cape. ∴ He was of opinion that as both parties seem to have considered that the Cape was neutral ground, and the existence of two Grand Lodges having been allowed to continue side by side, it would be for the benefit of the Brethren in that Colony, that as they have gone on working as friends and brothers, they should still continue to do so."[2] A resolution embodying the foregoing was then put and unanimously adopted.

South African Islands.

Réunion, or Bourbon.—Masonry appears to have been established with some success in this island, under the sanction of the Grand Orient of France. Lodges "Perfect Harmony," "Happy Reunion," and "Triple Union" were erected in 1775, 1777, and 1784; the second in order at St Pierre, and the others at St Denis, the capital—where also there was a Provincial Grand Lodge (taking rank from 1781), presided over in 1787 by De Beurnonville,[3] afterwards Marshal of France. Other Lodges sprang into existence—under the same authority—"Friendship," 1816 (revived 1859); "Happy Union," 1819; and "Beneficence," 1862. With the exception of Lodge "Friendship," however—which is also a Chapter and Areopagus—all the bodies enumerated above have ceased to exist.

Mauritius, or Isle of France.—Lodges—under the G.O. of France—were established at Port Louis, "Triple Hope," 1778; "The Twenty-One," 1785; "The Fifteen Articles," 1786; and "Peace," 1790. In 1810 the island was captured by Britain, to whom the seizure was confirmed at the peace of 1814. The Earl of Moira, on his way to India, stayed a short time at the Mauritius, and—August 19, 1813—"at the head of all the Masons of the island, laid in Masonic form, the first stone of the (Catholick) Cathedral of Port Louis."[4] Lodge "Peace,"

[1] Chaps. XX., p. 474; XXVI., p. 204. [2] Proceedings G.L. of England. [3] Chap. XXV., pp. 169, 174.
[4] Daruty, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

after a slumber, resumed its labours in 1857, but is again dormant or extinct, and the only Lodges at present active under the Grand Orient of France are "Triple Hope" (1778), and "Beneficence"—constituted in 1881.

In 1811 R. T. Farquhar was appointed Prov. G.M. "of the Isle of France" under the Grand Lodge of England, but no Lodge was formed in the jurisdiction until 1816, when No. 676—Faith and Loyalty—came into existence. This was short-lived, becoming extinct before 1832, and the next English Lodge on the island was the British—No. 1038—erected in 1858. After which came the Lodge of Harmony—No. 1143—in 1860 (*now* extinct), followed by one bearing the same title—No. 1535—(possibly a revival), in 1875; and Friendship—No. 1696—in 1877.

An Irish Lodge—No. 235—was established at Port Louis in 1858, the warrant of which was surrendered in 1873, but a later one—Independent, No. 236—erected in 1878, still holds its ground.

Scotland is represented by a single Lodge, the "Friendship"—No. 439—chartered in 1864. The fifth and last Masonic jurisdiction which remains to be noticed is that of the Supreme Council of France, under which *L'Amitie*, No. 245, was added to the roll of Lodges on the island, March 30, 1877.[1]

A resolution, expressing sympathy with the brethren in the Mauritius under the persecutions they had experienced at the hands of the Roman Catholic authorities in that island, was adopted unanimously by the Grand Lodge of England, December 5, 1855.

SEYCHELLES.—In these dependencies of the Mauritius a Lodge—Sincere Reunion—was erected at Mahé, the largest island of the group, under the G.O. of France in 1869.

MOZAMBIQUE.—This island and town forms the capital of the Portuguese possessions in S.E. Africa. It possesses two Lodges, both of which hold their warrants from the United Grand Lusitanian Orient.

THE WEST INDIES.

By the expression "West Indies," is understood the large group of islands lying east of Central, and north of South America. Of these the northernmost are the Bahamas or Lucayos—a long archipelago. South-west of them stretches the vast island of Cuba, the most important of the whole group, as well as the principal member of the Greater Antilles, within which are also comprised Jamaica, Hayti, Porto Rico, and several smaller islands.

East of Porto Rico begin the Lesser Antilles, also known as the Caribbee Islands, by navigators again sub-divided into the two groups of the Windward and Leeward Islands, so-called in accordance with the direction in which they lie with regard to the prevailing easterly trade wind. With a single important exception all these islands belong to European nations, being shared between Great Britain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, France, and Spain. The solitary exception is Hayti, which is divided into two independent native states. Some few also of the Leeward group belong to the South American Republic of Venezuela.

Much confusion has arisen from the same name being given to different islands, and from the same island having different names. Thus. there is Barbadoes and Barbudo, whilst the

[1] Throughout this Chapter the Lodges under the G.O. and S.C. of France are taken from the calendars of those bodies, and from the lists given by Rebold (Hist. des Trois G.L.) and Daruty (Recherches, etc.).

Saintes[1] were at one time called Barbata. St Christopher is commonly termed St Kitts, Porto Rico was formerly known as San Juan—the proximity of the latter to St John naturally introducing a new element of uncertainty. Then we have Cariacou, one of the Grenadines, and Curaçoa. The Bahamas, as observed above, were likewise the Lucayos. Hispaniola, St Domingo, and Hayti are all appellations for one island, and St Domingo is also the name of the principal city in the Spanish part of it. Two islands are called Anguila; there is a *New* as well as an *Old* Providence—and the latter was also known as St Catherine. The *island* of Samana occasionally comes in conflict with the peninsula of the same name in Hispaniola. Three islands in the West Indies were called Santa Cruz, and the same name is borne by a group in the South Pacific, and by the capital of the Canaries. There is Tortuga and the Tortugas, and the following very puzzling names of towns:—Basseterre, the capital both of Guadaloupe and St Kitts; St Pierre, a town in Martinique, and also in Réunion (or Bourbon); St Louis, common to Guadaloupe and Senegal; St Denis, a town in France, as well as the capital of Réunion; Port Louis, a seaport of France, and the capital of the Mauritius; St George, the name of towns in Grenada and Bermuda; and lastly, Santiago, the most familiar title of all, which occurs not only in Old and New Spain (Hispaniola), the Cape Verde islands, Cuba, and Jamaica, but is also met with both in Central and South America.

It will be seen, therefore, that a study of the Masonic history of the West Indies is beset with a new class of difficulties, differing materially from those which have been already encountered in our previous researches. A great part of the information upon which I am obliged to rely, is contained in old calendars where the name of a town or an island is, as often as not, given without any real approach to exactitude. Less uncertainty prevails, as we gradually sail down the river of time, but even when approaching our own times, the references to Lodges in foreign parts (*en pays étrangers*) under continental jurisdictions, by the most discursive of writers, are in too many instances both vague and misleading. In every case, however, I have carefully compared all the authorities at my disposal, and to the extent that the particulars I am about to give fall short of being absolutely exhaustive, I hope some readers may be found who, with greater opportunities than myself, will be able to supply the deficiency.

I. The Greater Antilles.

Cuba.—*Le Temple des Vertus Theologales*, No. 103—with the notorious Joseph Cerneau as first Master—was chartered at Havana by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, December 17, 1804.[2] Other Lodges were erected under the same sanction—Nos. 157, 161 in 1818; 166, 167 in 1819; and (at Santiago de Cuba) 175 in 1820, and 181 in 1822. All, however, but the last two had died out by 1822, and in 1826 the charters of Nos. 175 and 181 were revoked, because the Lodges had failed to meet for more than a year. The privilege of warranting Lodges on

[1] This denotes three of the Caribbee Islands, and is also the name of a town in France.

[2] During the progress of the negro revolution, three Lodges originally constituted in Hispaniola—Réunion des Cœurs (*French*), Concorde, and Persévérance (*Pennsylvanian*)—were reorganised at Santiago de Cuba in 1805-6. Again dispersed in 1808, many of the members removed to New Orleans in 1809, where—October 7, 1810—the two Lodges first named amalgamated, as No. 117 (Concord), under the G.L. of Pennsylvania, by which body a Charter—No. 118, Perseverance—was also granted the same day to certain petitioners, "chiefly refugees from San Domingo and Cuba."

the island was next assumed by the Grand Lodges of Louisiana and South Carolina, under the former of which bodies sprang up Nos. 7, 1815, 11 and 14, 1818; and under the latter Nos. 50—*La Constancia*, 1818, and 52—*La Amenidad*, 1819. Then followed the Grand Orient of France with a Lodge and consistory (32°), 1819; and two further Lodges—*La Constante Sophie* and *L'Humanité*,[1] 1821. In the year last named a circular was received by the G.L. of South Carolina from the G.L. of Ancient Freemasons in Havana, stating that a Grand Lodge had been organised there, to which the Lodge *La Amenidad* requested permission to transfer its allegiance. A favourable answer was of course returned, but the G.L. of South Carolina retained on its roll *La Constancia* for a few years, when the warrant was surrendered by the members "in consequence of the religious and political persecutions to which they were subjected."

For many years Masonry languished in the "Pearl of the Antilles," its votaries practising their rites in secret, but not daring to indulge in any overt acts, which might entail not only expulsion from the country, but also confiscation of their property. At length, however, a faint revival set in, and a warrant was granted, November 17, 1859, by the Grand Lodge of South Carolina to St Andrew's Lodge, No. 93, "for the purpose of establishing, with two other Lodges[2] already existing on the island, a Grand Lodge," which was accomplished on December 5 of the same year.

An independent "Grand Lodge of Colon" was thus established at Santiago de Cuba, and —December 27, 1859—a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° was founded in the same city by Andres Cassard.[3]

At this time, it must be recollected, the practice of assembling as Freemasons was forbidden by the Spanish laws, which laws, moreover, though destined to become—after the dethronement of Queen Isabella (1868)—innocuous in the Peninsula, remained for a long time in full force in Cuba.

Several, indeed, of the Captains General and other officers who ruled the island were Masons, and therefore from time to time the Craft was tolerated, but its members being always compelled to work to a great extent in the dark, found it necessary to observe the most inviolable secrecy, and even to shield themselves under "Masonic names,"[4] lest by the discovery of their own, they might incur the most grevious penalties.

For the same reason the Supreme Council and the Grand Lodge, which soon after united in forming a Grand Orient, found a convenient title for the amalgamated body in the name of Colon—the Spanish for Columbus—it being desired above all things to conceal from the public ken the seat of the "Grand East" of the Society.

At the formation of the Grand Orient of Colon, a constitution published at Naples in

[1] At *Saint-Yago*, which I take to be *Santiago de Cuba?*

[2] Two excellent authorities, Messrs Albert Pike and Josiah H. Drummond, concur in the belief that these were *Spanish* Lodges—*i.e.*, holding warrants from some Peninsular authority. The state of Masonic anarchy, however, at that time prevailing in Spain, wholly forbids an investigation of this interesting point. *Cf. ante*, p. 316.

[3] Under the sanction of the S.C. 33° for the Southern Jurisdiction (Charleston) U.S.A., for the Masonic jurisdiction of Cuba, and other "unoccupied" West India Islands.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 308, 316. Among the names given in an official report dated August 6, 1873, of the officers of the S.C. of Colon are "Bismark" and "Josaphat," but a paragraph states—"the real names of the officers you will find in the enclosed slip, and are not stated here, to prevent their being divulged should this communication come to print" (New England Freemason, February 1874, p. 80).

1820,[1] was adopted as that of the new organisation. By this the Supreme Council necessarily became a section of the Grand Orient. In 1865 a new constitution was promulgated. The Sov. G. Com. of the Supreme Council became—*ex officio*—G.M. of the Grand Orient, but the G.M. of the Grand Lodge was still required to submit himself for election. All charters for Lodges were issued by the Grand Lodge, but had to be confirmed and *viséd* by the Supreme Council.

In 1867 the Grand Lodge promulgated a constitution of its own, in which, while recognising its continued membership of the Grand Orient, it claimed the *exclusive* power to enact its own by-laws, issue charters, constitute and regulate Lodges. Their right to do this was denied by the Supreme Council. In 1868—September 30—the Grand Lodge *suspended*[2] its constitution until a meeting took place of the Grand Orient, convoked for November 30. But before that time the revolution broke out, and Freemasons being regarded by the Spanish government as revolutionists,[3] the G.O. could not meet. The Grand Lodge, so far as it was possible, resumed labour. But the times were unpropitious. In the winter of 1869, at Santiago de Cuba, by order of Gonzales Bret, an officer of the government, eighteen persons were seized without warrant, and immediately shot, without a trial, for being Freemasons—one of them the M.W.G.M. of Colon—and many others were arrested and committed to prison for the same offence.

The number of Cuban Lodges, which in 1868 amounted to about thirty, had fallen in 1870 to about seven, and in the latter year the S.C. organised a Provincial Mother Lodge at Havana, against which the Grand Lodge very naturally protested. The warrant to this "Mother Lodge" was soon after recalled, but the dispute between the S.C. and the Grand Lodge continued. In 1873—April 11—the Grand Lodge resumed work openly, and in the following year entered into a compact with the Supreme Council, whereby it was agreed that the former should have exclusive jurisdiction over Symbolic Masonry, with the sole right of chartering Lodges, and that it should establish a Provincial Mother Lodge[4] in the western section of the island to govern the Lodges there, but in submission to the laws of the Grand Lodge. After this compact it is contended that the Grand Lodge, though still nominally a section in the Grand Orient, had full jurisdiction over Symbolical Masonry. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that there was a divided authority, and apparently great Masonic confusion on the island.

The Grand Lodge of Colon held five meetings in August 1876, on the last of which—

[1] According to M. Lecerff, however—"in Naples a Grand Orient was founded, which in 1830 [*not* 1820] enacted its constitution and by-laws, entitling the book '*General Statutes of the Scottish Rite*;' these came to America, and happened to come to hand of (*sic*) Brother Andres Cassard, the propagator of Masonry in South and Central America; in establishing Masonry in those countries, he gave the *General Statutes* as the universal laws of Masonry, and the Grand Orient system with the allegiance of all to the thirty-third degree was provided for therein" (Proc. Grand Lodge of *Cuba*, 1879).

[2] This, by the rival Grand Lodge of *Cuba*, the proceedings of which will shortly enter into the narrative, was most erroneously styled a *dissolution* of the Grand Lodge of *Colon*. The Lodges under the latter were in consequence deemed to have become "orphaned" by the former, who straightway constituted itself the foster-parent of a number of them!

[3] I am told by Mr G. W. Speth, who resided on the island at the time, that the sympathies of the Freemasons were undoubtedly ranged on what the government regarded—not unnaturally—as the *wrong side*.

[4] Instituted in April and dissolved in July 1875.

August 26—it declared itself free from all other authority, a sovereign body, with full and unlimited powers over its subordinates.

This action, however, was accelerated by an event which had taken place on August 1, when the representatives of nine chartered Lodges, and of four under dispensation,[1] met at Havana, and formed the Grand Lodge of Cuba. This body from the very first kept itself free from the blighting influence of the (so-called) high degrees,[2] which it willingly consented—December 31, 1876—should be ruled in Cuba by the Grand Orient of Spain. In a circular of September 4, 1876, the Grand Lodge of Colon claimed to have on its register 36 Lodges and 8000 members; whilst its newly-formed rival, the Grand Lodge of Cuba, in 1877, possessed an apparent following of 17 Lodges. In the latter year—June 3—a second Grand Lodge of Colon (or Columbus) at Havana was added to the two existing Craft Grand bodies.

Thus we find three organisations, each claiming to be the regular Grand Lodge. From a circular of the Grand Lodge of Cuba, we learn that in 1879 the three Lodges which formed the Grand Lodge of Colon at Santiago de Cuba in 1859, and four others, adhered to that body; but that the remaining Lodges—excepting those under the Grand Lodge of Cuba—were subject to the control of the Grand Lodge of Colon at Havana. To local jealousies must be attributed this multiplication of Grand Lodges. The representatives of some of the Havana Lodges seceded from the old (or *original*) Grand Lodge of Colon at Santiago de Cuba, met *as the Grand Lodge*, and decreed its removal to Havana.

Eventually, however, the Grand Lodges of Colon (at Havana) and Cuba formally united, and—March 28, 1880—the G.M. of one body became Grand Master, and the G.M. of the other body Deputy Grand Master. The title assumed by the new organisation was the United Grand Lodge of Colon and the Island of Cuba, and it entered upon its career with a roll of 57 Lodges, and between 5000 and 6000 Masons. The Lodges under the original Grand Lodge of Colon at Santiago de Cuba, I believe, remained true to their allegiance.[3]

In 1885, the number of Lodges under the "United Grand Lodge" had apparently increased to 82, with Provincial Grand Lodges at Santiago de Cuba and Porto Rico; but from the official List,[4] which has just reached me, I find there are now only 58 Lodges in all upon the roll. Of these, 30 are at the capital, or in its vicinity, and 28 in other parts. It is possible that further schisms may have disturbed the peace of Cuban Masonry; and it strikes me as somewhat remarkable, that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Porto Rico—with the fourteen subordinate Lodges on that island, shown in sundry Calendars for 1886—have wholly disappeared in the official list of current date.[5]

It only remains to be stated, that from the statistics before me, there would appear to be in existence on the island 13 Lodges under the National Grand Orient, and 27 under the

[1] Of these Lodges, six were chartered by the Grand Lodge of Colon *before*, and three *after*, 1868. The remaining four acted under dispensations from the *two* Provincial Mother Lodges.

[2] In a printed circular of the Grand Lodge of Cuba, dated April 30, 1879, the following is assigned as one of the reasons for the formation of that body:—"IX.—The majority of the Lodges working in the western part of the Island (then the full majority of the Lodges in the whole country) now resolved not to suffer any more the arbitrary and irregular authority of the Supreme Council and its subordinates, the 'Grand Symbolical Lodge' and the 'Provincial Mother-Lodge of the West.'"

[3] *Cf. post*, pp. 372, 373.

[4] In a letter from Sr. Manuel N. Ocego, of Havana, dated May 8, 1886.

[5] *Cf. post*, p. 360.

Grand Lodge of Spain. The latter are subject to a Prov. G.M., whose jurisdiction also extends to Porto Rico.[1]

HISPANIOLA.—This island is divided into the republics of Hayti in the west, and St (*or* Santo) Domingo in the east. It was originally a Spanish possession, but the western portion was ceded in 1697 to the French, under whom it prospered rapidly, and in 1789 contained 793 sugar plantations, 3117 coffee plantations, 789 cotton plantations, and 182 establishments for making rum, besides other minor factories and workshops.

But the conflicting diversity of race, and monopoly of political power by the whites, led to a rupture on the outbreak of the revolution in the mother country. After fierce revolts of the mulattoes and negroes, and inroads of the English and Spanish, all the inhabitants of the colony were declared free and equal in 1793, and the command of the army was given to Toussaint l'Ouverture, who expelled the hostile intruders, and restored peace to the island.

English troops arrived in Hayti from Jamaica in 1793, and afterwards were poured into the country; but they came to die. The 82d Foot, numbering 880 men, lost all but 50 in ten weeks. Another regiment, in the same time, lost 700 men out of 1000; and it is stated that the 96th Foot perished to a man.[2] Major-General Sir Adam Williamson,[3] who succeeded the Earl of Effingham[4] as Governor of Jamaica, ultimately followed the troops sent from that island, with the title of Governor-General of St Domingo. At the close of 1798, however, when the colony was evacuated, millions of treasure had been wasted, twenty thousand soldiers and sailors had perished, whilst there never had been any reasonable prospect of conquering the island.[5]

The Spanish territory was ceded to France in 1795, but Napoleon attempted to re-establish slavery in 1801, and the inhabitants shook off the French yoke in 1803, St Domingo in that year declaring itself an independent republic. A period of confusion then ensued, there being no less than five distinctive governments upon the island in 1810. The whole of it passed again under a single republic, that of Hayti, in 1822, but in 1844 the Dominicans reasserted their independency, and the two districts have since remained separate. The territory comprised within the republic of St Domingo was ceded to Spain in 1861, but again declared free by an act of the Cortes, March 3, 1865.

Of the present condition of St Domingo, Mr Hazard, a recent traveller, gives a deplorable account. The fertile plains lie untilled; the rich mines are unworked. There is not a plough in the whole island; and the only steam engine ever set up was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1865.

[1] Authorities:—J. B. Scot, Freemasonry in Louisiana, 1873; Early Hist. G.L. of Pennsylvania, vol. i., 1877-84; New England Freemason, Feb. 1874, p. 75; Proceedings, Committees on Correspondence, Grand Lodges of Indiana, 1870; Canada, 1871; New Brunswick, 1877, 1878, 1880; *Cuba*, 1879 [by E. E. Lecerff, *now* Ch. Com. For. Cor. United Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba]; Maine [containing the masterly report of Josiah H. Drummond, presented May 1879]; and Connecticut, 1880; Letters from Mr Ch. Inglesby and Sr. D. José F. Pellón, G. Secretaries, South Carolina, and Cuba (*United* Grand Lodge), dated April 6 and May 25, 1886, respectively.

[2] Bryan Edwards, Hist. of the West Indies, vol. iii., p. 411.

[3] Prov. G.M. of Jamaica under the original Grand Lodge of England, 1793-98.

[4] Acting Grand Master of England—under the Duke of Cumberland, G.M.—1782-89.

[5] The loss of the English has been estimated by a recent writer at 45,000 men, and twenty millions sterling. *Cf.* Hazard, p. 131.

In the republic of Hayti, on the western side of this beautiful island, the state of things is even worse than in the eastern or Dominican part. All traces of the old French civilisation have vanished. There are no manufactures, and the government is bankrupt; the towns are in ruins, and the men spend their time in idleness, living on the industry of the women.[1]

Two Lodges—*St Jean de Jérusalem Écossaise* and *Concorde*—were formed on the island, under the *Grande Loge Anglaise de France*[2] in 1749. Others soon followed—*Frères Réunis*, 1763; *Amitié Indissoluble*, 1765; *Verité*, 1767; *Frères Choisis*, 1772;[3] and a Provincial Grand Lodge—under the Grand Orient—October 1, 1778. These were doubtless established on French territory, in the district now known as "Hayti," though the term "St Domingo" is alone used in the lists.

The remaining Lodges, constituted under French authority prior to the Revolution were—*L'Unanimité*, Petit Goave,[4] 1774; *Les Frères Zélés*, Cavaillon, 1775; *Raison Perfectionnée*, Petit Tron, 1779; *Réunion désirée*,[5] Port au Prince, 1783; *Choix des Hommes*, Jacmel, 1784, and *Frères Discrets*, Cayes, 1785 (Nos. 292, 291, 456, 466, 521, and 591).

Besides the degrees of the Craft, the rite of Perfection, as we have already seen,[6] had been introduced into the island by Stephen Morin in 1761, and doubtless continued to be worked until swept away—like all other vestiges of French domination—by the great political cataclysm, in which that remarkable personage is himself believed to have perished. We have seen that during the closing years of the eighteenth century Hispaniola had become the headquarters of the newly invented American rite, called—but without any valid reason—the A. and A.S.R. 33°, and that on the expulsion of the French colonists the rite in question had been introduced into France.[7]

The Dominican, or to speak with precision, the Haytian Lodges, which had served as the basis of the rite, in most cases closed their doors during the political troubles, and Freemasonry, which was strictly confined to the white inhabitants, became almost, if not quite, extinct.

A warrant was granted from Pennsylvania, in 1786, on the application of "a *Lodge* held at Cape François, directed to General Washington as Grand Master of all America." A second Lodge, under the same jurisdiction, was established at Port au Prince in 1789, which

[1] Bates, pp. 170, 172.

[2] *Ante*, p. 142. Down to 1787, where the *numbers* of French Lodges are given, these are taken from Daruty's lists, two of which are shown in his work, and begin at pp. 90 and 142 respectively. As a rule, Lodges constituted down to the year 1772, will be found in the earlier, and those erected after the formation of the Grand Orient, in the later lists. The numbers attached to Lodges under the S.C. 33° are the official ones.

[3] Nos. 39, 41, 107, 144, 187, and 255.

[4] A Lodge—*L'Humanité*, No. 27—was constituted at this place by the "Mother Lodge of the Scots Philosophic Rite" or "Social Contract," April 26, 1784. Several of the Lodges named above were also *re*-constituted by the same authority, but I am unable to record each transfer of allegiance—and shall content myself with naming the Lodges in the order of their first appearance. *Cf. ante*, p. 117.

[5] Removed to New Orleans for the second time, 1803. Duplicate Charter granted 1806. Lapsed, 1808.

[6] Chaps. XXIII., p. 59; XXIV., p. 125.

[7] Chaps. XXIV., p. 124; XXV., p. 164. Both De Grasse-Tilly and Hacquet—who so far anticipated him as to be first in the field with the revived Rite of Perfection—the former a planter and the latter a notary, were residents in the French (or western) side of St Domingo, *i.e.*, the part *now* known as Hayti.

continued to meet regularly throughout the political convulsions of 1791, and at the close of 1798 (as related in the Proceedings of the G.L. of Pennsylvania), "after having been obliged by reason of the disturbances in the island, their Lodge being burnt, etc., to suspend their Masonic operations, had again begun, and were carrying on their works."

In 1793—December 4—sundry French brethren, "driven from the island of St Domingo," were granted a dispensation by the Grand Lodge of New York to meet as a Lodge in that city for the period of six months. This, which was named La Tendre Amitié Franco-Americaine, surrendered its acting warrant, June 4, 1794; but the money and papers of the Lodge were delivered—by order of the Grand Lodge—to L'Unité Americaine, which took its place, May 19, 1795. The latter received a regular charter in 1797, becoming No. 12 on the roll, and in the same year was concerned in a series of irregularities which are not without interest in our present inquiry. From internal bickerings dissensions had arisen in the Lodge, and it decided to return the New York warrant, and revert "to the authority of their natural Grand Lodge of France." Accordingly, a French Lodge, L'Union Française, was established in New York, December 6, by Huet Lachelle, a Deputy G.M. under the jurisdiction of the G.O. of France, and Prov. G.M. for St Domingo. L'Unité Americaine after this made submission, was accorded grace, but split into two parts, one remaining the old Lodge, and the other becoming L'Union Française, No. 14 on the roll of New York. With the subsequent history of these bodies, we are not concerned; it will suffice to have learnt from the authority upon which I have relied for the foregoing details, that a large number of Haytian brethren found an asylum in New York; also, that the Prov. G.M. of "St Domingo" and four of his Grand Officers were included in the number of these refugees.[1]

In 1802, owing to the arrival of 30,000 veteran French troops, the negro forces of Toussaint l'Ouverture were compelled to retire to the mountains, and the survivors of the colonists who had fled to different countries returned in great numbers, but in 1803 were for the second time expelled. Meanwhile, however, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania had extended its jurisdiction in Hayti. Several Lodges were erected, a list of which will be found below;[2] and a Provincial Grand Lodge of St Domingo was established January 9, 1802. This was vacated (apparently in error) April 7, but reinstated September 15, 1806, and the jurisdiction extended to the island of Cuba—whither, with two of his Lodges, the Prov. G.M. had retired.

In 1806, in the portion of Hayti ruled by President Pèthion, some of the French Lodges revived, and negotiations were set on foot by one Trichet, which resulted in the erection of

[1] Barker, p. 227. L'Union Française, No. 14, consisted of twenty-eight charter (or *original*) members. The proceedings of these brethren are highly commended in one of the communications addressed to the G.L. of New York (1797) by Chalon Dayral, De Olior, Verdier, Courbe, and Huet Lachelle—who subscribe as "the administrator and officers of the R.W. Provincial Grand Lodge of San Domingo."

[2] Nos. 46 [], Cape François, February 3, 1786; 47, Union of Franco-American Hearts, Port au Prince, December 18, 1789; 87, Frères Ré-unis, the Cape, December 15, 1800; 88, Concorde, St Marc, May 4, 1801—reinstated September 15, 1806—surrendered September 4, 1809; 89, Frères Sincèrement Réunis, Cayes, May 4, 1801; 95, Humilité, Lusé à Veau, December 6, 1802; 97, Parfaite Harmonie, St Domingo, September 5, 1803; 98, Persévérance, Abricots, September 5, 1803—reinstated March 21, 1808—finally vacated October 27, 1810; 99, Temple du Bonheur, Arcapaye, December 5, 1803. *All* the above, except No. 46 (extinct in 1790), were erased (or "vacated") April 7, 1806, and those only "reinstated" which are specifically mentioned. Nos. 95 and 97-99 were established in the first instance by the Prov. G.L. of St Domingo.

two Lodges under the (older) Grand Lodge of England in 1809.[1] This was followed up by the appointment of a Prov. G.M.—John Goff—in 1811,[2] and by the formation of two further English Lodges in 1817.[3] Meanwhile the efforts of the G.O. of France to obtain the upper hand were frustrated by the action of the Government.

About the same time—1810—in that part of the island under the sway of the Emperor Henry I., there was also a revival, and a vast number of so-called degrees, with pompous and unmeaning titles, were introduced by a charlatan named D'Obernay, which were accepted with avidity at the Imperial Court. After this came a pause, owing to the political convulsions which disturbed the peace of the island. In both of the existing Republics—mulatto and black—one revolution seems to have followed another, the only variation being the wars that from time to time broke out between the two States. But after the establishment of a single Government (1822) the English Prov. Grand Lodge was transformed—May 23, 1823—into an independent Grand Lodge of Hayti, with President Boyer as patron, and his Prime Minister, General Ingignac, as G.M. The constitutions were settled January 24, 1824, and the Grand Lodge was established on precisely the same basis as the United Grand Lodge of England. For many years the Craft prospered and pursued the even tenor of its way, until about 1830, when a certain St Lambert, an envoy of the Supreme Council of France (or A. and A.S.R. 33°), began to stir up strife by again attempting to propagate the high degrees.

Five Lodges in all, the two earliest of which are still in existence, were erected under the authority of the A. and A.S.R.;[4] whilst the rival French jurisdiction, that of the Grand Orient, has only warranted a single Lodge on the island during the present century. This, "Les Mages du Tropique," was established at Cayes in 1831, and has long since disappeared from the roll of the G.O., though as an *Areopagus* distinguished by an identical title, and meeting at the same place, is shown in the *Tableau Des Ateliers*, Supreme Council of France, from which an extract will be found below,[5] it is natural to suppose that there must have been a transfer of allegiance.

In 1836 the Grand Lodge, with a view to terminating the confusion which prevailed, transformed itself into a Grand Orient. This alteration, of course, involved the institution of a Supreme Council 33°, which duly claimed the allegiance of all fluctuating bodies under the obedience of any branch of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

In 1843, owing to an insurrection of the blacks, Boyer—the mulatto President—was displaced. A few years of turmoil then ensued, and the Craft once more languished. In 1845 a new envoy of the French Supreme Council, Fresnel, having obtained the protection of President Santana, almost overthrew the National G.O., but was himself ultimately expelled for political intrigue. After his departure the G.O. of Hayti revived, entered into a compact with

[1] Nos. 603 and 604—L'Amitié des Frères Réunis, Port au Prince, and L'Heureuse Réunion, Aux Cayes.

[2] A Royal Arch Chapter—Philanthropy—was established by the Grand Chapter of England (Moderns) in 1810.

[3] Nos. 699 and 700—Réunion des Cœurs réunis, Jeremie; and Parfaite Sincerité des Cœurs réunis, Jacmel.

[4] Nos. 10, Élèves de la Nature, Cayes, 1822; 59, Philadelphes, Jacmel, 1837; 62, Vraie Gloire, St Marc, 1837; 97, Philalèthes, Port au Prince, 1845; 105, Constante Union, St Domingo, 1846.

[5] AREOPAGUS (30°)—No. 52, Les Mages du Tropique, Cayes, 1834. CHAPTERS (18°)—Nos. 49, La Constance Eprouvée, Cayes, 1832; 69, *Les Elus de la Vérité*, St Marc, 1839; 73, La Croix du Sud, Jacmel, 1840; and 106, *Les Croisés Dominicains*, St Domingo, 1846. LODGES—Nos. 10, Les Élèves de la Nature, Cayes, 1822; 59, Les Philadelphes, Jacmel, 1837; 62, *La Vraie Gloire*, St Marc, 1837; 97, *Les Philalèthes*, Port au Prince, 1845; and 105, *La Constante Union*, St Domingo, 1846. The italics denote bodies which are dormant or extinct.

the G.O. of France, and in 1851 ruled over no less than 31 Lodges, besides 49 associations of Masons which met under varied titles for the communication of the so-called high degrees.

The seat of the G.O. is at Port au Prince, and the Grand Masters, as far as I have been able to trace them, were (*circa*) 1860, J. de Paul, President of the Council; 1865, Dubois, Ambassador at London; 1871-80, A. T. Bouchereau, Senator; and since 1881, F. F. Duplessis, President of the Council of Instruction.

In 1844—February 27—total separation from Hayti was declared by the Dominicans, and the eastern (or Spanish) portion of the island formed itself into the republic of Santo Domingo. In 1861, as already related, it once more placed itself under the government of Spain. A revolt, however, broke out in 1863, and Spain finally relinquished its changeful child.

A Grand Orient of St Domingo was organised at the capital of the same name December 11, 1858. The Lodges taking part in this proceeding were originally warranted, 1830-34, by the G.O. of Hayti (Port au Prince), at the time when the whole island was under an undivided rule. Falling, however, into a state of somnolency during the wars, 1844-47, they were suppressed (or erased) in 1849. The G.O. of St Domingo, thus formed by these resuscitated Lodges, appears never to have had more than some half dozen daughters on its roll.

During the reunion with Spain, 1861-65, Masonry either died out or was practised in secret, but a Grand Lodge of the Dominican republic was organised—January 26, 1865—under Benito Perez as G.M. This was followed—October 22—by a Supreme Council for the High Degrees, and the two bodies united—January 1, 1866—in re-establishing a National Grand Orient.

In January 1867 Thomas Bobadilla presided over the G.O., with Castro as D.G.M.; whilst the Lodges were ten in number, with a total membership of about 2000.

The sequence of Grand Masters of the Grand *Lodge* has been as follows:—1858-59, Bobadilla; 1860, Antonio Abad Alfan; 1861, Jacinto de Castro; 1861-64, Grand Lodge *dormant;* 1865, Benito Perez; 1866, Manuel Echenique; 1867, Peter A. Delgado; 1869, Noël Henriquez; 1870, Sully du Breil. From 1871 the presidents of Grand Lodge are no longer given in the official lists, and whilst Bobadilla has ever since been G.M. of the G.O., the Grand Lodge and Supreme Council have evidently been relegated to the position of subordinate chambers, as indeed is generally more or less the custom in all Grand Orient systems.

In bringing this sketch to a close, it is only necessary to add that a solitary Lodge—Alianza, No. 251—appears to have been erected at "Santo Domingo" by the Grand Lodge of Spain, or in other words, by the governing Masonic body of which Don Manuel Becerra is the G.M.[1]

JAMAICA.—Lodges owning fealty to the Mother Grand Lodge of the world were of early introduction in this British dependency. The first was established at Kingston in 1739, and the second at Port Royal in 1742. But it is probable that the number of Masons in Jamaica

[1] Authorities:—S. Hazard, Santo Domingo, with a glance at Hayti, 1873; Dr J. R. Beard, Life of Toussaint l'Ouverture, 1853; H. W. Bates, Central America, the West Indies, and South America, 1878; Masonic Calendars; Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 150, 452; Daruty, p. 168; Findel, p. 698; Latomia, vol. xxvi., pp. 118, 119; Barker, Early History Grand Lodge of New York, pp. 144, 166, 215, 229; and Early History Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. For some interesting remarks on the characteristics of a Grand *Orient* as contrasted with those of a Grand *Lodge* system, the curious reader is referred to the report on Foreign Correspondence already cited (*ante*, p. 352, note 1) of Mr Josiah H. Drummond of Maine.

at that period was much larger than would be inferred from these statistics, as there were ten thousand resident whites on the island in 1741; and in the same year the harbour of Port Royal was crowded with twenty-nine line-of-battle ships, and a large number of frigates, sloops, and transports, containing in all, fifteen thousand sailors and twelve thousand soldiers.[1]

Ballard Beckford, George Hynde, and Alexander Crawford were appointed Provincial Grand Masters for Jamaica by Lord Ward in 1742-44,[2] but the exact dates of their respective appointments there are no means of determining.

A third Lodge was erected on the island in 1746, but as we now approach a conflict of jurisdictions, it will be convenient if the statistics first in order are separately grouped, so that the proceedings of the *two* Grand Lodges of England in this distant possession may be distinguishable.[3] Before, however, passing away from our immediate subject, the appointments of Thomas Marriot Perkins,[4] 1762-64; William Winter, 1768-69; Jasper Hall, 1772; Sir Peter Parker,[5] 1778; and Major-Gen. (afterwards Sir Adam) Williamson,[6] 1793, as Prov. G.M'.s under the older Grand Lodge, may be briefly recorded.

Although Lodges under the Schismatic (or *Ancient*) sanction were established at Old Harbour and Green Island in 1763 and 1772 respectively, the two Grand Lodges of England appear to have kept out of collision—at least in the Greater Antilles—until 1775, by warranting Lodges in different parts of the island. In the year named, however, a Lodge was erected at Green Island by the older of these bodies. This, being viewed as an invasion of jurisdiction, led to reprisals, which in the first instance took the form of a counter demonstration at Kingston—hitherto a virgin fortress of the original Grand Lodge—where an "Atholl" Lodge was established in 1786.[7]

After 1775 no further Lodges under the original Grand Lodge of England came into existence on the island until 1812, when a warrant—No. 638—was granted to some French refugees from Hayti. This Lodge, however, soon died out.

In 1806 Dr (afterwards Sir) Michael Benignus Clare was appointed (Atholl) Prov. G.M. The formation of this Prov. Grand Lodge sealed the fate of the Lodges under the rival sanction. Many of them ceased to work, whilst others accepted provincial numbers at the hands of the enemy. But besides absorbing Lodges already in being, the new Prov. Grand Lodge was instrumental in ushering into existence many others, some of which obtained places on the

[1] Of a previous expedition sent out under Admiral Hozier—it is related that in a couple of years two admirals, ten captains, fifty lieutenants, and four thousand men had perished.

[2] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333.

[3] The following Lodges were constituted by the original Grand Lodge of England:—Nos. 182, Kingston, 1739; 193, Port Royal, 1742; 208, Spanish Town, 1746; 219, St Mary's Parish, 1757; 418, 419, Kingston,—420, Montego Bay, and 421, St James' Parish, 1771; 446, 447, Kingston, 1773; 483, Green Island,—485, Hanover Parish,—486, Spanish Town, and 487, Savannah la Mer, 1775; and 638 (La Loge, Frères Réunis), Kingston, 1812. Of these fifteen Lodges, all but five—Nos. 193, 208, 446, 447, and 486 above—were carried forward in the lists until the Union, when they disappear, with the solitary exception of No. 638, which survived for a few years longer.

[4] Prov. G.M. for the Mosquito Shore, 1758-62. [5] Chap. XX., pp. 481, 490. [6] *Ante*, p. 352.

[7] The undermentioned Lodges were constituted by the Atholl Grand Lodge:—Nos. 121, Old Harbour, 1763; 177, Green Island, 1772; 233, Kingston, 1786; 257, [], 1789; 262, Royal Artillery, Port Royal, 1790; 281, Port Royal, 1793; 283, Kingston, 1794; 288, Kingston, 1795; 301, Kingston, 1796—became the Prov. Grand Lodge, 1806; and 342, Kingston, 1809. Of these Lodges Nos. 121, 177, 233, 262, and 301 were *not* carried forward at the Union; Nos. 257, 281, and 288 died out before 1832; whilst Nos. 283 and 342 survive as the "Royal" and "Friendly" Lodges, *present* Nos. 207 and 239.

London roll. Nineteen Lodges, and probably more, if we could trace them, were ranged under the Provincial banner a few years after 1806.

A Lodge, St Andrew, No. 102, was established on the island by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1760, which remained on the roll, though probably inactive for many years, until 1816. Jamaica has also been the seat of a Scottish province from at least 1771, in which year it is first alluded to in the records of the G.L. of Scotland.

Three Jamaica Lodges were constituted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland during the last century, and a fourth sprang into existence in 1814.[1] At the present time, however, that jurisdiction is unrepresented on the island.

In 1782, of all our former possessions in the West Indies, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua only remained. Jamaica would have next fallen—in which case its later Masonic history might have formed a part of that of the Grand Orient of France—had it not been for the victory of Lord Rodney over the Count de Grasse on April 12 of that year. The whole of the battering cannon and artillery intended for the attack on the island was on board the ships then captured.

The Earl of Effingham, who only resigned the office of Acting G.M. of the (older) Grand Lodge of England, on his appointment as Governor of Jamaica, arrived in the colony in 1790, but died November 19 of the same year.[2]

As we have already seen, six British Lodges, which, with a single exception,[3] worked under Atholl warrants, were brought forward at the Union (1813) on the roll of the United Grand Lodge of England. In 1816 Sir Michael Clare—former Prov. G.M. under the junior society—received what may be termed a patent of confirmation, and until the departure of this worthy for England, June 9, 1831,[4] when the Prov. Grand Lodge came to an untimely end, Freemasonry on the whole made satisfactory progress on the island.

During the period last reviewed, 1813-31, some Lodges under other jurisdictions were formed in the colony, to which it becomes necessary to refer. One—as we have seen—sprang up under an Irish warrant in 1814,[5] and two years later the first of a series of Lodges was established by the Grand Orient of France.[6]

[1] Nos. 456, Kingston, 1767 ; 699, Kingston, 1789 ; 738, [], 1790-99 ; and 35, Kingston, 1814.

[2] The mortality among all ranks was most frightful. From Commissary Sayers' regimental returns, we learn that of 19,676 European soldiers sent by England to the West Indies in 1796, before March 1802, 17,173 died of complaints incidental to the climate.

[3] No. 645—*former* No. 638. The others were Nos. 324, 355, 357, 364, and 438—*former* Nos. 257, 281, 283, 288, and 342.

[4] During this period nine new Lodges, Nos. 686, Phœnix, Port Royal ; 691-97, Sussex, Kingston—Clare, Spanish Town—Atholl, Lucea Bay—Seville, St Ann's Bay—Duke of York, Falmouth—Concord, Spanish Town—and Cornwall, Montego Bay—all in 1817 ; and 810, Montego Bay, 1826, were added to the English roll.

[5] Dec. 9, 1818 :—The Board of General Purposes (Grand Lodge of England) having received letters from the Grand Lodge of Ireland and the Prov. G.M. of Jamaica relative to some proceedings in that island, recommend that a deputation from the two Grand Lodges should be appointed to confer on the subject [that certain regulations common to the Grand Lodge of England and Ireland should be established for the government of the Lodges abroad and in military corps], and that the Grand Lodge of Scotland should be invited to join in the conference. March 3, 1819.—The Board report the receipt of a letter from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and the matter was left in the hands of the Duke of Sussex, G.M. (Proceedings, Grand Lodge of England).

[6] Lodges erected by this body :—Fidélité, Port Royal, 1816 ; Réunion des Arts (Lodge and Chapter), Port Royal ; and Bénignité, "*Ile de la Jamaique*," 1819 ; Trigonométrie, 1831 ; and Les Anciens Frères Réunis, 1832, both at Port Royal (Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 127, 132, 150).

According to a local historian,[1] the G.O. in 1817 issued charters to some French refugees at Kingston, empowering them to erect three several chapters or consistories—the Sublime Lodge, for conferring the so-called "Ineffable Degrees"—the second, for a Council of Princes of Jerusalem—and the third, for a Grand Council of thirty-three degrees. The same writer adds, that becoming "wearied of these diversions, and desirous of working legitimate Masonry," the members of the bodies aforesaid applied in 1818 to the Grand Lodge of England for a warrant to open the Lodge *La Bénignité*, which, however, drew its last breath in 1829. Here there is manifest confusion with regard to dates, which is heightened by some evidence from another source, which informs us, that in 1811, a charter for Lodge *Bienfaisance*, No. 1, was granted by the Grand Consistory of Jamaica, to a number of St Domingo Masons at New Orleans—late residents on the island. Also, unless *Bénignité* was held at Kingston, none of the French Lodges met at the capital. The Lodge in question, moreover, never obtained an English warrant, *one* alone having been issued to Jamaica between 1817 and 1840, *viz.*, to the Friendly Lodge, Montego Bay, No. 810, in 1826—which at the present time is still in existence. Nevertheless there is no reason to doubt that the various French rites were extensively worked in the colony. This was apparently the case from very early times, and if those writers are correct by whom Stephen Morin is alleged to have been a Jew,[2] the fact that there has always been a large Hebrew element in Jamaica, coupled with the circumstance that in no other island of the group under examination were either Jews or Freemasons so safe from persecution, will in a great measure account for the causes which have led to its figuring so largely in the history of the A. and A.S.R. 33°.[3]

On the passing of the act for the abolition of slavery—1833—many Lodges closed their doors, nor did any general reaction set in until about the end of 1844, when two new Lodges were erected, one a representative of the Scottish jurisdiction, whilst the other was opened under a charter from the Grand Lodge of Carthagena by a number of Columbian patriots who had taken refuge in Kingston. The latter ultimately became No. 754—Union et Concordia—under the Grand Lodge of England[4] in 1845.

The Rev. W. P. Burton had been appointed Prov. G.M. for Jamaica by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1843, who, however, as in the parallel cases of Colonel Young in the West and Dr Burnes in the East Indies, at first held office *in partibus infidelium*.[5] But Scottish Masonry soon secured a firm footing on the island, where there are now ten Lodges, which with No. 357, Greytown, Mosquito, form the present province of Jamaica and Greytown, No. 33.[6]

This resolute action on the part of Scotland threatened to be fraught with the same evil consequences to the English Lodges in the colony as befell those in the Bombay Presidency on the appointment as Scottish Prov. G.M. of Dr Burnes. It was soon felt that the brethren under the Grand Lodge of Scotland enjoyed a precedence over the others, and the English Lodges at last mustered up courage to petition for the appointment of Dr Robert Hamilton

[1] Burger, *op. cit.* [2] Ragon, Thory, Clavel, Rebold, etc. [3] *Ante*, pp. 59, 60, 128.

[4] English Lodges warranted *after* 1826:—Nos. 686, Falmouth, 1840; 746, Savanna La Mar, and 747, Lucia, 1844; 754, Kingston, 1845; 1107, Spanish Town, 1860; 1216, Port Royal, 1862; 1377, Savanna La Mar, 1871; 1440, Spanish Town, 1873; 1771, 1836, 1873, 1933, all at Kingston, in the years 1878, 1879, 1880, and 1881 respectively.

[5] *Ante*, pp. 58, 59, 335.

[6] Scottish Lodges erected *after* 1760:—Nos. 415, Kingston, 1844; 417, Kingston, 1845; 359, Black River, 1851; 367, Falmouth, 1853; 369, St Andrew, 1855; 402, Spanish Town, 1860; 530, St Anne's Bay, 1873; 550, Spanish Town, 1874; 554, Port Maria, 1874; and 623, Kingston, 1878.

as their Provincial ruler. Their request was granted, and the Doctor commissioned in the first instance—November 5, 1858—as Prov. G.M. for East Jamaica, a jurisdiction which was subsequently extended over the whole island. Dr Hamilton died in 1880, and no successor was appointed until 1886. The English Lodges in Jamaica are now eleven in number. Seven of these meet at Kingston, and one each at Port Royal, Savanna La Mar, Spanish Town, and Montego Bay.[1]

PORTO RICO.—The last of the Greater Antilles is this Spanish possession, which alone of the group is entirely colonised, cultivated, and peopled. The climate is healthy, and more favourable for Europeans than that of any other of the West Indian islands. The number of inhabitants (1877) is 635,000, rather more than half of whom are whites; yet though twelve times smaller in extent than Cuba, it contains half the population of that island. Under the numerous Spanish and Cuban Grand Bodies, Porto Rico has generally occupied the position of a separate district under a Provincial Superintendent. Upon its early Masonic history, however, I shall not dwell, inasmuch as it would be only pursuing still further the vein of conjecture in which it has been necessary to indulge whilst attempting to deal with the difficult problem of Spanish Masonry. A Lodge—Le Restauracion—under the G.O. of Colon, was in existence at Mayaguez in 1860, and the fluctuations of which Cuba was the scene during the struggle for existence of the Grand Lodges there, made their influence felt throughout the Spanish Antilles.

In the lists before me Don Manuel Romeno is shown as the Provincial Superintendent of Cuba and Porto Rico under the Grand Lodge of Spain (of which Becerra is the G.M.). No Lodges are enumerated, but we find five on the roll of the Grand Orient of Spain, though in this case without a Provincial Superintendent. The S.C. of France is represented by a single Lodge—Le Phénix, No. 230, constituted 1874. Until quite recently there were fourteen Lodges on the island in subjection to the United Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba. These, however, formed themselves into an independent Grand Lodge, September 20, 1885. The ports of San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez are the greatest centres of Masonic activity; and the last-named town, besides supporting two Lodges, possesses a Consistory 32°, a Council 30°, and a Chapter 18°. It is a little singular that whilst the *Lodges* at Porto Rico have severed their connection with the "*United Grand Lodge* of Colon and the Island of Cuba," the *Chapters* and other associations of Masons in the lesser Spanish dependency are still dutiful in their allegiance to the *Supreme Council* of the same title.

Upon this a little light is thrown by the action of Don Antonio Romero Ortiz (at the time presiding over the Grand Lodge of Spain), who, in a decree, dated March 13, 1883, "denounced the Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba and the Masons of its obedience as traitors to the Government and to the Mother Country," simply because they declined to recognise his authority to govern or interfere in the affairs of "Symbolical Masonry" in Cuba. In the same year the United Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba announced by circular that there being in all three Supreme Councils and three Grand Lodges in Spain, it had recognised the Grand Lodge of Seville as being "the only really independent organisation of Craft Masonry" then

[1] Authorities:—W. J. Gardner, Hist. of Jamaica, 1873, pp. 123, 214, 222; Bryan Edwards, Hist. of the West Indies, 3d edit., 1801, vol. iii., p. 411; T. Southey, Chron. Hist. of the West Indies, 1827, vol. ii., p. 284, vol. iii., p. 227; H. J. Burger, Hist. of Freemasonry in Jamaica—printed in the Handbook for the Colony, 1881; Freemason, August 6, 1881; Laurie, 1859, p. 403; Scot, 1873, p. 14; and lists kindly supplied by D. M. Lyon, G. Sec., Scotland, and S. B. Oldham, Dep. G. Sec., Ireland.

existing in that country. This, of course, was dealing very summarily with the pretensions of the Grand Lodge (or Orient) under Ortiz, which Mr Albert Pike pronounced to be the only Grand Body in Spain legitimately entitled to recognition as a regular Masonic body. The name I have last quoted being, as many will be aware, that of the Sov. G. Com. of the S.C. 33° for the U.S.A., Southern Jurisdiction—the body of which he is the head being to other Supreme Councils what the Grand Lodge of England is to other Grand Lodges, and his own personal authority perhaps ranking higher than that of any other Mason either in the Old World or the New.

The Grand Lodge and Supreme Council of Colon and Cuba have therefore followed different roads, the latter treading in the beaten track traversed by Supreme Councils in amity with that presided over by the patriarch and law-giver of the rite,[1] and the former boldly striking out a path of its own.

Owing to the state of political affairs in the island, and from the influential position held by Ortiz in Spain,[2] the charges he made were calculated to subject the Cuban Masons both to surveillance and persecution on the part of the authorities. At Porto Rico the circumstances were somewhat different. Out of Cuba itself the S.C. of Colon was long regarded—and not alone by votaries of the A. and A.S.R. 33°—as a more stable institution than any other of the numerous Grand Bodies which sprang up like mushrooms in the island. When, therefore, the two governing Masonic bodies at Havannah, each in its own way, attempted to solve the problem of Craft sovereignty in Spain, it is not to be wondered at that the confusion existing in the Peninsula was reproduced with more or less fidelity in the Spanish Antilles. In Porto Rico there are no less than five Chapters 18°, besides a Council 30°, and a Consistory 32°. These, as already related, adhered to their allegiance; but the *Lodges* on the island set up a Grand Lodge of Porto Rico at the city of Mayaguez in 1885, and it is satisfactory to state that the Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba has since established fraternal relations with the new body.

II. The Virgin Islands.

This name is given to an extensive group of small islands lying between Porto Rico and the Lesser Antilles. The islands are divided between Great Britain, Denmark, and Spain; Tortola and Virgin Gorda (or Spanish Town) being the most important of those under British rule; St Thomas, St John, and Santa Cruz (or Sainte Croix), of those belonging to Denmark; whilst the largest of the Spanish islets—Culebra—has an area of only ten square miles. The islands changed hands very frequently up to 1815, when their present political position was defined. The British islands are under the governor of St Kitts, the Spanish are dependencies of Porto Rico, and the Danish governor has his seat at Christianstadt, the capital of Santa Cruz. This island, which, though politically united with the Virgin group, is geographically distinct, has attained to a higher degree of prosperity than any other in the archipelago. English is generally spoken throughout the entire group, with the exception of St Thomas and St John, in which the language of their first possessors—Dutch—has been retained.[3]

[1] The Rose-Croix Chapter, No. 25 on the roll of the S.C. of Colon, is named after Mr Pike.

[2] *Ante*, p. 317.

[3] The works and references cited in connection with the Greater Antilles are also to a great extent my authorities for the remaining sections relating to the West Indies.

TORTOLA AND VIRGIN GORDA.—Lodges were established in these islands by the Schismatics or "Ancients" in 1760 and 1763, and by the rival organisation—the original or legitimate Grand Lodge of England—in 1765. Each of the three Lodges was continued in the lists until the Union (1813), when they one and all disappear.[1]

SANTA CRUZ, or ST CROIX.—A Lodge at this island, dating from 1756, obtained a temporary footing on the English roll in the Engraved List for 1758, as No. 224, and ten years *later* was advanced to a higher niche corresponding with its actual seniority, as No. 216. This was afterwards described as the Lodge of St George, and is shown in our lists until 1814, but it apparently became subject to Danish jurisdiction in 1776, and died out in 1788. John Ryan was appointed Prov. G.M. under England in 1777, but no English charter has since been granted to the Masons in Santa Cruz, though a Scottish Lodge—Eureka, No. 605—was erected at Christianstadt in 1877.

ST THOMAS.—A dispensation "to hold a Lodge for six months" was granted for this island, by the G.M. of Pennsylvania, in 1792. Next comes "La Concorde," borne on the register of the Grand Lodge of Denmark, 1798-1823, but whether of "Danish or English origin" there is no evidence to show. The Harmonic Lodge, No. 708, which still exists, was founded by the Grand Lodge of England in 1818. After this, in the year 1855, came Les Cœurs Sincères, No. 141, under the S.C. for France. Not content, however, with these two jurisdictions, some Masons on the island requested Andrew Cassard of New York to procure them a warrant from the S.C. for the United States S.J., but at his suggestion they eventually applied to the Grand Lodge of Colon—at Santiago de Cuba—and were constituted as a Lodge—Star in the East—under the authority of that body by Cassard in 1871. But the S.C. for Colon claimed that as the Grand *Orient* had not met, the Grand *Lodge* was still "in recess,"[2] and in 1872 passed a formal decree censuring Cassard for his action at St Thomas. In the same year the members of Star in the East applied, though without success, to the G.M. of South Carolina for a *Dispensation* to enable them to continue their labours, alleging that the other Lodges on the island would not recognise them, on the pretext that the Grand Lodge of Colon was not known to be in existence. In 1873, however, they were more fortunate, as a charter and not merely a temporary dispensation was granted them by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana—from which body the circumstance of a prior application having been made to the G.M. of South Carolina had been carefully withheld. But the petitioners were in no better position than before, for they were neither recognised nor allowed to visit by the other Lodges of St Thomas, and the warrant which had been so imprudently granted by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana was at once withdrawn when the actual circumstances of the case were brought to the notice of that body.[3]

[1] Lodges constituted:—*Ancients*—Nos. 82, Virgin Gorda, 1760; 108, Road Island of Tortola, 1763. *Grand Lodge of England*—No. 351, Tortola and Beef Island, 1765.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 350.

[3] Authorities (Santa Cruz and St Thomas):—Proceedings, Grand Lodges of South Carolina, 1872; Louisiana, 1874; [according to the Grand Master's address, the Grand Orient of Colon was in full communication with other Masonic bodies, and actively engaged in creating and organising Masonic bodies throughout its jurisdiction, which was claimed to extend over Cuba, St Thomas, Porto Rico, St John, St Croix, and a portion of St Domingo]; Maine, 1879; and Letter from Mr Rasmus Nielsen, Grand Secretary, Denmark, dated May 10, 1886.

III. The Lesser Antilles, or Caribbee Islands.

Antigua.—The earliest Lodges in the West Indies were established in this island, which is the most important of the Leeward group, and the residence of the British Governor-in-Chief. No less than three holding English warrants were in existence in 1739, and a fourth is said to have been established in the previous year by the authority of the Prov. G.M. of New England. A little later the Freemasons in the colony built a large hall for their meetings, and applied to the Grand Lodge of England for permission to style one of their Lodges (No. 192), "the Great Lodge at St John's in Antigua," which favour was granted to them in April 1744.[1]

The Leeward Islands were constituted a Province under England[2] in 1738, and under Scotland in 1769. The first Scottish Lodge in the Lesser Antilles was erected in the latter year at St Kitts, by which name the province was designated in 1786. But in 1792 the old title—Leeward Caribbee Islands—was restored, and again altered in 1837 on the appointment of Dr Stephenson of Grenada, to be "Provincial G.M. of the Province *comprehending* the Caribbee Islands." Lieut.-General James Adolphus Oughton[3] was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Antigua, December 18, 1772, but the presence on the island of a former Grand Master of Scotland was destitute of any Masonic result, as the earliest Scottish Lodge in the colony was not established until 1787.[4] The only Lodges[5] since erected are the two now existing, both of which are on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England.[6]

The following extract from a long-forgotten work will show the exceptional difficulties against which the European residents in the West Indies had to contend, and may serve to excite our surprise—not that more Lodges were not constituted, but that any survived at all in the pestilential climate where the Lodge work had to be carried on. According to my authority, "the 68th regiment was sent to Antigua in 1805, with its ranks sadly reduced by the climate. It had arrived in the West Indies about five years before, with two battalions, each 1200 strong; and I have understood from their officers that they had buried in those five years 2400 men and 68 officers—the regiment had, of course, received repeated drafts of men from England during that period."[7]

Barbadoes.—Masonry was early established in this the chief of the Windward Islands, and the residence of the Governor-General of the group. It was constituted a Masonic province in 1740,[8] and in the same year the first of a long series of Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England[9] came into existence. None of these, however, were carried forward on the

[1] Lodges (Grand Lodge of England):—Nos. 191, Parham, 1737; 192, Courthouse, 1738; 193, Baker's, 1739; 233, Evangelists, 1753—removed to Montserrat, 1781, or earlier; 435, 1772; and 447, 1782. All the above were continued in the lists until the Union, when they disappear. *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 467.

[2] Prov. G.M.'s:—Leeward Islands, Governor Matthew, 1738; Antigua, Rev. F. Bryan, D.D., 1754-55; Antigua and Leeward Islands, W. Jarvis, 1758-62—succeeded provisionally by Captain J. Dunbar, 1764-67, but name again shown in Calendar, 1783, and only disappears in 1808.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 63, and Chap. XIX., p. 447.

[4] No. 225, St John, "cut off" in 1816.

[5] Nos. 723, 1843; and 967, 1856.

[6] Authorities:—Southey, vol. ii., p. 411; Preston, 1792, p. 291; Lawrie, 1804, p. 188; Laurie, 1859, p. 404.

[7] Lieut.-Colonel J. Leach, Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier, 1831, p. 18.

[8] Prov. G.M.'s:—Barbadoes and Windward Islands, Thomas Baxter, 1740; W. Maynard, 1754-55; Caribbee and Windward Islands, Governor Robert Melville, 1764; Barbadoes, John Stone, 1765-67; Samuel Rous, 1768-69; Benjamin Gettins, 1780; W. Bishop, 1791; John Straker, 1801; J. A. Beeeles, 1818; and Sir R. B. Clarke, 1841.

[9] Nos. 186, 1740; 260-61, 1752; 262, 1754; 238, 1758; 434, 1772; and 585, 1791. *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 467.

Union roll in 1814, though one—No. 186, St Michael's Lodge—was a few years later restored to the list, but again left out at the next change of numbers (1832), to be a second time restored (1841), and finally erased, March 5, 1862. It is a little singular that the first five Lodges established in Barbadoes bore saintly appellatives.

Three Lodges were warranted in the colony by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in the last century, and there was a Prov. Grand Lodge in existence in 1804, but this having now become a lapsed jurisdiction, its further consideration may be dispensed with. Though for the information of local antiquaries, the Lodges formerly existing are specified in a note.[1]

The Atholl or Ancient Masons obtained a footing on the island in 1790, and a Lodge constituted in that year still exists. Three others were afterwards erected, but though carried forward at the Union, were dropped out at the change of numbers in 1832.[2]

The Grand Lodge of Scotland has never been represented in the colony by more than a single Lodge, the first—Scotia, No. 267—having been chartered in 1799; and a second (of the same name) in 1844. At the present time there are only two Lodges in Barbadoes—the Scottish one last referred to, and the original "Atholl" Lodge of 1790; for although three others have been constituted since the Union by the United Grand Lodge of England,[3] all these have passed out of existence.

CURAÇOA.—Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Holland appear to have been established on the island in 1757, 1773, and 1787—L'Amitié, L'Union, and De Vergenoeging. In 1807 it was taken by the English, but restored to the Dutch in 1815. During the British occupation, Nos. 346, Union, and 627, Content and British Union, were warranted in 1810 and 1811 by the Atholl and Original Grand Lodges of England respectively. Both were carried forward at the Union, but are now extinct, the latter not surviving the closing up of numbers in 1832, and the former being struck off the roll, March 5, 1862. Curaçoa is the seat of the Dutch Masonic province of the West Indies, and there are at the present time only two Lodges on the island, one under the Grand Lodge of Holland—De Vergenoeging (*Contentment*)—established in 1787, but apparently revived after a period of abeyance in 1854;[4] the other under the Grand Lodge of England, No. 939, erected in 1855. The close resemblance between the names of the early Dutch and English Lodges might almost suggest that in some instances there was a divided or dual allegiance.

DOMINICA.—The Lodge of Good Friends was formed at Roseau by the Grand Lodge of England in 1773.[5] In the same year a warrant was granted (though not issued) for the colony by the Atholl Masons, and in 1785 a second,[6] under which a Lodge was constituted, also at the capital, Roseau. But neither of the bodies thus established survived the union of the two societies, which is not to be wondered at when we take into consideration that the island was captured by the French in 1778, restored to England in 1783, again surrendered to France in 1802, and finally received back as a British possession in 1814. A revival took place in 1823, when the Lodge of Chosen Friends, No. 777, was established, which remained on the roll until swept away—in company with eighty-eight other foreign or colonial Lodges

[1] Nos. 622, 1783-1858; 649 [granted but never issued]; 653, 1786-1856; 222, 1822-47; 259, 1822-30; 277, 1822-41; 282, 1842-45. The dates last given are those of removal from the roll.

[2] Nos. 263, 1790; 286, 1794; 308, 1797; and 331, 1804.

[3] Nos. 848, 1829; 713, 1842; and 1499, 1874.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 337, note 1; and 345, note 3.

[5] No. 460.

[6] No. 229.

—by order of the Grand Lodge of England, March 5, 1862. The only Lodge at present on the island is No. 1742, under the same jurisdiction, erected in 1878.

GRENADA.—In 1763—October 8—Brigadier-General Robert Melville was appointed Governor of Dominica. Grenada, the Grenadines, St Vincent, and Tobago were included in his government—a new one—which was styled that of Grenada. This officer received three patents as Prov. G.M.—(1) for Guadeloupe—when Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Royal on that island, and Lieutenant-Colonel 38th Foot, 1759-62;[1] (2) for the Caribbee and Windward Islands, 1764; and (3) for Grenada, 1780. The year following Melville's appointment to this new government, Lodges were formed on the island by the Grand Lodges of England and France. Three in all were constituted under the former,[2] and two under the latter jurisdiction[3] in the last century; whilst the Atholl Masons, who were five years later in obtaining a footing in the colony, chartered one military and two stationary Lodges within the same period.[4]

None of the English Lodges were carried forward at the Union, and the next evidence of Masonic activity is presented by the erection of an Irish Lodge—No. 252—in 1819, which, however, surrendered its warrant in 1825, and another of later constitution—No. 224, formed 1848—has also ceased to work.

Scotland was next in the field (1820), and four Lodges[5] have been warranted under that jurisdiction, the three latest of which are in existence at this day. A year later (1821) the Masonry of England was again represented, and shortly afterwards by a second Lodge,[6] but both the bodies thus constituted are now extinct. G. G. Munro was appointed Prov. G.M. under the same sanction in 1825, and Felix Palmer in 1831.

The latest foreign jurisdiction by which the colony was invaded would appear to have been that of the Grand Orient of France, if by "Grenade" we are to understand Grenada, where a Lodge—"La Bienfaisance"—was established December 21, 1828.

GUADELOUPE.—In this, the chief West Indian possession of France, and its dependency Marie-Galante, the following Lodges are shown in the lists as having been constituted by the Grand Lodge or Grand Orient of France:—Antigue, 1766; La Vraie Fraternité (Marie-Galante) and St Jean d'Ecosse, 1768; La Bonne Amitié and L'Humanité, 1770; St Louis de la Concorde, 1772; *La Paix*, 1784; Les Philalèthes [under a warrant from the Mother Lodge of the Scots Philosophic Rite], 1806; L'Amenité, 1807; La Fraternité (Marie-Galante), 1829; *Les Desciples d'Hiram*, 1835; and *Les Elus D'Occident*, 1862. The Lodges still existing are shown in italics, the two of earliest date being at Pointe-à-Pitre, and the remaining one at Basse-Terre.

Although Guadeloupe was in the hands of the English, 1759-63, and again occupied by

[1] The dates of these early Patents can rarely be given with precision, as the Deputations and Provincial Commissions granted down to about 1770 are ordinarily cited—without distinction of dates—in connection with the particular G.M. during whose administration they were issued. Subsequently there is less vagueness, as the names of Prov. G.M.'s were annually published with the lists of Lodges. The official calendars, however, were very carelessly edited, some names not finding places for many years, whilst others were continued long after the appointments had lapsed, and in not a few cases for long periods after the decease of the former holders.

[2] Nos. 347, La Sagesse, 1764; 425, Lodge of Vigilance; and 426, Lodge of Discretion, 1772.

[3] La Tendre Fraternité, 1764; and Les Frères Choisis, 1781.

[4] Nos. 163, 1769; 271, 1792; and 272, 45th Foot, 1792.

[5] Nos. 356, St George, 1820; 395, Caledonia, 1827; 603, St Andrew, 1877; and 650, St George, 1880.

[6] Nos. 732, St George, 1821; and 797, Harmony, 1825.

them in 1813 and 1815, this—as already related—was attended by no other Masonic result than the grant of a Provincial Patent to Lieutenant-Colonel Melville, one of the officers of the British garrison, 1759-62.

MARTINIQUE.—Masonry, in this magnificent island, appears to have been introduced almost as early as in France itself. Thus, by the Grand Orient, or by the several Grand Bodies which preceded it, we find there were chartered—La Parfaite Union, 1738; St Pierre des Frères Unis, 1760; La Tendre Fraternité,[1] 1765; La Sincérité des Cœurs, 1777; Les Frères Choisis, 1781; Le Zèle et la Bienfaisance, La Parfaite Amitié, and La Paix (*au Marin*), 1786.

From 1794 to 1802, and again, 1809-15, the island was in the possession of the English. During the first period a Lodge was established under the Grand Lodge of Ireland—No. 690, in 1801; and during the second another under the (Atholl) Grand Lodge of England—No. 359, Lodge of Chosen Friends, 1813. The former of these was transferred to Trinidad, 1811, and cancelled 1858. The latter, which bore the last *number* issued by the so-called "Ancients," was carried forward on the Union roll, but died out before the year 1832.

The later Lodges constituted by the G.O. of France were L'Harmonie, 1803; Les Frères Choisis, 1814; La Concorde, 1820; and La Bienfaisance, 1821. At the present time, however, according to the various calendars, there is but a single Lodge at work on the island—L'Union, St Pierre—established by warrant of the (French) S.C. 33° in 1848.[2]

MONTSERRAT AND NEVIS.—Although the earliest Lodges in the West Indies sprang up with a luxuriant growth in Antigua, to Montserrat belongs the distinction of having been constituted the first Masonic Province either in the Greater or the Lesser Antilles. This occurred in 1737 during the administration of the Earl of Darnley;[3] and thirty years later, December 2, 1767, a Prov. Grand Lodge for Montserrat and Nevis—No. 151—was set up by the Atholl (or Ancient) Masons. Up to this time, however, there appears to have been no Lodge on either island; but in 1777 one was erected—No. 507—at Nevis by the original Grand Lodge of England; whilst the Evangelists' Lodge, established at Antigua in 1753, shifted its place of meeting to Montserrat shortly before 1780. These two Lodges were continued in the lists of the older Society until the Union, when they disappear, and so far as my research extends, no others have since been in existence in either island.

ST BARTHOLOMEW.—A Lodge—Sudermania—under the Grand Lodge of Sweden, existed on this island from 1797 to 1820.

ST CHRISTOPHER, or ST KITTS.—Four Lodges were warranted in this colony by the Grand Lodge of England in the last century. The first in 1739, and the last in 1768.[4] The latter did not survive the change of numbers in 1770, but all the other Lodges were carried forward until the Union, and one—the Clarence, originally No. 206—only disappeared at the renumbering in 1832, though a Lodge of the same name was warranted on the island in the

[1] Amalgamated with the first Lodge on this list under the title La Parfaite Union et la Tendre Fraternité Réunies.

[2] Leon Hyneman (World Wide Register, p. 533) locates two Lodges—Réunion des Artes and Trigonométrie—at Martinique, which, from having been established at *Port* (not *Fort*) Royal, I have assigned to Jamaica. He also gives the name of "Sante Trinité" among those of the Lodges at Martinique. This, however, I have altogether failed to trace in the lists of Lodges warranted by the G.O. or S.C. of France.

[3] Prov. G.M.'s:—*Montserrat*—James Watson, 1737; Edward Daniel, 1764-67; William Ryan, 1777. *St Christopher and Nevis*—R. Wilkes, 1798.

[4] Nos. 194, Basseterre, 1739; 123, Old Road, 1742; 206, Sandy Point, 1750, and 428, 1768.

following year—which lived until 1865—and may have been a revival. A Prov. G.M. was appointed, January 27, 1798,[1] and a second, the Hon. John Garnett, November 23, 1808.

A Scottish Lodge was erected on the island in 1769, and others in 1786 and 1791.[2] These are now extinct; but a fourth, No. 407, Mount of Olives, 1835, still exists, and is the only Lodge in St Christopher. During the years 1786-92 the island was the seat of the Scottish West Indian Province,[3] but is now included with some others in Province No. 32.

ST EUSTATIUS.—Masonry in this island appears to have increased *pari passu* with its material prosperity. Three English[4] and four Dutch[5] Lodges were at work during the last century, the earliest of the former having been erected in 1747, and of the latter in 1757. Edward Galliard was appointed Prov. G.M. of St Eustatius and the Dutch Caribbee islands by the Grand Lodge of England in 1754-55; and R. H. de Plessis held a similar commission—extending over St Eustatius, Saba, and St Martin—under the Grand Lodge of Holland in 1777.

The settlement was taken by the British, February 3, 1781. All the merchandise and stores were confiscated, the naval and military commanders—Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan—considering it their duty "to seize for the public use, all the effects of an island inhabited by rebellious Americans and their agents, disaffected British factors, who, for base and lucrative motives, were the great supporters of the American rebellion." At this time, except for warlike stores, St Eustatius had become one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe. "Invitation was given," says Southey, "and protection offered to purchasers of all nations, and of all sorts."[6]

The English Lodges continued to appear in the lists until the Union, but were probably extinct for many years before that period. In 1813, it must be added, a Lodge—No. 30—was established in the settlement by the Atholl Grand Lodge, but this, like the others, failed to secure a place on the Union roll.

At the general peace the island was finally ceded to Holland, and some of the Dutch Lodges survived until within recent memory. It is possible, also, that others may have been established, of which no record has been preserved.[7] At present there are no Lodges on the island.

ST LUCIA.—Two Lodges, Le Choix Réuni and L'Harmonie Fraternelle, were established by the Grand Orient of France in 1784. In 1814 the island was ceded to England, under whose sanction a Lodge—No. 762—was formed in 1845, and erased in 1862.

ST MARTIN.—There are at present no Lodges either in the settlements of the French or the Dutch, between whom the island is divided; but one was formerly in existence—Unie, No. 3, under the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands—constituted in 1800.[8]

ST VINCENT.—An Irish warrant—No. 733—was granted to some brethren in this

[1] See the last note but one. [2] Nos. 151, St Andrew, 1769; 217, Union, 1786; and 241, Mount of Olives, 1791.

[3] *Ante*, p. 363. [4] Nos. 268, New Lodge, 1747; 269, No. 2, 1754; 428, Union, 1768.

[5] St Pierre and La Parfaite Union, 1757; La Parfaits Maçons, 1758; and St Jean Baptiste, 1760 (Freemasons' Calendar, 1776 and 1778).

[6] Hist. of the West Indies, vol. ii., pp. 484, 492. It is related by the same authority "that the greater part of the inhabitants of our Leeward Islands wished the expedition in 1759 against Martinique to miscarry (1.) because it interrupted their iniquitous trade with St Eustatia, of transferring French sugars, their property, in Dutch bottoms; (2.) because very many of them had plantations of their own in Martinico" (*Ibid.*, p. 329).

[7] *Cf. ante*, p. 337, note 1; and the World's Masonic Register, p. 546.

[8] The World's Masonic Register, p. 540, shows a *second* Dutch Lodge, which is incorrect

dependency in 1806, which was surrendered in 1824. Two Lodges were afterwards established by the Grand Lodge of England, but are now extinct.[1]

TOBAGO.—A Scottish Lodge—No. 488—was erected at Scarborough, the capital, in 1868.

TRINIDAD.—A charter was granted—No. 77, Les Frères Unis—by the G.L. of Pennsylvania in 1798, to some brethren at Port D'Espagne, who had formerly been members of a Lodge at St Lucia, under a warrant from France. After this, in 1811, No. 690, under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, was transferred from Martinique to Trinidad, but passed out of existence in 1858. Scottish Masonry obtained a footing in 1813, and there are now four Lodges[2] in all under that jurisdiction, which form the present province, No. 44. The first English Lodge on the island had its origin in 1831. This was followed by four other warrants from the oldest of Grand Bodies, and all five Lodges are in existence at this day.[3] Trinidad became a province under the Grand Lodge of England in 1860, but ceased to be one in 1876.

IV. THE LUCAYAS, OR BAHAMA ISLANDS.

The Masonic history of this group begins with the appointment of Governor John Tinkler[4] as Prov. G.M. in 1752, who was succeeded by James Bradford in 1759. But they had apparently no Lodges to control, neither do we hear of any having been established either before or after under the jurisdiction[5] of which they were the representatives.

In 1785, however, a warrant for the Bahamas—No. 228—was issued by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge of England. The Lodge thus established died out before the Union, but a second —No. 242—under the same jurisdiction, established at Nassau, New Providence, in 1787, survived the closing up of numbers in 1814, though its vitality was exhausted before the repetition of that process in 1832.

A Scottish Lodge was erected at Turk's Island in 1803, which is now extinct, but others formed in New Providence and Inagua in 1809 and 1856 respectively, still exist, and constitute Province No. 39,[6] under the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Lodges under the United Grand Lodge of England were established at Nassau, 1837; Grand Turk, 1855; and Harbour Island, 1869.[7] These are still active, and the first and last together constitute the existing Province of the Bahamas, which (under this jurisdiction) dates from 1843.

V. THE BERMUDAS, OR SOMMER'S ISLANDS.

This group, like the Bahamas, was provided with a Prov. G.M. long before there were Lodges for him to supervise. Alured Popple received a patent as such from Lord Strathmore

[1] Nos. 730, Sussex, 1821; and 755, Victoria, 1845.

[2] Nos. 322, United Brothers, 1813; 368, Eastern Star, 1854; 438, Athole, 1864; and 596, Rosslyn, 1876.

[3] Nos. 856, Philanthrophic, 1831; 837, Trinity, 1850; 1169, Prince of Wales, 1861; 1213, Phœnix, 1862; and 1788, Hervey, 1878.

[4] *Cf.* Chap. XVII., p. 385, note 3.

[5] The original Grand Lodge of England.

[6] Nos. 275, Turk's Island; 298, Union, Nassau; and 372, St John, Inagua. The first Prov. G.M. was J. F. Cooke, appointed November 7, 1842.

[7] Nos. 649, Royal Victoria; 930, Forth; and 1277, Britannia.

in 1744, and William Popple was similarly commissioned during the administration of the Earl of Aberdour (1758-62). The first Lodge under the older (English) sanction was formed in 1761, and the second in 1792.[1] Five years later (1797) the titular "Ancients" gained a footing, and in 1801 possessed, like their rivals, two Lodges.[2] At the Union, however, the former succumbed to destiny, whilst the latter were carried forward, and still survive.

Further English Lodges were constituted in 1819 and 1880—Nos. 712 and 1890—thus making a total of four, which report direct to the Grand Lodge of England, as the succession of Prov. G.M.'s ceased with the appointment of William Popple in 1758-62.

Lodge St George—No. 266—under the Grand Lodge of Scotland was erected in 1797, and the Bermudas became a Scottish Province in 1803. This was followed, however, by no increase of Lodges until 1885, when a warrant was issued to No. 726,[3] which, with "St George," forms the thirty-fourth Province on the roll of Scotland.

Three Irish Lodges have been established at St George's Island, Nos. 220, 1856 (warrant surrendered 1860); 224, 1867; and 209, 1881. The last two are, singularly enough, the only Lodges now at work under the Grand Lodge of Ireland in any of the West India islands.

Under the Grand Lodge of Ireland there is no West Indian Province, but under those of England and Scotland, there is in the former case two, and in the latter five. Jamaica, with ten (exclusive of Montego Bay), and the Bahamas with two Lodges, constitute the English Provinces (or Districts), though the first named, from the death of Dr Hamilton in 1880, down to the appointment of his successor, Mr J. C. Macglashan, in 1886, might be said to have been in a condition of suspended animation. The remaining West Indian Lodges (17) under this jurisdiction are in direct communication with London.

The Scottish Provinces are five in number, Nos. 32, West India Islands—Grenada, 3; St Kitts, Barbadoes, and Tobago, 1 Lodge each; 33, Jamaica—Greytown, 1; Jamaica, 10 Lodges; 34, Bermudas, 2 Lodges; 39, Bahamas, 2 Lodges; and 44, Trinidad, 4 Lodges.

MEXICO.

The so-called "Scottish Rite" was introduced into Mexico—then the principal colony of Spain—by civil and military officers of the Monarchy about the year 1810. After this, Lodges were erected by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana at Vera Cruz and Campeachy in 1816 and 1817 respectively,[4] and the example thus set was followed by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, under which body a Lodge was established at Alvarado in 1824.[5] A period of confusion next ensued, during which Masonry and politics were so closely interwoven as to render quite hopeless any attempt at their separate treatment.

Soon the entire population of the country became divided into two factions, the *Escoccses* and the *Yorkinos*. The former were in favour of moderate measures, under a central

[1] Nos. 266 and 507, Union and Bermuda Lodges.

[2] Nos. 307 and 324—*now* 224 and 233—St George's and Somerset Lodges.

[3] With regard to the formation of this Lodge, see the *Freemason*, March 20, 1886 (p. 171).

[4] Nos. 8, Los Amigos Reunidos; and 9, Reunion a la Virtud.

[5] No. 191, Hermanos legitimos de la luz del Papaloapan.

government, or a constitutional monarchy. The latter were the advocates of republican institutions, and the expulsion of the "old" or native Spaniards.

The Escoceses—originally the "Scots Masons"—numbered among their members all who, under the ancient *régime*, had titles of nobility; the Catholic clergy, without exception; many military officers; together with all the native Spaniards of every class.

The republican party, according to one set of writers, viewing with dismay the progress of their opponents, resolved "to fight the devil with his own fire," and therefore organised a rival faction, on which they bestowed the name of Yorkinos, the members of which were supposed to be adherents of the York Rite.

The authorities, however, by whom the movement is described as purely Masonic in its inception, are probably right, though at this point the facts do not stand out with the clearness that might be wished, and therefore deductions are of slight value.

Mackey informs us that authority was obtained in 1825 from the Grand Lodge of New York for the establishment of three Lodges in the city of Mexico. These Lodges, according to the same writer, were formed into a Grand Lodge of the York Rite by Mr Joel R. Poinsett (American Minister), a former G.M. of South Carolina. Here there is a little confusion, as Mr E. M. L. Ehlers,[1] in kindly replying to my enquiries, expressly states that since the year 1815, no foreign Lodges have been warranted by the Grand Lodge of New York. But however established, the so-called York Rite, or, in other words, pure English Masonry, flourished, and towards the end of 1826 there were 25 Lodges, with a membership of about 700. The Escoceses, or "Scots Masons," finding their Lodges deserted, regarded the Yorkinos as renegades and traitors, and with a view to counterbalance the fast increasing power of the latter, they formed the *Novenarios*, a kind of militia, which derived its name from a regulation requiring each member to enlist nine additional adherents. These ingratiated themselves with the clergy, who, after having been the most embittered enemies of the Craft in past years, now joined the Escoceses almost in a body.

The Yorkinos, becoming aware of these proceedings, tried to outdo their rivals by recruiting their own Lodges upon the plan of receiving all applicants without distinction, provided they belonged to the *federal, i.e.*, the patriotic party. Thus, the system of Masonry very soon degenerated into a mere party question, and at last all the adherents of one side styled themselves Escoceses, and of the other side, Yorkinos. In 1828, the two parties resorted to open warfare, with a view to deciding the question at issue by the sword, and the civil war then commenced, lasted for more than a generation.

Somewhere about this time, whilst Dr Vincente Guerrero—G.M. under the York Rite—was President of the Republic, a law was enacted by which all Masonic Lodges were closed. The Yorkinos obeyed their Grand Master, and discontinued their meetings. The Escoceses went on working, but some of their most influential Lodges were suppressed, and the members banished. Subsequently, all native Spaniards were expelled from Mexican territory.

This internecine strife seriously affected the Fraternity in general, and gave birth, during the darkest hours of the struggle for supremacy, to an organisation called the National Mexican Rite, formed by Masons, and composed of distinguished men, but containing inno-

[1] Grand Secretary, New York, in a letter dated March 30, 1886.



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vations and principles so antagonistic to Masonic usage and doctrine, that it was never accorded recognition, even in Mexico, by any Masonic body of acknowledged legality.

This new school of Masonry was established by nine brethren of both rites, and who had belonged to the highest grade of either system, in 1830. To guard against the intrusion of unworthy members and the revival of political antagonism, they resolved to create a rite which should be national, in the sense of not depending upon any foreign Grand Lodge for its constitution, and to obviate by safeguards and precautions of an elaborate character, the dangers to be apprehended from the reception of either Escoceses or Yorkinos.

The National Mexican Rite consisted of nine degrees, which, omitting the first three, were —4°, Approved Master (equal to the 15° "Scots"); 5°, Knight of the Secret (equal to the 18° "Scots"); 6°, Knight of the Mexican Eagle; 7°, Perfect Architect (or Templar); 8°, Grand Judge; and 9°, Grand Inspector General. All these degrees had their equivalents in the grades of the A. and A.S.R. 33°. With the "St John's" (or purely Craft) degrees certain special signs were associated, which, however, were not required from foreigners unless they had acted as auxiliaries in any of the party contests.

A Grand Orient, composed of members of the 9°, was supreme in matters of dogma or ritual. There was also an administrative body or National Grand Lodge, whose members were elective, and met in the metropolis. The Provincial Grand Lodges had their seats in the State capitals, and were formed by the "three lights" of at least five St John's Lodges.

But although still preserving a nominal existence, the several Grand Bodies, owing to political convulsions, were virtually dormant for many years after 1833. A Lodge—St Jean d'Ulloa—was constituted at Vera Cruz, by the Supreme Council of France, in 1843; and another—Les Ecossais des Deux Mondes—at the city of Mexico, by the Grand Orient of the same country, in 1845.

The National Mexican Rite appears to have somewhat recovered from its torpor in 1863. At that date we find in the metropolis, a National Grand Lodge with six working Lodges, though of these one—belonging to the A. and A.S.R.—was constituted by the Grand Lodge of New Granada, and consisted chiefly of foreigners; in Toluca a Prov. Grand Lodge with five Lodges; in Vera Cruz and Guadalajara two Lodges each; and in five other cities single Lodges.

"In the year 1858 or 1859," according to an official report,[1] "Bro. Lafon de Ladebat went to Mexico with authority from Bro. Albert Pike [of Washington D.C.] to organise and establish Masonry on a sound basis in that country. Unfortunately Bro. Ladebat did not organise a Grand Lodge of Symbolic Masonry first, as instructed, but constituted the Supreme Council with jurisdiction over the three degrees of E.A., F.C., and M.M."

After this came the invasion of Mexican territory by a foreign foe, the establishment of the Maximilian Empire, its overthrow, and finally the war of reform. Meanwhile the Grand Lodge of the Yorkinos had ceased to exist, and the "Scots Rite," which by this time had become divested of its political colouring, had erected—December 27, 1865—a Supreme Council 33°. This, in 1868, joined, or was absorbed by, the Supreme Council of 1858-59, and in the same year the amalgamated body effected a fusion with the National Grand Lodge—one of whose highest officials at the time was Benito Juarez, President of the Republic. The latter union, however, was not of a thorough nature, but rather assumed the features of a

[1] Proc. Grand Lodge of Louisiana, 1884, Appendix, p. 5.

friendly pact, as it left each rite independent of the other with regard to ritual and internal government. In 1870 the National Rite numbered thirty-two Lodges, and the A. and A.S.R. twenty-four.

It would seem as if the authority of Juarez alone held these rites together, since at his death in 1872—although he was succeeded as President by his chief follower, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejeda, also a prominent Freemason—dissensions arose, and they fell asunder, Alfredo Chavero becoming G.M. of the Grand Orient, and José Maria Mateos of the National Grand Lodge. In 1876 a Lodge of Germans left the G.O. and joined the National Grand Lodge, but in the following year, with the consent of the latter, affiliated with the Grand Lodge of Hamburg—under which body there is also (1886) another Lodge at work in Vera Cruz.

From the scanty information at my disposal it seems probable—more cannot be said—that the two rites again formed a junction about 1882; whilst, on the other hand, it is quite possible that the National Mexican Rite may still exist, though its proceedings are unrecorded. So far, indeed, as evidence is forthcoming, upon the re-establishment of peace and order in Mexico, the Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council throughout the Republic organised State Grand Lodges. A Central Grand Lodge was established in the capital, with jurisdiction over them, and though the Supreme Council made no formal abdication of its authority over Symbolism, this was interfered with very little, save by the Central Grand Lodge. In 1883 there were the following State Grand Lodges:—Vera Cruz and Jalisco, each with seven Lodges; Puebla, Yucatan, and Guanajuato, with six; and Morelos and Tlaxcala, with five; thus making a total of seven Grand and forty-two subordinate Lodges, exclusive of the Central Grand Lodge and the metropolitan Lodges.

It will be seen that at this period there existed at Vera Cruz a State Grand Lodge, but from the fact that it was subordinate to the Central Grand Lodge, it was not deemed by the Grand Lodge of Colon to exercise legitimate authority over Symbolism in that State. Indeed, the whole of Mexico was regarded by the last-named body as "unoccupied territory," and it therefore proceeded to charter three Lodges, which in January 1883 formed themselves, at the city of Vera Cruz, into the "Mexican Independent Symbolic Grand Lodge."

Two of the Lodges taking part in this movement had originally held Mexican warrants, but having quarrelled with their superiors, solicited and obtained charters from the G.L. of Colon (*now* Colon and Cuba), shortly after which the third Lodge was formed, and then, finally, the Grand Lodge, although the Supreme Council of Mexico had formally protested against the invasion of its territory. Indeed the step thus taken by their former superiors appears rather to have accelerated the action of the three Lodges, as in the record of their proceedings it is stated, "that they hasten to constitute themselves into an Independent Grand Lodge, pending the protest of the Supreme Council of Mexico, to relieve their friend and mother, the Grand Lodge of Colon, from any further unpleasant complications!"

The Supreme Council of Mexico, in a Balustre numbered XXX., and dated April 25, 1883, renounced its jurisdiction over the symbolical degrees, and promulgated a variety of regulations with regard to Grand and subordinate Lodges. This threw the Craft into the utmost confusion, and might have ended in the destruction of the greater number of Mexican Lodges, or at least in the establishment of some half dozen Grand Bodies, all claiming supremacy, had it not been for the skill and address of Carlos Pacheco, who succeeded Alfredo Chavero as Sov. G. Com. 33°.

The former Balustre was revoked, and by a new one (XXXII.), dated May 27, 1883, the Supreme Council renounced, in favour of the State Grand Lodges then existing or which might afterwards be formed, the jurisdiction over Symbolism conferred upon it by the Constitutions of the A. and A.S.R. 33°. The transmission of powers was to take effect from June 24 then ensuing. The Lodges having no Grand Lodge were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge nearest to them, or the oldest if two were equi-distant, until they organised their own in accordance with Masonic usage and precedent. The Lodges of the Federal District, however, were directed to form and inaugurate their Grand Lodge on June 15 then following. Balustre XXXII. was signed (*inter alios*) by Carlos Pacheco, Mariano Escobedo, Alfredo Chavero, and Porfirio Diaz.

On June 25, 1883, twelve Lodges at the capital met and established the Grand Lodge of the Federal District (or city) of Mexico, with Porfirio Diaz as the first G.M. The event was announced to the Masonic world in two circulars, the first of which is in Spanish—an immense document of 180 pages! The second is in English, and its only noticeable feature is a declaration that the American system of State Grand Lodges, each with exclusive jurisdiction, has been adopted. Grand Lodges have since been established on the same plan—*i.e.*, in conformity with the edict of the Supreme Council, as promulgated in Balustre XXXII.—in the States of Vera Cruz, Tlaxcala, Morelos, Puebla, Campeachy, and Lower California. The complications, however, already existing in the Republic, were still further increased in 1883 by the action of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, in granting a charter to the Toltec Lodge, in the city of Mexico, which had been provisionally established at the close of the previous year under a dispensation from the Grand Master.

As these sheets are passing through the press, I learn that the recognition of the Grand Lodge of which Porfirio Diaz became the head, by the Grand Lodges of Louisiana and Florida, was duly protested against by Carlos Pacheco, Sov. G. Com. 33°, and Carlos K. Ruiz, the latter of whom claimed to be himself the legitimate G.M. It would appear from *La Gran Logia*, a bulletin published by some members of the Ruiz Grand Lodge, and denominated their official organ, that on the same day, at the same hour, and in the same hall, when and where the Diaz Grand Lodge was organised and installed, the other body was organised also. There was this difference, however, that whereas the Diaz party transacted *their* affairs within the body of the Lodge, the supporters of Ruiz were reduced to the necessity of attending to *theirs* in the ante-room—the latter brethren having withdrawn from the original convention whilst it was being organised, but not leaving the building, in the vestibule of which they afterwards conducted their own proceedings.[1]

CENTRAL AMERICA.

NICARAGUA.—The Lodge of Regularity—No. 300—St John's Hall, Black River, Mosquito Shore, was established under the Grand Lodge of England in 1763, and remained on the roll until 1813. The Mosquito Coast, or Mosquitia, is an ill-defined territory of Central America, which was under British protection from 1660 to 1859, when it was ceded to Honduras. In

[1] Authorities:—Masonic Calendars; Freimaurer Zeitung, No. 25, 1866; Freemason's Magazine, 1865, pt. i., pp. 62, 183; Handbuch, vols. ii., p. 318; iii., p. 600; iv., p. 115; Latomia, vol. xxv., p. 120; Mitchell, p. 645; Scot, p. 25; Mackey, p. 500; Proc. G.L. Louisiana, 1884, p. 4; 1885, p. 15; Illinois, 1884, pp. 103, 106; 1885, p. 48; 1886, p. 93; Maine, 1884, p. 724; Vermont, 1886, p. 86; and Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., List of Lodges, p. 17.

1860 it was handed over to Nicaragua, and in 1877 appears to have been claimed by New Granada. Lodges at "Greytown, Mosquito," were erected by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1851 and 1882. These are included in the Jamaica Province, a practice first carried out under the Grand Lodge of England, by the authority of which body Thomas Marriot Perkins, who was appointed Prov. G.M. of the Mosquito Shore by Lord Aberdour *circa* 1762, had his authority extended over Jamaica in the same or following year by Earl Ferrers.

BRITISH HONDURAS.—The Lodge of Amity—No. 309—St George's Quay, Bay of Honduras, was also warranted in 1763 by the Grand Lodge of England, and, like the earlier Lodge on the Mosquito Shore, continued to appear on the lists until the Union. Subsequent English warrants were granted in 1820 to the British Constitutional Lodge No. 723, Bay of Honduras; and in 1831 to the Royal Sussex, No. 860, Belize. Both these Lodges, however, were erased, June 4, 1862.

COSTA RICA.—A Lodge was chartered at San José by the Grand Orient of New Granada, about the year 1867; and, according to the Masonic Calendars, a Grand Orient and Supreme Council 33° for Central America was established at the same town in 1870. Dr Francisco Calvo was at the head of both bodies, and appears to have been succeeded in 1879, or shortly before, by Carlos Urien. The present G.M. and Sov. G. Com. is Manuel B. Bonilla, and there are twenty-three Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient.

GUATEMALA.—A Lodge—Constance—was established in this republic in 1881, by the Grand Orient of Colombia at Carthagena. In 1886 the members divided themselves among three new Lodges, Igualdad, Libertad, and Fraternidad—Nos. 21-23 on the roll of the Grand Orient of Central America (Costa Rica), "installed" May 22, 1886, which adhere to the A. and A.S.R.—and Union—of uncertain parentage—which is alleged to work in accordance with the "York Rite." The last-named Lodge has probably received an American or German charter, as a large number of its members are composed of these nationalities. At the present time there are about 200 Masons in the Republic of Guatemala, of whom about a moiety reside at the capital, and the remainder are distributed throughout the departments.

SAN SALVADOR.—Masonry obtained a footing and the Craft flourished for a time in this State, but in 1882 the Lodges were closed and the members dispersed. In that year, however, some zealous Masons, supported by the then President of the Republic—Rafael Zaldivar—succeeded in reuniting the scattered brethren, and founding a Lodge. Excelsior, No. 17, was established by charter of the G.O. of Central America (Costa Rica), at San Salvador, the capital, March 5, 1882, and a little later, another Lodge—No. 18, Caridad y Constancia—under the same sanction, at Tecla, a neighbouring town.

With regard to HONDURAS, I have no information, beyond the bare fact that in 1885 the G.M. of New York declined to grant a dispensation for a Lodge in the republic. Should, however, any Lodges exist there, or in the other territories of the isthmus previously referred to (beyond those that have been enumerated), they will, in all probability, prove to be offshoots of the Grand Orient of Central America at COSTA RICA.

The latest details in the preceding sketch are derived from the *Chaine D'Union.*[1] From the same source I transcribe the following remarks on the conditions under which the

[1] Paris, Octobre 1886, p. 422.

Craft exists in SAN SALVADOR, though it may be assumed that these are generally applicable throughout the several States of Central America:—"The Masonry of this land has to contend against ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism, fostered by an all-powerful priesthood, allied with men in authority, and assisted by the women—whom they keep under their influence and their control, to a far greater extent than prevails in any country of Europe."

SOUTH AMERICA.

The minutes of the Grand Lodge of England inform us, that Randolph Tooke, Provincial Grand Master of South America, was present at a meeting of that body held April 17, 1735. Of this worthy nothing further is known beyond the bare fact that, in 1731, his name appears on the roll of Lodge No. 19, at the Queen's Arms, Newgate Street, London, of which two persons holding similar appointments[1]—Richard Hull, and Ralph Farwinter—together with Sir William Keith, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, and Benjamin Cole, afterwards Engraver to the Society, were also members.

The next Prov. G.M., who received an English patent empowering him to exercise Masonic jurisdiction over any part of South America, was Colonel James Hamilton, who was placed at the head of the Province of Colombia in 1824. But as the political changes of subsequent years have left their mark on the nomenclature of the existing States of the Continent, a few preliminary words are essential, before passing in review the Masonry of the Spanish-American Republics, of the Brazilian Empire, and finally, of the European settlements in Guiana, which have politically nothing in common with the other divisions of South America.

New Granada, like all the adjacent portions of the New World, was for some centuries a colony of Spain. Upon the assertion of their independence by the provinces of Spanish America, in the early part of the present century, it formed, with Ecuador and Venezuela the Republic of Colombia.

In 1831, each of the three States became autonomous, and in 1857, New Granada assumed the title of the United States of Colombia. The other parties, however, to the Federal Union, which was dissolved in 1831—Ecuador and Venezuela—have adhered to their original appellations. This it is necessary to bear in mind, because whilst a Scottish, as well as an English, Masonic Province of Colombia was created during the existence of the earlier republic of that name, the two Lodges under these jurisdictions were established at Angostura in Venezuela.[2] The first Prov. G.M. under Scotland, Don José Gabriel Nunez, the date of whose appointment is not recorded, was succeeded—May 6, 1850—by Senor Florentino Grillet, and on February 3, 1851, the designation of the Province was changed from Colombia to that of "Guayana in Venezuela."

The evidence, therefore, so far as it extends, points to Venezuela, rather than New Granada, as having been the centre of Masonic activity—at least, in the first instance—while they were both component parts of the (older) Republic of Colombia. For this reason, I shall assign a priority of narration to the record of Venezuelan Masonry. It remains to be

[1] *Ante*, pp. 325, 343.

[2] *English*—No. 792, Concord, 1824; erased—at the great weeding-out of Lodges—March 5 (and June 4), 1862; *Scottish*—No. 379, Eastern Star of Colombia, 1824.

stated, that there was in existence a Grand Orient of Colombia at Bogota in New Granada, shortly after the time when the two Lodges were established at Angostura, under British warrants.

The exact date of formation of this body it is not easy to determine. One of the two Grand Orients of what was formerly New Granada, but is now Colombia, and which meets at Bogota, claims 1827 as its year of origin; while there is independent evidence of the exercise of authority in Peru, by a Grand Orient of Colombia at Bogota, in 1825. On the whole, the explanation which seems to me the most reasonable is, that the *Grand Orient* of 1827, was preceded by a *Supreme Council*, armed with, or at all events, exercising, the same authority as the Hydra-headed organisation of later date?

VENEZUELA.—Masonry is said to have been introduced into Venezuela at the commencement of the present century, when a Lodge was established by the Grand Orient of Spain. Several other Lodges are also reported to have sprung into existence under the same authority. The exercise of jurisdiction by the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland in 1824, within what was then the Republic of Colombia, has already been referred to. In 1825, Joseph Cerneau, who presided over a body which he had set up at New York in 1812, under the title of "Sovereign Grand Consistory of the United States of America," formed at Caraccas a Grand Lodge and a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33°. This may have borne the title of, and doubtless has often been confounded with, the Grand Orient of Colombia in the sister State (New Granada). In 1827, Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, having prohibited all secret societies, the Lodges, with the exception of one at Porto Cabello, suspended their labours. In 1831, Venezuela having become independent by the disruption of the Colombian Republic, a dispensation to hold a Lodge for a year was obtained from certain dignitaries of the extinct Grand Lodge, in their capacity as members of the 33d or highest degree of the A. and A.S.R., by a few brethren, in the hope that within that period they would be able to procure a charter from some foreign Grand Lodge. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful. The Lodge was suspended, and for several years the Craft languished. But in 1838 a revival took place. The Lodge last referred to renewed its labours, the old Lodges were resuscitated, and a National Grand Lodge of Venezuela was established. Charters were issued to the old Lodges, and new ones were erected. In conjunction with the highest members of the A. and A.S.R. 33°, it established a supreme legislative body, under the name of Grand Orient, and also constituted a Grand Lodge, on the roll of which there appear to have been 16 active and 36 dormant Lodges in 1860. At this time—but the details of its formation I am unable to supply—another Grand Orient was in the field, and each body placed the other under a ban. On January 12, 1865, however, a fusion was effected, and the National Grand Orient of Venezuela established at Caraccas. A breach occurred in 1882, but the schism was again healed in 1884. The Grand Orient is divided into a Grand Lodge, Grand Chapter, Grand Consistory, and a Supreme Council, each having its own chief, and possessing entire authority over its own degrees. The present G.M. of the Grand Orient (1886) is General Joaquin Crespo, President of the Republic, and there are about fifty Lodges on the roll of the Grand Lodge. But nothing has yet occurred to oust the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which is still represented by the Provincial Grand Lodge of "Guayana in Venezuela," and the Lodge "Eastern Star of Colombia," founded in 1824.

COLOMBIA (FORMERLY NEW GRANADA).—The Grand Orient of New Granada was formed at

Carthagena June 19, 1833. In 1860 there were 19 Lodges on its roll—among them La Mas Solida Virtud, at Jamaica. Francisco de Zubirias was Grand Master in 1865, and Juan Manuel Grau in 1871. Four years later—according to the somewhat fragmentary evidence at my disposal—the latter appears to have given way to, or to have been superseded by, Juan N. Pombo, whose name is shown in the calendars as G.M. from 1875 to 1878. In 1879, however, the name of Juan M. Grau again figures in the lists, whilst that of Juan N. Pombo disappears. Full details are given in the calendars with regard to the Masonic dignitaries of Colombia during the supremacy of either; and as Grau is not mentioned whilst Pombo was uppermost, and *vice versâ*, it is probable—considering the manner in which Masonry and politics are blended together in the Spanish Republics—that they were rival candidates for power in more ways than one.

New Constitutions seem to have been enacted in 1863, and after this a new Grand Orient of Colombia was formed at Bogota for the Southern States of the Republic. The ordinances were definitely settled December 12, 1866. At this date the Lodges were five in number, and the Grand Master, General T. C. de Mosquera—who, however, had given place in 1871 to Juan de Dios Riomalo.

The two Grand Orients practise the so-called "Scots Rite" (A. and A.S.R.), and appear to have worked together in perfect harmony. In 1879 we find Juan M. Grau at the head of both, with the title of Sov. G. Com. and Sublime G.M. of the Order. The Secretary General (or Grand Secretary) was also for a time the same for the two bodies, though there was always a separate Lieut. G. Com. (or D.G.M.) at Carthagena and Bogota. In 1883, Leon Echeverria was elected G.M. of the Order, an office which he continues to hold, according to the Calendars of 1886, where, however, his name is also shown as Sov. G. Com. of the Supreme Council at Bogota, "founded in 1827," whilst that of Juan M. Grau is similarly shown as the head of the Supreme Council of Carthagena, "founded in 1833." An English Lodge—Amistad Unida, No. 808—established in 1848, still exists at Santa Martha. Other foreign jurisdictions were formerly represented. "Les Philadelphes," No. 151, was erected at Colon-Aspinwall by the S.C. of France in 1858, and the Isthmus Lodge by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in (or before) 1866. Both these Lodges, however, have ceased to exist.

ECUADOR.—Masonry was introduced into this Republic in the year 1857 by the Grand Orient of Peru, which organised Lodges in Guayaquil and Quito. Three years later the Dictator, Garcia Moreno, sought admission into the Fraternity. His application was refused on account of his notoriously immoral character; and in revenge he called in the Jesuits, and ruthlessly suppressed the Lodges. He was assassinated in 1875, but twelve months elapsed before the population were able to shake off the oppressive yoke of the priesthood. Rumours of a Grand Lodge at Guayaquil have obtained currency, but the evidence is wanting by which alone they can be substantiated.[1]

PERU.—It is traditionally asserted that Freemasonry was introduced into Peru about the year 1807, during the French invasion, and that several Lodges were at work until the resumption of Spanish authority and of Papal influence in 1813, when their existence terminated. But the authentic history of Peruvian Masonry cannot be traced any higher than 1825, when the independence of the Republic, declared in 1820, was completely achieved. In that year,

[1] Authorities—Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador:—Laurie, 1859, p. 406; Handbuch, vol. iv., p. 83; Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 122; Mackey, pp. 154, 240, 854; and World-Wide Register, pp. 549-551. *Cf. post*, p. 379

General Valero, a member of the Grand Orient of Colombia at Santa Fé de Bogotá (New Granada), visited Lima, and as the representative of that body proceeded in the first instance to legitimate the Lodges and Chapters which had already been established in the new Republic, and afterwards to found and organise others. At this time there appear to have been four Lodges at the capital, and nine others were soon after erected in the provincial towns.[1]

A Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° was instituted at Lima in 1830 by the senior (local) member of the Rite, José Maria Monson, Roman Catholic Chaplain in the Army of Independence, and afterwards a Canon in the Cathedral of Trujillo. In the following year —June 23—deputies from the Supreme Council 33°, the Consistory 32°, the Areopagus 30°, and the Chapters 18°, together with the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges, assembled in the capital under the presidency of the Sov. G. Com. of the S.C., and established a Grand Lodge, with Thomas Ripley Eldredge as G.M. The constitutions were settled on August 11, 1831, when it was unanimously resolved to substitute for the title "Grand Lodge," that of "Grand Orient of Peru." Shortly after this, owing to the political disturbances, there was an entire cessation of Masonic labour.

In 1845, after a recess of some twelve years, a few metropolitan brethren, members of the Lodge "Orden y Libertad," and of a Rose Croix Chapter, met and continued to work regularly until November 1, 1848, when a General convention of Masons was held, and the Grand Orient was revived. In 1850 the G.O. again assembled, and sanctioned a constitution for the government of the Lodges. Marshal Miguel San Roman—afterwards President of the Republic—was G.M. of this Grand Orient until 1852, but the Supreme Council 33° not only held aloof from its proceedings, but apparently ignored even its existence.

On July 13, 1852, the supreme Masonic body was reorganised under the title of Grand National Orient of Peru, and the members of the so-called high degrees recovered their supremacy. At this meeting twenty-five brethren represented the Supreme Council, Consistory, Areopagus, and the Rose Croix Chapters. There were also present the Masters and Wardens of three Lodges—Orden y Libertad, and Estrella Polar, of Lima; and Concordia Universal of Callao. Of these, the first named was founded in 1822, the second (by the G.O. over which Marshal San Roman presided) in 1850-52, and the third (by the Supreme Council of Peru) in 1852.

In the same year (1852) a Royal Arch Chapter—Estrella Boreal—No. 74 on the roll of the Grand Chapter of Scotland, was established at Callao. This, however, was not recognised by the Supreme Council of Peru, nor was it allowed a voice in the deliberations of the Grand National Orient.

In 1855 a new Lodge under an old title—Virtud y Union—was erected at Lima by charter of the Supreme Council 33°.

New statutes were promulgated by the Grand Orient May 5, 1856. These were very defective, consisting only of some disjointed extracts from the laws of the G.O. of Venezuela, and placed the government of the Fraternity entirely in the hands of the Supreme Council

[1] *Lima*—Paz y Perfecta Union, 1821; Orden y Libertad, 1822; Virtud y Union, 1823; and Constancia Peruana, 1824: *Cuzco*—Sol de Huayna Ccapac, 1826: *Lambayeque*—Union Justa, 1826: *Pinra*—Constancia Heroica, 1829: and *Ica*—Filosofia Peruana, 1829. Five other Lodges were also formed about the same time in *Arequipa*, *Trujillo*, *Cajamarca*, *Puno*, and *Huamachuco* respectively, but their names and dates of constitution have passed out of recollection.

33°. At this time there were seven Lodges holding warrants from the Supreme Council—acting on behalf of the Grand National Orient. Of these five were in Peru, and one each in Ecuador and Chilé. Additional regulations, framed with the especial object of restraining certain irregularities which—it was alleged—had penetrated into the Lodges, were enacted in May 1857. The new statutes caused the cup of indignation to overflow, and three Lodges—Concordia Universal, Estrella Polar, and Virtud y Union—on June 3, 6, and 10 respectively ensuing, declared their independence. These were joined by others to the number of fifteen, and a Grand Lodge was erected at Lima, November 20, 1859. In 1860 there was another schism in the Supreme Council, and the seceders, with the G.L., formed a G.O. and S.C. under a charter from the Grand Orient of Colombia (New Granada). In 1863, however, dissensions arose in this body, and it passed out of existence.

Irish Lodges were established at Lima in 1861 and 1863, and several foreign jurisdictions soon after became represented. Among these Scotland is entitled to the first place, having chartered no less than thirteen Lodges.[1] Under the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts a Lodge was formed by dispensation at Arica in 1866, but is now extinct. The Grand Orient of Italy and the Grand Lodge of Hamburg each possess a Lodge at Lima, the Italian Lodge bearing the name "Stella D'Italia," and the German one "Zur Eintracht" (Concord).

The Supreme Council reorganised the Grand Orient, but again suppressed it in 1875, and sentenced the opponents of this summary proceeding to "perpetual expulsion." The sentence was revoked in 1881, the G.O. once more revived, and the Lodges placed under it. This gave umbrage to the latter, who contended that even if the S.C. was justified in separating itself from the Lodges, it could not possess the right of turning them over to any other body. Ultimately, in March 1882, five Lodges met in convention at Lima, and organised the "Grand Lodge of Peru." Four out of the five Scottish Lodges at the capital are said to have given in their adhesion on May 31, and shortly after a Lodge was established at Guayaquil in Ecuador. The present G.M. is Cæsar Canevaro—General and Senator—and the Grand Lodge has a following of twenty-two Lodges.[2]

BOLIVIA.—There is no Grand Lodge in this Republic. In 1875 a Lodge was chartered by one of the competing jurisdictions in Lima, and is possibly included among the four Lodges in Bolivia under the present G.L. of Peru.

CHILÉ.—Masonry is said to have been practised in Chilé, under a French warrant, as early as 1840, but the first Lodge in the Republic which I have succeeded in tracing is L'Etoile du Pacifique, established at Valparaiso by the Grand Orient of France, September 12, 1851. The next was the Pacific Lodge, formed shortly afterwards, under a dispensation from the G.M. of California, but its existence was limited to a single year. After this came L'Union Fraternelle—under the G.O. of France—also at Valparaiso, chartered in 1854. The fourth

[1] Nos. 445, Peace and Concord, 1865, Callao; 479, Honour and Progress, 1868—515, Kosmos, 516, Paz y Progreso, 521, Arca de Noe, and 522, Regeneracion Fraternal, 1872—545, Atahualpa, 1874—558, Virtud y Union Regenerada, and 559, La Valle de Francia, 1875—all at Lima; 560, Independencia, 1875, Callao; 561, Constantia y Concordia, 1875, Tacna; 577, Paz y Caridad, 1876, Mollendo; and 643, Pioneer, 1879, Iquique.

[2] Authorities:—Arthur M. Wholey, Freemasonry in Peru; Handbuch, vol. iv., p. 137; Latomia, vols. xv., p. 230; xvi., p. 248; xxiii., p. 187; xxvi., p. 125; Freemasons' Magazine, May 12, 1866; Mackey, p. 576; Proc. Grand Lodge, Massachusetts, 1866, p. 96; Louisiana, 1877, p. 159; 1883, p. 163; Illinois, 1884, pp. 70, 106; and Maine, 1884, p. 118; 1885, p. 204; and 1886, p. 530.

Lodge—Aurora du Chilé—is said to have been established under the same sanction at Concepcion, and to have subsequently assumed the name of Fraternidad, but I have been unable to trace it in the French Calendars. The fifth—Estrella del Sur—which also met in Concepcion, was chartered by the G.O. of Peru, but the warrant was returned in the year 1860.

The next three Lodges, Bethesda, Southern Cross, and Hiram of Copiapo, derived their origin from the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, the first in 1853, and the last two in 1858. Bethesda and Southern Cross met at the capital, and Hiram—as its name imports—at Copiapo in the first instance, and afterwards at Caldera. The Lodge of 1853—Bethesda—is still at work, but those established in 1858—Southern Cross and Hiram—became extinct about 1860 and 1881 respectively.

In 1861 a member of the A. and A.S.R. 33°, from Lima, Peru, established by his own authority a Lodge called Orden y Libertad in Copiapo, which forthwith addressed circulars to the other Lodges in Chilé asking for recognition. This they declined to accord, basing their refusal on the ground that the founder of the new Lodge belonged to a spurious and irregular Supreme Council 33°, and had been expelled from the Grand Orient of Peru; also that it was not within the power of even a *regular* Inspector General 33° to establish .a Lodge as it were single-handed, or, in other words, without the sanction of a Supreme Council of the Rite.

In April 1862 the news that Marshal Magnan had been appointed by the Emperor G.M. of the Grand Orient of France reached Chilé. The Lodges L'Union Fraternelle, Valparaiso, and Fraternidad, at Concepcion, immediately threw up their charters, and, it is said, were formally erased from the roll of the G.O. of France by decree dated November 10, 1863.

The two Lodges followed up their secession by asking L'Etoile du Pacifique to unite with them in forming a Grand Lodge, but their request met with a refusal. Nothing daunted, they then, in order to obtain a quorum of Lodges, formed a third, called Progreso, but to which no charter was given.

On April 20, 1862, these three Lodges met in convention, where they also found delegates from Orden y Libertad, of Copiapo, the very same Lodge to which recognition had been refused in the previous year. The delegates, however, were received, and thus four Lodges combined to form the Grand Lodge of Chilé.

Javier Villanueva was G.M. in 1872, and his address—as reported in the *Boletin Official* of that year—announced internal prosperity and good prospects; the consecration of two new Lodges; large contributions by the Craft for the erection of a Masonic Temple at Valparaiso;[1] and a satisfactory explanation of the action of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in her establishment of Lodges in the jurisdiction. The Grand Lodge of Chilé had then nine subordinate Lodges. Their strength is not given, but in the previous year there were seven Lodges, with a total membership of eight hundred and seven. The number of Lodges on its roll has since risen to eleven, and the Grand Master at the present date (1886) is Don José-Miguel Faez. There are also some Lodges under the A. and A.S.R. 33°, which, according to Van Dalen's Calendar, obey a Grand Orient, established in 1862; but in the *Annuaire* of the G.O. of France, are rendered subject to a Supreme Council, founded in 1870.

[1] This was subsequently built at a cost of nearly 80,000 dollars.

Foreign jurisdictions are numerously represented. The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts has two Lodges—Bethesda, 1853, and Aconcagua, 1869—at the capital, besides Huelen, 1876, in Santiago, and St John's Lodge, constituted in 1885 at Concepcion. These are subordinate to a District Deputy Grand Master, the Rev. David Trumbull, D.D. Under the Grand Lodge of Scotland there are Nos. 509, Star and Thistle, Valparaiso, 1871, and 616, St John, Coquimbo—both included with the Lodges of Peru in Province No. 54. The Grand Lodges of England and Hamburg have each chartered a single Lodge, No. 1411, Harmony, 1872, existing under the jurisdiction of the former, and Lodge Lessing under that of the latter. Both of these meet at Valparaiso. The Lodge of earliest date in the country, L'Etoile du Pacifique, established by the Grand Orient of France in 1851, is still active, and has never swerved from its original allegiance.[1]

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, or CONFEDERACY OF LA PLATA.—The province of Buenos Ayres, after forming for some years a distinct State, re-entered in 1860 the General Confederacy of La Plata, or Argentine Republic, of which it constitutes the head. The Masonic history of the allied States down to the year named may be very briefly summed up. A Lodge —No. 205, Southern Star—was chartered at the city of Buenos Ayres by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, September 5, 1825. This capital, as the largest town and the outlet of all the trade of the Republic, has always exercised a preponderating influence in the formation and execution of the intrigues, conspiracies, and insurrections, which constitute the political history of the Confederation. From the close connection, therefore, between Masonry and politics, which we find subsisting in all parts of South America, it will excite no surprise that, without exception, all the early Lodges in La Plata, of which any trace has come down to us, were held at Buenos Ayres. Some were in existence there in 1846, but, about that time, the political aspect becoming gloomy in the extreme, their labours were suspended.

Two Lodges bearing the same name—L'Amie des Naufragés—were established by the Grand Orient of France in Buenos Ayres and Rio-de-la-Plata respectively in 1852. The example thus set was followed by the Grand Lodge of England, under whose authority the first of a series of Lodges[2]—in what is now the Confederacy—was erected in 1853. In 1856, there seems to have been in existence a body claiming the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge. It practised the A. and A.S.R., but was never recognised by the family of Supreme Councils, and soon ceased to exist. Two years later—April 22, 1858—a Supreme Council and Grand Orient of the Argentine Republic was established at Buenos Ayres by the S.C. and G.O. of Uruguay, at Monte Video.

About this time—so at least it is gravely related—"the Roman Catholic Bishop [at Buenos Ayres] fulminated a Bull against all Masons within his bishopric, and he went the length of declaring the marriage contract dissolved, and absolving the wife *a vinculo matrimonii*, in all cases where the husband refused to renounce Masonry. Some parties, as high in temporal authority as the Bishop was in spiritual, appealed from his decree to his Holiness Pius IX. at Rome. After waiting a long time for a reply or decision upon the

[1] Authorities:—Proc. G.L. Mass., 1866-86; Freemason's Mag., 1865, pt. ii., p. 282; Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 130; Handbuch, vol. iv., p. 30; and Boletin Official de la Gran Lojia de Chilé, 1872.

[2] Nos. 900, Excelsior, 1853; 1092, Teutonia, 1859 (*erased*, October 11, 1872); 1025, Star of the South, 1864,—all three at Buenos Ayres; 1553, Light of the South, 1875, Rosario de Santa Fé; and 1740, Southern Cross, 1878, Cordoba.

appeal, and receiving none, an inquiry was instituted as to the cause of the delay, when it was found, to the great satisfaction of the Roman Catholics of La Plata, who were unwilling to bow to the behests of the Bishop, that, during a sojourn at Monte Video in 1816, the venerable Pontiff—then a young man—received the degrees, and took upon himself the obligations of Masonry!"[1]

This story has now passed into oblivion, but its salient feature—the initiation of Pius IX.—served for a long time as the text for innumerable disquisitions, in which, however, the scene is not always laid in South America, but shifts from Uruguay to Pennsylvania, and from North America to Italy. A statement of similar character (and value) was made long before by J. L. Laurens in his *Essai Historique*, with regard to Pope Benedict XIV., of whom it is related that, being himself a Freemason, he, not unnaturally, mitigated in some slight degree the rigour of the Papal edict against the Craft, which had been launched by his immediate predecessor, Clement XII.

In 1861 a treaty was concluded between the Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Orient of the Argentine Republic. This empowered the former to establish Lodges in La Plata, and to appoint a district G.M. to rule over them. The Rev. J. Chubb Ford presided over the English District Grand Lodge until 1867, when he was succeeded by Mr R. B. Masefield.

About the year 1877, the invariable rebellion of the Lodges against the domination of the Supreme Council 33°, which is always met with in the histories of Grand Orients, occurred in Buenos Ayres. There appears to have been both a protest and secession, but without, in this case, culminating in any definite result.

There were some 13 Lodges under the Grand Orient of La Plata in 1860, 39 in 1878, and 60 in 1886. The Grand Master, who has held office for several years, and was previously the Grand Secretary, is Dr Manuel H. Langenheim. Foreign jurisdictions are represented by four Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England; by two under the Grand Orient of Italy; and by one each under the Grand Orient of France and the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. With the exception of two (English) Lodges, all these meet at Buenos Ayres. The French Lodge was established in 1852, and has already been referred to. Teutonia, under the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, appears to be of English origin, as a Lodge of the same name, working in the German language, was established at the capital by the Grand Lodge of England in 1859.[2]

PARAGUAY.—When this country proclaimed its independence of Spain, the reins of government were seized by Dr Francia, a well-meaning despot, who, during his long administration, carried into effect his ideas of advancing the material interests of the state by shutting it off from all communication with the outer world. Under his government Paraguay was for a long period as effectually closed as Japan had been before it. The same exclusive policy, though without carrying it quite so far, was pursued by his successor, Don Carlos Antonio Lopez. The latter was followed in turn by his son, Don Francisco Solano Lopez, whose action involved the country in the disastrous war of 1864-70 with Brazil, Uruguay,

[1] World Wide Register, p. 528.

[2] Authorities:—Rebold, Hist. Tr. G.L., p. 249; Proc. G.L. England, 1877, p. 292; Handbuch, vol. iv., p. 7; Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 130; and Mackey, p. 132.

and the Argentine Republic. This war cost Paraguay nearly one-half of its territory, and reduced its population from nearly a million and a half to about 220,000, of whom only 29,000 were men. If, conjointly with this, we bear in mind that Paraguay is the only country in South America without any seaboard, it will occasion no surprise that the traces of Masonry in the existing Republic are so faint as to be almost indistinguishable. The population of Asuncion, the capital, had fallen after the war from nearly 50,000 to about 10,000, of whom 3000 belonged for several years—if they do not at the present time—to the Brazilian army of occupation. The Masonic calendars of 1881-82 show a Lodge under the G.O. of Brazil as existing at Paraguay, but whether composed of natives or of the Brazilian garrison, and whether it still exists, are points upon which the statistics at my command leave me wholly in the dark.[1]

URUGUAY.—Masonry—if we may credit Dr Mackey—was introduced into this Republic in 1827 by the Grand Orient of France, which in that year chartered a Lodge called the "Children of the New World." But I have failed to trace any such Lodge in the French Masonic calendars, and it is important to recollect that the independence of Uruguay, or, as it was formerly called, Banda Oriental (*Eastern Side*), as a Republic, was only definitely established by a treaty dated August 27, 1828. The country prides itself on possessing one of the finest political constitutions in South America. It sounds, therefore, almost like irony to be obliged to add that this Republic has been cursed with more frequent revolutions than any other in the New World. In one respect, however, Uruguay is decidedly in advance of the Indian Republic of Paraguay. It has a large, well-built, and pleasant capital, Monte Video, of which one-third of the residents are foreigners. A Lodge—No. 217, Asilio de la Virtud—was chartered in this city by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, February 6, 1832. After this the Masonic history of Uruguay is a complete blank until the year 1841, in which year, also at Monte Video, Les Amis de la Patrie—ultimately a Lodge, Chapter, Areopagus, and Consistory—was established by the Grand Orient of France. Further Lodges are said to have been erected under warrants from Brazil, but of these no exact record is forthcoming. The next event of any importance occurred in 1855, when authority was obtained from one of the then existing Grand Orients at Rio Janeiro to establish a governing Masonic body, and the Supreme Council and Grand Orient of Uruguay were formally constituted at Monte Video. The present Sov. G. Com. and G.M. is Dr Carlos de Castro, who has held both offices for some years. The number of subordinate Lodges is thirty-four.

Besides Les Amis de la Patrie, under the G.O. of France, which still exists, foreign jurisdictions are represented at Monte Video by the following Lodges—England, No. 1178, Acacia, 1861; Spain (Becerra's Grand Lodge), No. 281, Paz y Esperanza; and Italy, I. Figli Dell' Unità Italiana, and I. Liberi Pensatori. A Lodge, Avenir et Progres, No. 182, was formed—also at the capital—under the Supreme Council of France in 1865, but is now extinct.[2]

BRAZIL.—In 1820 the solitary representative of the Craft in the then kingdom of Brazil was a Lodge at Rio Janeiro, which is said to have been established under a French warrant in 1815. In 1821 this Lodge threw off two shoots, or, more correctly speaking, divided itself

[1] Masonic Calendars; Bates, Central and South America, pp. 399, 599; and Globe Encyclopædia, *s.v.* Paraguay.

[2] Authorities:—Masonic Calendars; Rebold, p. 333; Mackey, p. 850; and Bates, pp. 404, 406.

into three parts, and these by their deputies formed the first Grand Orient of Brazil. The modern French rite of seven degrees was adopted, or rather continued, which, together with the traditional ancestry of the original Lodge, will account for the speedy recognition of the new organisation by the G.O. of France. In the same year Dom Pedro, Regent, and afterwards Emperor, of Brazil, was initiated in one of the three Lodges. This was immediately followed by his being proclaimed Grand Master, but soon convincing himself that the Masonic associations were in all but name mere political *coteries*, he ordered their meetings to be discontinued in 1822.

In the following year—November 17—Le Bouclier de l'Honneur Français was erected at Rio Janeiro by the G.O. of France, but there is no reason to suppose that it enjoyed any better fate than befel the Lodges of earlier date, all of which remained in an enforced trance until the departure for Europe of the Emperor Dom Pedro in 1831.

After the abdication of that monarch a "Grand Brazilian Orient" was established, which led to the revival of the older (or original) "Grand Orient of Brazil," under its first G.M., Jose Bonefacio de Andrada e Silva. Political enmities soon made their presence felt. The Grand Orient of 1821 was despotic, and that of 1831 democratic. Both worked the modern French Rite, but each anathematised and hurled defiance at the other.

In 1832 Montezuma, Viscount Jequitinhonha, who had served as ambassador at several European Courts, returned to Brazil, where he was empowered by the Supreme Council of Belgium to establish a branch of the A. and A.S.R. Accordingly, in November 1832, he proceeded to institute a Supreme Council 33° for Brazil. The rivalry of this new body put the two Grand Orients on their mettle. They at once commenced to warrant Chapters and Consistories, and ended by each erecting a Supreme Council. In 1835, however, further complications arose. Dissensions occurred among the constituents of Supreme Council No. 1. Some of these cast in their lot with the "G.O. of Brazil," and elected Andrada e Silva their Sov. G. Com.; another section erected a Supreme Council of its own (No. 2); whilst the remainder continued steadfast in their allegiance to their founder, Montezuma. At this period, therefore, there were in active existence two Grand Orients and four Supreme Councils. In the same year (1835) the first of a series of Lodges in the Empire was chartered by the Grand Lodge of England,[1] and the peace of the Craft was much harassed by political disturbances in the Province of Pará—the last in Brazil to declare its independence of the mother country and acknowledge the authority of the first Emperor. According to a recent writer, at this time the native party in Pará were much enraged with the Portuguese. There was a serious revolt, and the former in an evil hour called to their aid the ignorant and fanatic mongrel and Indian population. "The cry of death to the Portuguese was soon changed to that of death to the Freemasons, then a powerfully organised society, embracing the greater part of the male white inhabitants."[2]

In 1838 Viscount Albuquerque succeeded Andrada e Silva as G.M. of the Grand Orient of Brazil (G.O. No. 1), and was followed in 1850 by the Marquis d'Abrantes. Meanwhile, in 1842, the Grand Brazilian Orient (G.O. No. 2) had openly rejected the Modern French Rite, and transferred its allegiance to the A. and A.S.R. 33°. This in turn had been followed by a

[1] Nos. 616, Orphan, 1835, and 703, St John, 1841, Rio Janeiro (*erased* March 5, 1862); and 970, *now* 672, Southern Cross, 1856, Pernambuco.

[2] H. W. Bates, The Naturalist on the River Amazons, 1863, p. 39.

junction between the Grand Brazilian Orient and Supreme Council No. 2. Thus only three distinct and separate organisations were left in the field, viz., the two Grand Orients, each with a Supreme Council, and the Original Supreme Council (No. 1) under Montezuma.

A list of Brazilian Lodges, numbered in consecutive order from 1 to 130, is given in the *World Wide Register* for 1860. In the year last named—September 30—Grand Orient No. 2 and Supreme Council No. 1 were dissolved and suppressed by Imperial decree. This left the older (or original) G.O. of Brazil in possession of the field. Not, however, for any long period. In 1863 there was further strife, and the Grand Orient split into two parts, each of which became popularly known by the name of the street in which it assembled. One body, the G.O. of Lavradio Valley, chose as its G.M. Baron Cayru, who was followed by Dr Joachim Marcellino de Brito in 1865, and by the Visconde do Rio Branco in 1870. The other moiety, the G.O. of Benedictine Valley, elected Dr Joachim Saldanha Marinho to preside over them.

In 1872 the schism was apparently healed by the amicable fusion of the two Grand Orients, but within a year dissensions again broke out, and with undiminished virulence, each of the two opponents once more seeking recognition as the legitimate Grand Orient of Brazil.

The Lavradios were again arrayed under the standard of Rio Branco, Prime Minister of the Empire; whilst the Benedictinos renewed their fealty to Saldanha Marinho, a former Minister of State, and the head of the Liberal party. The various Lodges throughout the country once more divided their allegiance, some adhering to the Lavradio faction, but the larger number enrolling themselves on the side of the Benedictinos.

The discord passed through sundry phases. In the first instance, and to go back beyond the temporary fusion of 1872, the two Grand Orients reflected pretty accurately the prevailing opinions of the rival parties in the State. In course of time it became a recognised fact that the Lavradios were supporters of the clerical authority, whilst the Benedictinos, on the other hand, everywhere denounced the evils of priestcraft and Ultramontanism. At this period the clergy entered fully into the fray. On one party they bestowed high praise; on the other they lavished terms of opprobrium. The Lavradios, however, under the benignant rule of Rio Branco, gradually grew less bigoted and illiberal in their ideas, and in 1873 twenty-three of their Lodges went over to the enemy. This example was quickly followed by fifteen others. It is probable that the secession just referred to was also in some measure the result of proceedings which it becomes my next task to relate.

The Jesuits, driven from most of the European countries, selected Brazil as a field for their enterprise. For a long time the Church and the Freemasons had lived in peace, and the population of Pernambuco was always recognised as the type of Christian piety. But the Bishop of that diocese—a young monk, aged twenty-three—at the bidding of the Jesuits, attempted to enforce the Papal Bull against the Freemasons. The prelate had counted on the support of the people, but his high-handed measures turned the tide of popular feeling. The Bishop was mobbed in his own palace, and the military had to be called in to protect him.

Eventually the Government interfered, and the Bishop, disdaining to avail of the *locus pœnitentiæ* which had been devised for him, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. The Archbishop of Bahia and the Bishops of Olinda, Pará, Rio Janeiro, Dramantina, and Marianna

are also said—in violation of the orders of their Government—to have hurled their anathemas against the Craft.

The fickle populace then turned once more against the Freemasons, who suffered much at the hands of the mob, and were refused the sacraments of the Church, and burial for their dead in consecrated ground, by the clergy. The Benedictinos nevertheless held their own, and especially distinguished themselves in the spread of liberal ideas. Among the measures they energetically supported were acts for the abolition of slavery and for the foundation of public libraries. Instructive lectures, moreover, were delivered from time to time by members of this party. Meanwhile the Lavradios had gradually shaken off the yoke of their clerical allies, by whom they were ultimately regarded with the same aversion as their rivals, and in 1877 there were attempts at a fusion. At this time the Benedictinos under Saldanha Marinho numbered 216, and the Lavradios, under Rio Branco, 56 Lodges.

Six years later—January 18, 1883—the union was perfected, and Francisco José Cardoso proclaimed G.M. and Sov. G. Com. of the (sole) Grand Orient of Brazil. Three rites are recognised by this body—the A. and A.S.R. 33°, the Modern French (7°), and the Adonhiramite rites. Each of these is governed by a Chamber of the G.O., which is styled a Grand Lodge. In 1883 there were 139 Lodges, 48 of these meeting at the city of Rio Janeiro, and 91 in the provinces. At the present date (1886) the total number of Lodges under the G.O. is 210. Foreign jurisdictions (or Grand Lodges) are represented by the following Lodges:—ENGLAND: No. 970, Southern Cross, Pernambuco, 1856; SCOTLAND: No. 473, Progresso, Rio Grande, 1867; and HAMBURG: of the Palm of Peace, Blumenau, 1885. Among the Lodges formerly existing, but now extinct, may be named Le Bouclier de l'Honneur Français, Rio Janeiro, 1823 (G.O. of France); No. 378 [], Maranham, 1856 (Grand Lodge of Ireland); and "German Friendship of the Southern Cross," originally two Brazilian Lodges, which amalgamated in 1856, and found a place on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg in 1859.[1]

GUIANA.

I must now devote a few words to the region situated north of Brazil and east of Venezuela, which forms the only remaining portion of the Southern Continent still held by European Powers. Guiana, or Guayana, in its widest sense, certainly embraces the whole of the Sierra Parimé, thus including districts belonging to Venezuela and Brazil; but the term is now generally restricted to the colonial possessions of England, France, and Holland in this part of the world.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Two Lodges are known to have been in existence at the capital, Georgetown or Demerara, in the last century. The first—St Jean de la Re-Union—was established by the Grand Lodge of Holland in 1771, and the second, No. 887, on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, apparently very soon after the cession of a portion of Guiana—now forming the British Colony of that name—in 1796. Three years later a Dutch Lodge, bearing the

[1] Authorities:—Mackey, p. 125; Findel, p. 696; New England Freemason, vol. i., 1874, pp. 27, 287 [giving the admirable speech made by Visconde do Rio Branco in reply to the attack on Freemasonry in the Senate of Brazil]; Boletim do Grande Or .·. Unido do Brazil, 1872; Handbuch, vols. i., p. 127; iii., p. 554; iv., p. 20; Proc. G. L. Canada, 1873-74, pp. 477, 495, 671; Latomia, vol. xxiii., pp. 63, 226; and Cosm. Cal. 1886, p. 278.

somewhat singular name of Cœlum non Mutat Gesus, was formed in Berbice; and in 1801 the "Chosen Friends of Demerara" was established by the Grand Lodge of New York. The fourth Lodge at Georgetown—Union, No. 358—was constituted under an Atholl warrant, July 28, 1813; and the fifth—Mount Olive, No. 812—by the United Grand Lodge of England in 1827. Further English Lodges—Nos. 682, Lodge of Fellowship, and 1183, Phœnix—were erected at New Amsterdam in 1839 and 1867 respectively. The four earliest Lodges have long since ceased to exist; No. 682 under the Grand Lodge of England was erased June 4, 1862; but all the other Lodges above enumerated are still active. In 1858, a dispensation to open a Lodge at Demerara was refused—in my opinion, very prudently—by the Grand Lodge of Canada.

DUTCH GUIANA, or SURINAM.—In the *Freemason's Calendar*, 1776, a list is given of the Lodges in Holland and the Dutch colonies. Among these are La Vertieuse, 1769, and La Fidèle Sincèrité, 1771, at Batavia; and Concordia, 1762, La Zelée, 1767, and Le Croissant des Trois Clefs, 1768, at Surinam. Apparently the same Lodges, though with slightly varied dates of formation, and in a solitary instance a change of name, are also shown in the edition of the same publication for 1778.[1] Of these there seem to be two survivors at the present day, which in the Official Calendar of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands (1886) are described as Nos. 8, De Ster in het Oosten, 1769, Batavia; and 13, Concordia, 1773, Parimaribo. They are included in the Masonic province of Surinam.

Other Lodges in Guiana, of which there is no complete record, have doubtless lived their span and died; but the only particulars with regard to them that I have been able to glean will be found in the note below,[2] to which, however, must be added, that there was a "Surranam Lodge" under the Prov. G.L. of New England in 1761.

FRENCH GUIANA, or CAYENNE.—Three Lodges in all appear to have been constituted at Cayenne, the capital of the colony, which is now scarcely anything more than a penal settlement of the French Government. The first, L'Anglaise, was established in 1755 by the Mother Lodge of the same name—No. 204—at Bordeaux; the second, La Parfaite Union, in 1829, by the Grand Orient of France; and the third, La France Equinoxiale, in 1844, by the Supreme Council 33° of the same country. The last named is at present the only Lodge at work in Cayenne.[3]

The only region of South America which still awaits notice is PATAGONIA, and it is almost needless to state that Masonry is as yet unknown to the various Tehuelche tribes which roam between the Rio Negro and the Strait of Magellan.

AUSTRALASIA.

Tasmania and New Zealand, together with the whole of Australia, were originally subject

[1] La Vertieuse, 1767, and La Fidèle Sincèrité, 1771, Batavia; La Zelée, 1767, Concordia and L'Union, 1773, Surinam.

[2] Standvastigheid, Parimaribo; La Zelée, L'Union, La Solitaire, Cura et Vigilantia, and Concordia, Surinam (World Wide Register, 1860, p. 546). *Cf. ante*, p. 337, note 1.

[3] Authorities—English, Dutch, and French Guiana:—Masonic Calendars; Daruty and Rebold's Lists; Letters from S. B. Oldham, Dep. G. Sec. Ireland, and J. P. Vaillant, G. Sec. Holland; Proc. G.L. Canada, vol. i., 1855-60, p. 192; and St John's G.L. Boston, U.S.A., 1733-92, pp. 73, 79.

to the government of New South Wales, and the following are the dates on which the former colonies became independent of the latter:—Tasmania, 1825; Western Australia, 1829; South Australia, 1834; New Zealand, 1841; Victoria, 1851; and Queensland, 1859.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The Lodge of Social and Military Virtues—No. 227 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Ireland—attached to the 46th Foot in 1752, after undergoing many vicissitudes, was at work in the same regiment at Sydney in 1816. This paved the way for the establishment of stationary Lodges, and Irish warrants were issued to Nos. 260, Australian Social, in 1820, and 266, Leinster, in 1824. The third (strictly colonial) Lodge, No. 820, Australia, was erected by the Grand Lodge of England in 1828. The last named, as well as the Irish Lodges, met at Sydney, the capital. The first established in any other part of the Colony was No. 668, St John, constituted at Paramatta in 1838, and the second, No. 697, the Lodge of Australia Felix, at Melbourne—then included in the government of New South Wales—in 1841. An Irish Lodge—No. 275—was erected at Windsor in 1843, and in the same year, No. 408, Australasian Kilwinning, at Melbourne, received a Charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

From this point the statistics will be given according to the jurisdictions represented. Thus, the number of Lodges established in the Colony during the two decennial periods next ensuing was as follows:—1844-53, English, seven; Irish and Scottish, one each: 1854-63, English, fourteen; Irish, one; and Scottish, seven. In the twelve years immediately following (1864-75), the additions were: English, fourteen; Irish, three; and Scottish, ten. The subsequent numbers (1876-85) are: English, thirty-three; Irish, two; and Scottish, thirty-one. The Lodges now active under the three jurisdictions, reckoning the further additions during the current year (1886), are: English, seventy-four (including one in New Caledonia); Irish, one; and Scottish, fifty (with a membership of 2242).[1] An English Provincial Grand Master was appointed in 1839, an example which was followed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1855, and by that of Ireland in 1858. The present rulers of the Craft (under the jurisdiction of the mother countries) in this Colony are: District Grand Masters, Mr John Williams (E.), and Dr W. G. Sedgwick (S.). The Irish Provincial G.L. has ceased to exist.

So far as I am aware, the question of separation from the mother Grand Lodges was first formally mooted in Victoria. Still, for some years, at least, before the event which it becomes my next task to relate, "there had existed in Sydney a body styling itself 'the Grand Lodge of New South Wales,' formed from the great majority of a regular Lodge—St Andrews. It affected to make, pass, and raise Masons, grant charters, and issue certificates."[2]

On December 3, 1877, the representatives of twelve or (at most) thirteen Scottish and Irish Lodges met at Sydney, and established another Grand Lodge of New South Wales, to which, however, the pre-existing body of the same name eventually made submission, and accepted an ordinary Lodge warrant at its hands. At this time (1877) there were eighty-six regular Lodges in the Colony: English, forty-seven; Scottish, thirty; and Irish, nine. The thirteen Lodges which thus assumed to control the dissenting majority of seventy-three,

[1] The services of the District G.S., and the expansion of Scottish Masonry in New South Wales, which are alike phenomenal, represent cause and effect. Mr Higstrim, it may be added, has more than once declined the offer of a similar though more highly paid appointment in the Colony.

[2] Circular dated December 23, 1878, signed by "J. S. Farnell, G.M., New South Wales."

sheltered themselves under a perverted principle of Masonic law[1]—applied to a wholly illusory state of facts. This was, that any three Lodges in a territory "Masonically unoccupied"—the *three* jurisdictions already existing being thus coolly and quietly ignored—could form themselves into a Grand Lodge, and that when so formed, the remaining Lodges—averse to the movement—were they one hundred or one thousand in number, would be irregular!

The leader in this "misguided and untimely movement,"—as it has been happily characterised by the present Scottish D.G. Secretary, Mr Higstrim—was Mr James S. Farnell, who had been appointed Prov. G.M. under the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1869. In Australia, as in Canada, the Irish Lodges first raised the flag of independence, but in the former unlike the latter country, there was not the community of feeling, produced by an equal pressure of discontent, which had induced the brethren under the three British jurisdictions in North America to unite for the furtherance of a common end. The disadvantages, indeed, with which all the Australian Lodges had (and still have) to contend were considerable, but, on the other hand, there were (and are) in many minds, feelings—not wholly sentimental—opposed to working under any other warrants of Constitution than those granted by the three earliest of existing Grand Lodges. It may be taken as an axiom, that in any country where matters are ripe for the formation of an independent Grand Lodge, the movement will proceed and mature, and that the large majority of Lodges and brethren will connect themselves with it. If, however, a step in the direction of independence is taken before the Lodges are quite ready for it, the success of the movement will be mainly contingent upon the amount of influence wielded by the leaders of the agitation, or, in other words, upon the extent of their following. Mr Farnell—according to his own statement in 1881—served for twenty years as a member of the parliament of New South Wales, and was also for a time prime minister, but his influence as a Mason does not seem to have been great. When he was elected Grand Master, the affairs of the Irish Province of New South Wales were in thorough confusion,[2] and not the least of the motives which weighed with his supporters—Scotch as well as Irish—appears to have been the growing indisposition to be taxed by (or remit fees to) the mother countries.

The new organisation, at the close of 1885, had been recognised *as the only regular governing Masonic body* in the Colony by thirty-eight Grand Lodges, chiefly, however, American. There seems, indeed, in the United States a decided inclination to regard each uprising of the Lodges in a British colony, as a tribute to the efficacy of a certain doctrine which has been

[1] *I.e.*, of *American* Masonic law. Mr Josiah H. Drummond observes:—"The proposition, then, derived from the original principle, as expounded by universal practice in this country, is—Not less than three Lodges, comprising a majority of the Lodges in a new territory, may form a Grand Lodge, having exclusive jurisdiction in such territory." But the same distinguished writer goes on to state:—"The idea that a small minority of the Lodges may form a Grand Lodge, and force the other Lodges into it against their will, or drive them out of existence, seems to us monstrous. In almost all matters in Masonry the majority rules; and while we allow a minority in certain cases to have a decisive negative upon proposed action, in no case do we allow a minority to adopt affirmative action against the will of the majority" (Proc. G.L. Maine, 1885, p. 163). *Cf.* Proc. G.L. Tennessee, 1885; and Louisiana, 1886.

[2] According to the Dep. G. Sec. of Ireland (in a letter to Mr H. A. Richardson of Paramatta, dated February 1879) no returns or remittances had been received from the Prov. G.L. for a considerable time, and to clear off the arrears of the subordinate Lodges, the Grand Lodge of Ireland had consented to accept £300, or a composition of about 15s. in

laid down by Dr Mackey with regard to the formation of Grand Lodges. But those American jurisdictions which have lent a willing ear to the specious representations of the Grand Lodge of New South Wales, are now running the gantlet of intelligent criticism, and the several committees by whom they have been hoodwinked or misled, may read with profit some of the reports on correspondence in the larger States, notably, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, where the unaccountable delusion into which so many Grand Lodges have fallen, is discussed with equal candour and ability. It is almost needless to say that a Grand Lodge thus constituted by a small minority of the Lodges in New South Wales, has been refused recognition by the Grand Lodges of the British islands.

In December 1885 the G.M. was Dr H. J. Tarrant. There were forty-four subordinate Lodges, and the total number of initiations since the inauguration of the Grand Lodge had been 1926.

VICTORIA.—The Lodges of Australia Felix and of Australasia (*now* Nos. 474 and 530) were established at Melbourne by the Grand Lodge of England in 1841 and 1846 respectively. Scottish Masonry obtained a footing in the same city—with "Australasian Kilwinning"—in 1843; and an Irish Lodge—Hiram, No. 349—was also chartered there in 1847. In the same year a third English, and apparently the fifth Victorian, Lodge—Unity and Prudence, No. 801—was constituted at Geelong. After this the Craft advanced in prosperity by leaps and bounds. Thirty-six English Lodges were added to the list between 1847 and the close of 1862; twenty-eight during the ensuing thirteen years, and twenty within the decennial period commencing January 1, 1876. During corresponding intervals of time, the Irish warrants granted in the colony were respectively twelve, seven, and three: and the Scottish, three each in the first two periods, and two in the last.

The first Provincial G.M. of Victoria (or Australia Felix) was the Hon. J. E. Murray. The date of his appointment by the Grand Lodge of Scotland has not been recorded, but he was succeeded by Mr J. H. Ross, August 3, 1846. The present District G.M. is Sir W. J. Clarke, who received his Scottish patent in 1883. English and Irish Provinces were established in 1855 and 1856 respectively, and the following has been the succession of English Provincial (*now* District) Grand Masters:—Captain (*now* Major-General Sir Andrew) Clarke, 1855; Captain F. C. Standish, 1861; and Sir W. J. Clarke, 1883. The rulers of the Irish Province have been Mr J. T. Smith, 1856-79; and from 1880, Sir W. J. Clarke.

The Lodges now (1886) at work under the three jurisdictions, all of which, however, are in a manner united under a single Provincial G.M., are:—English, ninety-one; Irish, seventeen; and Scottish, twelve (including one in Levuka, Fiji).

The idea of forming an independent Grand Lodge of Victoria seems to have been first launched in 1863, and after encountering the opposition of the Earl of Zetland, was debated —March 2, 1864—in the Grand Lodge of England, by which body a resolution was passed declaring its "strong disapprobation" of the contemplated secession. It was observed in prescient terms by the late John Havers, that "every new Grand Lodge was the forerunner of new and conflicting degrees. It was a stone pulled away from the foundations of Masonry, and opened another door for inroads and innovations;" and he exhorted the brethren in Victoria to "remember that union was strength, and universality one of the watchwords of Masonry."

In 1876, the agitation for a local Grand Lodge was renewed, but again slumbered until

1883, when the scheme was fairly carried into effect by an insignificant minority of the Lodges.

In the latter year a meeting was held, and a Masonic Union of Victoria formed, April 27. At this time there were seventy English, fifteen Irish, and ten Scottish Lodges in the colony—total, ninety-five. On June 19 certain delegates met, and the adhesion of eighteen Lodges—twelve Irish, five Scottish, and one English—to the cause was announced. But the number has since been reduced by the subtraction of the English Lodge and one other, which were erroneously named in the proceedings. By this convention it was resolved "that the date of founding the Grand Lodge of Victoria should be July 2, 1883." Thus we find *sixteen* Lodges, with an estimated membership of about 840, calmly transforming themselves into the *governing body* of a territory containing *ninety-five* Lodges, and a membership of *five thousand!*

This organisation has a following of about twenty subordinate Lodges; and as the proceedings of some Grand Lodges baffle all reasonable conjecture, it will occasion no surprise to learn that by seventeen of these bodies the titular "Grand Lodge of Victoria" had been duly recognised at the close of 1885, as the supreme Masonic authority in this Australian colony. At the same date Mr G. Coppin entered upon the second year of his Grand Mastership, having been installed—November 4—in the presence of the Grand Masters of New South Wales and South Australia.

Meanwhile, however, the English, Irish, and Scottish Lodges, which have remained true to their former allegiance, are united in a solid phalanx under a single Provincial (or District) G.M.—Sir W. J. Clarke; and should the day arrive when independence is constitutionally asserted by the century and m re of Lodges[1] which obey this common chief, those bodies by whom the *soi-disant* Grand Lodge has been accorded recognition, will find themselves confronted by an interesting problem, not unlike that propounded with so much dramatic effect by the late Mr Sothern in the *rôle* of Lord Dundreary, viz., "whether it is the dog that wags his tail, or the tail that wags the dog?"

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The South Australian Lodge of Friendship, Adelaide, No. 613 (and later, No. 423), on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, was constituted at the British metropolis in 1834. The founders were all in London at the time, and two persons—afterwards Sir John Morphett, President of the Legislative Council, and Sir R. D. Hanson, Chief Justice of the colony—were initiated. A second English Lodge was established at Adelaide in 1844, and in the same year, also at the capital, a Scottish one.

In 1855 the first Irish charter was received in the colony, and in 1883 the total number of Lodges formed in South Australia was as follows:—English, twenty active, one extinct; Irish, seven active, three extinct; and Scottish, six, all active.

The initiative in forming a province was taken by Scotland in 1846, a step followed by England in 1848, and Ireland in 1860.

In 1883 there were premonitory symptoms that the lamentable examples set by a minority of the Lodges in the adjacent colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, in usurping the authority and honour which should belong to the majority, would be followed in South Australia. The imminence of this danger induced Mr H. M. Addison to form a Masonic Union, whose labours resulted—April 16, 1884—in a convention of 85 delegates, representing

[1] The approximate number, counting Lodges under dispensations, is 125.

twenty-eight Lodges, by whom the Grand Lodge of South Australia was established. The proceedings of the executive committee of the Masonic Union, which were characterised throughout by the most scrupulous regularity, were crowned by an unprecedented unanimity of feeling on the part of the Lodges. A resolution in favour of independence was carried *nem. con.* in eighteen English, four Irish, and six Scottish Lodges, and with a single dissentient in one English, and with two dissentients in one Irish Lodge; whilst in the sole remaining Lodge under England, and in the "Mostyn" under Ireland, a majority of the members joined the Union. Thus, in effect, out of a grand total of thirty-three Lodges under the three British jurisdictions, only a single Lodge—No. 363—Duke of Leinster (I.), has adhered to its former allegiance. The new Grand Lodge (besides the usual indiscriminate recognition of American Grand Bodies) has been admitted to fraternal relations with the Grand Lodges of England, Ireland, and Scotland. The privilege, however, accorded by the last named in August 1885, was cancelled in the November following, a proceeding, there is every reason to believe, arising out of the inconsistent action of the colonial Grand Lodge in recognising the authority of the Grand Lodge of New South Wales—the irregular establishment of which, it was declared by Mr Addison, at the formation of the Masonic Union in Adelaide, July 30, 1883, would, if imitated, "bring Masonry in South Australia into disrepute throughout the world."

The Hon. S. J. Way, Chief Justice of the Colony, and Mr J. H. Cunningham, formerly District Grand Secretary (E.), have been Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively, since the foundation of the Grand Lodge. The subordinate Lodges are thirty-six in number, with a total membership of 2277.

QUEENSLAND.—The North Australian Lodge was established at Brisbane by the Grand Lodge of England in 1859, and two others under Irish and Scottish warrants respectively, were constituted at the same town in 1864.

Each jurisdiction is represented by a Provincial (or District) G.M., and the number of Lodges is as follows:—English, twenty-six active, two extinct; Irish, eleven active, three extinct; and Scottish, twelve, all active.

WEST AUSTRALIA.—Eight Lodges in all have been formed in this colony, the first of which —St. John, No. 712—was erected at Perth in 1842. Seven of these survive, and being included in no Province, report direct to the Grand Lodge of England, which in this solitary instance, has not suffered from the exercise of concurrent jurisdiction by other Grand Bodies.

TASMANIA.—Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Ireland were established at Hobart Town in 1823, 1829, 1833, and 1834, but the three earliest of the series are now extinct. A fourth Lodge under the same sanction was constituted at Launceston in 1843, and it was not until 1846 that English Masonry obtained a footing on the island. In that year Tasmanian Union, No. 781, was formed at Hobart Town, and a second English Lodge—Hope—sprang up (in the first instance under a dispensation from Sydney) in 1852. In the following year the Rev. R. K. Ewing became the Master of the latter, and in 1856 the Lodges of Faith and Charity were carved out of it—Mr Ewing then becoming, on their joint petition, Prov. G.M. The other English Lodge—Tasmanian Union—objecting to these proceedings, as having been carried on clandestinely, was suspended by the Prov. G.M., and remained closed for nine months. The strife thus engendered nearly put an end to English Masonry in Launceston. Lodge Faith became dormant, Charity was voluntarily wound up, and even in Hope the light almost went

out. Soon, however, there was a revival, and in 1876 the Grand Lodge of Scotland also began to charter Lodges on the island, where there are now four in existence under its jurisdiction. These are included in the Province of New South Wales. The Grand Lodges of England and Ireland have each a roll of seven Lodges on the island,—one under the former body, and four under the latter, having surrendered their charters. The English Prov. Grand Lodge died a natural death on the removal of Mr Ewing to Victoria, but a new one was established under Mr W. S. Hammond in 1875. The Irish Lodges were constituted into a Province in 1884.

New Zealand.

The first Lodge in the Colony—Française Primitive Antipodienne—was founded at Akaroa by the Supreme Council of France, August 29, 1843; the second—Ara—at Auckland, by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1844; and the third—New Zealand Pacific—by the Grand Lodge of England in 1845. No further charters were issued until 1852, when English Lodges were established in Lyttelton and Christchurch, whilst others sprang up at New Plymouth and Auckland in 1856, at Wanganui in 1857, and at Nelson and Kaiapoi in 1858. In the latter year an Irish Lodge (the second in the colony) was formed at Napier, and in 1860 an English one at Dunedin—where also the first Scottish Lodge was erected in 1861. After this the diffusion of Masonry throughout New Zealand became so general, that I must content myself with giving the barest statistics, which, for convenience sake, will be classified so as to harmonise as far as possible with the Provincial systems of the three competing jurisdictions. Between 1860 and 1875 there were warranted in the colony twenty-five English, eight Irish, and twenty-one Scottish Lodges; whilst in the ten years ending January 1, 1886, the numbers were respectively forty-seven, seven, and thirty-two.

The Lodges in New Zealand are usually classified according to the Masonic Provinces of which they form a part. Of the latter there are five English and three Scottish, of late years denominated *Districts*, in order to distinguish them from bodies of a like character in Great Britain; and one Irish, to which the more familiar title of Provincial Grand Lodge is still applied. These preliminaries it will be necessary to bear in mind, because the arrangement which seems to me the simplest and best, is to group the Lodges according to their positions on the map, which in the present case will correspond very closely with the territorial classification, or division into Districts, by the Grand Lodge of England.

North Island.

Auckland District.—The District (or Provincial) Grand Masters are Mr G. S. Graham (E.), Sir F. Whitaker (S.), and Mr G. P. Pierce (I.); whilst the number of Lodges under the several jurisdictions is eighteen under the G.L. of England, and six each under those of Scotland and Ireland, that is if taken according to locality, for all the Scottish Lodges on the North Island are comprised within the Auckland *District*, and the whole of the Irish Lodges in both islands within the Auckland *Province*.

Wellington District.—The only D.G.M. is Mr C. J. Toxward (E.); and the number of Lodges is respectively eighteen (E.), eight (S.), and four (I.).

Middle, or South Island.

Canterbury District.—The D.G.M.'s are Mr Henry Thomson (E.) and the Rev. James Hill (S.), who rule over nineteen and nine Lodges respectively. The seat of government is at Christchurch, where there is also an Irish Lodge, the only one in the District.

Otago and Southland District.—Mr T. S. Graham presides over one D.G.L. (E.), and Mr G. W. Harvey over the other (S.). There are fourteen Lodges in each District, *i.e.*, according to the local arrangement, for the Scottish D.G.L. (of which there are only two in the South Island) exercises authority beyond the territorial limits of Otago and Southland. The total number of Lodges on its roll is twenty-one, and doubtless Otago has derived much of its importance as a Scottish Masonic centre, from the fact of having been originally founded by an association connected with the Free Church of Scotland. At Dunedin and Invercargill there is in each case an Irish Lodge.

Westland District.—The only D.G.M. is Mr John Bevan (E.), who rules over six Lodges; and there are three others (S.) which are comprised within the D.G.L. of Otago and Southland at Dunedin.

Marlborough and Nelson District.—These Provinces of the colony are exempt from any local Masonic jurisdiction, under the Grand Lodge of England, which is represented by five Lodges. There is also a Scottish Lodge (at Blenheim), which is subject to the D.G.L. of Otago and Southland.[1]

Oceania.

Although the various islands and archipelagoes have been treated as far as possible in connection with the continents with which they are ordinarily associated, there are some few of these, lying as it were in mid-ocean, that must be separately dealt with, and their consideration will bring this chapter to a close.

New Caledonia.—This island was taken possession of by France in 1854, and has been used for some years as a penal settlement. At Noumea, the chief town and the seat of government, there are two Lodges, L'Union Calédonienne, and No. 1864, Western Polynesia. The former was established by the Grand Orient of France in 1868, and the latter (which is included in the Masonic Province of New South Wales) by the Grand Lodge of England in 1880.

Fiji Islands.—The formation of a Lodge—Polynesia—at Levuka, with the assent of the native king, was announced to the Masonic world in a circular dated March 12, 1872. The islands were annexed to Britain in 1874, and on February 1, 1875, a Scottish charter—No. 562—was granted to a Lodge bearing the same name and meeting at the same place as the self-constituted body of 1872. This is comprised in the Masonic Province of Victoria. A second British Lodge—No. 1931, Suva na Viti Levu—was established in the Archipelago by the Grand Lodge of England in 1881.

Society Islands.—Masonry was introduced into Papeete, the chief town of Tahiti (or Otaheiti), the largest of the Society Group, by the Grand Orient of France in 1834. A

[1] Authorities—Australasia:—Proc. G.L. England, 1864, 1865, 1881, 1885; Scotland, 1886; New Brunswick, 1879, 1884; Pennsylvania, 1882; Iowa, 1883; Illinois, 1884-86; New York, 1885; and South Australia, 1884-86; Freemasons' Calendar; Masonic Journals; Manifestoes and Proceedings, claiming recognition as Grand Lodges, from the Associated Lodges in New South Wales and Victoria; and G. Robertson, New Zealand Masonic Directory, 1886.

Chapter—L'Océanie Française—was established in that year, and a Lodge of the same name in 1842. The labours of these bodies were intermittent, the latter having been galvanised into fresh life in 1850, and the former in 1857. Both Lodge and Chapter are now extinct.

MARQUESAS ISLANDS.—A Lodge, which has long since ceased to exist—L'Amitié—was established at Nukahiva by the Grand Orient of France in 1850.

SANDWICH OR HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.—There are three Lodges in this group, and two Chapters, with an increase in the number:—Le Progrés de l'Océanie, erected by warrant of the Supreme Council of France in 1850; and the Hawaiian and Wailukee Lodges, under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of California. The last named is at Maui; the others meet at Honolulu, the capital, where they occupy a hall in common. The earliest of the two American Lodges (Hawaiian) was formed in 1852. These three Lodges are composed of natives, Americans, Englishmen, and Germans, between whom the most friendly relations subsist. King Kalakua is an active member of Le Progrés de l'Océanie, and his brother, William Pitt Leleihoku, of the Hawaiian Lodge. The former, who has visited many foreign countries, also evinces the same interest in Masonry while on his travels. On January 7, 1874, he was entertained by Lodge Columbian of Boston (U.S.A.), and on May 22, 1881, by the National Grand Lodge of Egypt. By the latter body the King was elected an Honorary Grand Master, and afterwards delivered a lengthy oration, in which he expressed his belief in Egypt being the cradle both of Operative and Speculative Masonry, and thus may be said to have fully reciprocated the compliment which had been paid him by the meeting.[1]

[1] Authorities:—Masonic Calendars; Rebold, Hist. Tr. G.L., pp. 175, 195, 235, 295; Proc. G.L. Canada, 1872 p. 244; 1873, p. 390; Mackey, p. 687; Freemason, July 16, 1881; and New England Freemason, 1875, p. 44.

CHAPTER XXX.

SEA AND FIELD LODGES.

THE only Stated Lodges in ships-of-war appear to have been held under English warrants, though in Portugal and elsewhere there have been meetings of Occasional Lodges where members of the Craft, persecuted on shore, have sought a refuge in the shipping. Field Lodges have existed in numerous jurisdictions, and are variously described. The title used by me occurs in a calendar of 1763, and while sanctioned by early usage, will admit of the inquiry being restricted to the existence of Lodges in military bodies—attached to the latter both in quarters and in the field. The earliest of these Lodges was established in the 1st (British) Regiment of Foot in 1732, under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and four other similar Lodges, making a total of five, were at work in the same jurisdiction at the close of 1734.[1] The number had risen to eight in 1743, when the first Military Warrant was issued by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and stood at twenty-nine when the earliest Lodge of the kind was established—1755—by the Grand Lodge of England, in the 8th Foot.

The Irish jurisdiction has always included the greater number of (British) Army Lodges, and in 1813 possessed a military following of one hundred and twenty-three. At the same date, the number of Lodges in regiments under the other British Grand Lodges, and without counting the remote pendicles under Provincial Grand Lodges in foreign parts, was: England, fifteen; Ancients, sixty-two;[2] and Scotland, eighteen. This total has declined, in 1886, to fifteen Lodges, of which nine are Irish and the remainder English.[3]

A record of all the Lodges in regiments, or other movable military cadres, warranted by the British Grand Lodges or their representatives abroad, will be found—to the extent that I have succeeded in tracing them—in the present chapter.[4] The enumeration of stationary Lodges in garrisons or fortresses, even though composed exclusively of military members, lies, however, beyond the scope of my present purpose. The same may be said with regard to the

[1] Pocket Companion, Dublin, 1735. From this year I am mainly dependent on information supplied from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, but as *four* out of the *five* Lodges named above are not mentioned in it, and for other reasons, I think there must have been many Irish Lodges in the British army of which all traces have been lost.

[2] Fifty Lodges were carried forward at the Union. *Cf. ante*, p. 8.

[3] *Post*, p. 405.

[4] In cases where a portion of the general subject has been already dealt with, as in the instance of the Brigade Lodges in India (*ante*, p. 326 *et seq.*), the reference will be given.

distinguished roll of general officers, who have been active members of the Society. Of these I shall merely cite the names of Abercrombie, Moore, Earl Moira, and Sir Charles Napier. The task before me is to exhibit in the smallest possible compass a picture of an almost obsolete branch of Freemasonry, and neither sympathy with the subject, nor an affluence of materials collected with a larger object in view, must divert me from this imperative duty.

Of the Sea Lodges there is nothing further to be said beyond the passing allusion that the existence of all of them was probably due to the exertions of a single individual.[1] With the Field or Army Lodges it is different, and the outline of these bodies, as given in successive tables, I shall to a limited extent fill in, by prefacing each separate list with a brief introduction, commencing with the Lodges in British Regiments, and deriving the materials for my sketch in great part from their actual minutes and records.

The Gibraltar Lodge (128),[2] in the 39th Foot—"Primus in Indis"—claims to have made the first Mason in India, under a European Warrant, in 1757. It subsequently founded numerous Lodges in various parts of Hindostan. There is a stone let into the wall in Fort-William, Calcutta, commemorative of the early history of this Lodge. All its working tools and jewels fell into the hands of the enemy during the Peninsular War, but were subsequently returned to the regiment. The same fate befel the Lodge chest in the 6th Dragoon Guards (577), which was returned under a flag of truce and with a guard of honour. The 17th Foot lost its Warrant (18) in the American War, and it was courteously transmitted to them by General Parsons, with a fraternal letter. The 46th Foot (227) twice lost its chest, which was sent back on the first occasion by order of General Washington,[3] and on the second, by the French military authorities, three years after its capture at Dominica, in 1805. The historian of the 43d Foot complains, in 1758, that "the time passes very wearily" at Nova Scotia, and adds, "when the calendar does not furnish us with a loyal excuse for assembling in the evening, we have recourse to a Freemason's Lodge, where we work so hard that it is inconceivable to think what a quantity of business of great importance is transacted in a very short space of time."[4] This Lodge I have not succeeded in tracing, and the same is the case with regard to another, in the 54th Foot, attached to that corps at St John, New Brunswick, in 1786.[5] A battalion of the 9th Foot was wrecked on the French coast in 1805, and the members of the Lodge (183) solaced the weary hours of their captivity by assembling regularly at Valenciennes until the peace of 1814. The colonel of a regiment often became the first master of the Lodge attached to it. Thus in the 20th Foot, A.D. 1748, Lord George Sackville presided in the first instance over the Minden Lodge (63), though it cannot have borne that title until after his famous escapade at the battle of the same name in 1759.[6]

The following announcement appeared in the *Newcastle Courant* of January 4, 1770:—

"This is to acquaint the public, That on Monday the first instant, being the Lodge (or monthly meeting) Night of the Free and Accepted Masons of the 22d Regiment, held at the *Crown* near Newgate (Newcastle), Mrs Bell, the landlady of the house, broke open a door (with a poker) that had not been opened for some time past, by which means she got into an adjacent room, made two holes through the wall, and, by that stratagem, discovered the secrets of Freemasonry; and she, knowing herself to be the first woman in the world that ever

[1] Thomas Dunckerley. [2] Figures within brackets in this section denote the numbers of the Lodges.
[3] *Ante*, pp. 59, 388. [4] J. Knox, Hist. Journal, 1759, vol. i., p. 143. [5] *Ante*, pp. 53, 54. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 344.

found out the secret, is willing to make it known to all her sex. So any lady who is desirous of learning the secrets of Freemasonry, by applying to that well-learned woman (Mrs Bell, that lived fifteen years in and about Newgate), may be instructed in the secrets of Masonry."

"It would be interesting to know," continues my authority,[1] "how many pupils Mrs Bell obtained, and why she appealed to her own sex in particular."

The 38th Foot still possesses a Lodge (441), originally constituted in 1765, and as its proceedings have figured largely in the Masonic journals, some account of these, derived from the actual minutes and records, may be interesting to my readers. The Lodge re-opened at St Pierre, Martinique, on November 8, 1796, "the former registry, with the chest, warrant, and jewels, having been captured by the enemy at Helvoet-Sluys in January 1795." The regiment proceeded to St Lucia and Saints, 1797; Ireland, 1802; Cape Town, 1806; Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, 1806-7;[2] and after a period of home service, the Lodge, which was closed in 1811, re-opened, November 7, 1819, at Cape Town, when a letter—dated April 5 of the same year—was read from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, of which the following is an extract:—

"The Union of Ancients and Moderns in England had no particular effect in this country, as we never had any Lodges but *Ancient*, neither have we adopted any of their new ceremonies."

The working of the Royal Arch degree was resumed in the *Lodge* November 14, 1822, when a letter, dated May 15, 1820, from the Deputy Grand Secretary, was read, of which the following passage is recorded in the minutes:—"There is not any warrant issued by the Grand Lodge of Ireland other than that you hold; it has therefore always been the practice of Irish Lodges to confer the Higher Degrees under that authority."[3] The names of the members of the degree are headed, "Roll of Excellent-Super-Excellent Royal Arch Masons of Lodge No. 441."[4]

The Lodge was next opened at Berhampore, E.I., in the same year (1822), but closed in 1823, and remained dormant until 1840, when it resumed work at Limerick. At this period Lord Ebrington was the Lord-Lieutenant, on whose arrival in Ireland, the Lodge No. 473 at Enniskillen, knowing that he was Provincial Grand Master of Devon, voted him an address, but in his published reply he declared that Masonry was not suited to the condition of Ireland, and that therefore he could not countenance it. Shortly after this a paragraph appeared in the papers announcing the revival of Lodge No. 441 in the 38th Foot, and the

[1] Chambers's Journal, 1882, p. 400. According to Clavel (p. 34), Madame de Xaintrailles, who had been given the rank of captain for service in war, by the First Consul, was made a Mason at Paris in the Lodge "Frères-Artistes," of which many French officers were members. An incident of the late American Civil War appears to be on all-fours with the stories of Miss St Leger and Mrs Bell. The life of a young Irishman, taken red-handed as a guerilla by a party of the Iowa Regiment in 1861, was spared—so it is related—through his sister making a Masonic sign for relief, it proving on Examination that she had passed all the degrees (Weekly Budget, U.S.A., March 28, 1883).

[2] The 38th formed the storming party at the attack and capture of this city. The colonel, who was mortally wounded, after entering the breach surveyed the scene, supported by his orderly sergeant, James Matthews (a member of the Lodge), and his dying words were, "Bravo, 38th, my brave regiment."

[3] The Minden Lodge (63), in the 20th Foot, continued to work the R.A. degree under their original warrant until October 9, 1838, when a separate charter was issued by the Grand Chapter of Ireland.

[4] The following singular entry appears in the earlier R.A. record:—"1803.—T. Fallon, Ensign, was produced for entrance, but declined, and was dismissed with the usual precautions."

commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Blakeney, set in motion by the Lord-Lieutenant, peremptorily ordered the meetings to cease, and "all documents connected with the institution to be forthwith returned to the Parent Society." The warrant was therefore sent to the Grand Lodge, from whom, however, a hint was received in 1842—the 38th being then at Corfu—that "it was as much at the disposal of the members as when in their own possession;" and in the same year the box containing it, which had not been opened, was returned to the regiment.

As appears above, the Irish Lodges always worked according to the system in vogue among the so-called Ancient Masons, or perhaps it would be better to say, that the latter took their Masonry undiluted and unchanged from the former. The result, however, in America, where the influence of the Army Lodges made itself chiefly felt, was very marked. The customs of the Scottish Regimental Lodges were in no respect different to those of the Irish, and the older Grand Lodge of England was too sparsely represented among the military forces of the crown to exercise any counter-influence, if indeed her Field Lodges in foreign parts did not—as I imagine must have generally been the case—acquire the tone and character of the vast majority of these associations.

The active part played by Lodges in British regiments in the Masonic history of Massachusetts and New York will be separately narrated, but it may be incidentally observed that the predominance in North America of the "Ancients" over their rivals, the titular "Moderns," must be ascribed in great part to the influx of Regimental Lodges from the Old World, and to their subsequent dissemination of the principles and the practice of what was then termed "Ancient Masonry" throughout the length and breadth of the continent.[1]

The muster-roll of Field Lodges in the British Army has been drawn up so as to agree with the order in which the various regiments were understood to rank, before the recent abolition of numerical titles, though, for convenience sake, I shall not interrupt the regimental sequence by placing the Royal Marines and the Rifle Brigade after the 49th and 93d Foot respectively, in accordance with their regulated precedency.

During the last century so many battalions were raised and disbanded, with the resultant shuffling of numbers, as to render it impossible to be quite sure in all cases whether the numerical titles of regiments are those borne on the dates when the Lodges attached to them were erected, or at a later period. The identification of particular corps has been a laborious task. These are sometimes described by the names of their colonels, and at others by territorial or (obsolete) regimental designations. Thus we meet with Lodge No. 612 (I.) "in the First Ulster Regiment"—which is the only entry that has baffled me—and No. 277 "in the 2d Green Horse" (now 5th Dragoon Guards), 1757.

The Irish Lodges were always chiefly, and in many cases exclusively, known by their *numbers*, which, whenever practicable, were made—by exchanging the ones previously held—to correspond with those of the regiments whereunto such Lodges were attached.

When there were several Lodges existing in a regiment at the same time, this fact will ordinarily coincide with a plurality of battalions, but the possibility of two Lodges working simultaneously in a single battalion of the ordinary strength, is evidenced by the proceedings at the centenary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, in 1836—when the members of Lodges

[1] Chap. XIX., p. 450.

"Hibernia" and "St Andrew," in the 42d Foot (or Black Watch), attracted admiration, alike for their martial appearance and Masonic behaviour.

The exact rank of the Hon. Artillery Company of London has never been definitely settled. According to the historian of the corps, "the members are usually classed with the Volunteers, which, properly speaking, they are not; and it is still an open question whether the officers would rank before or after militia officers, or with them according to the dates of their commissions." [1]

No Lodge has yet been established in the Indian Native Army, though the erection of one—to be called "John of Gaunt in the East"—in the 15th Madras N.I., was all but carried into effect in 1858.

SEA LODGES.[2]

On Board the Vanguard, 254, E., 1760. | On Board the Prince, 279, E., 1762.
On Board the Canceaux, at Quebec, 224, E., 1762.

BRITISH AND IRISH FIELD LODGES.[3]

CAVALRY.

1st Life Guards, Truth, 571, E., 1798.

DRAGOON GUARDS.

1st, George, 520, E., 1780-1813.
2d, 960, I., 1805-28.
4th, St Patrick, 295, I.,[4] 1758.
5th, 277, I., 1757-95.
,, Charity, 570, I.,[5] 1780.
Salamanca, 663, E., 1815-28.
6th, 577, I., 1780-1858.
7th, 305, I.,[6] 1758.

DRAGOONS.

1st, 384, I., 1799-1800.
2d, [], K., (*circa*) 1747.
,, St Andrew, 158, S., 1770-1816.
3d, R.A. Union, 211, S., 1785-1852.
,, 197, A.,[7] 1806.
4th, Union R.A., 260, S., 1796.
,, 50, I.,[8] 1815.
5th, 289, I., 1757-83.
,, 297, I., 1758-1818.
6th, 123, A., 1763.
,, 508, E., 1777-1813.
,, 311, A., 1797-1837.
,, 876, I. [].
7th, Queen's, 188, S., 1776-1816.
,, 262, A., 1807-24.
8th, 280, I., 1757-1815.
,, 752, E., 1822-32.
9th, 158, I., 1747-1815.
,, 356, I., 1760-1818.
,, 284, A., 1794-1813.
11th, 211, E., 1756-82.
,, 339, A., 1807-10.
12th, 255, , 1755-85.
,, 179, ,[9] 1804.
,, Sphinx, 179, , 1868.
13th, 234, , 1752-1815.
,, 607, , 1782-88.
,, 400, , 1791-1849.
14th, 273, I., 1756-1822.
16th, 929, I., 1803-19.
17th, 478, I., 1769-95.
,, 285, A., 1794-1828.
,, 218, I., 1873.
18th, 1st Squadron, 388, I., 1762-1813.
,, 2d ,, 389, I., 1762-1821.
20th, 759, I., 1792.
23d, 873, I. [].

[1] Raikes, vol. ii., p. xxv.

[2] *Cf.* Chaps. XVII., p. 345; XX., p. 482; and XXIII., p. 67.

[3] EXPLANATIONS.—E. denotes *English* (*i.e.*, G.L. of England until 1813, and United G.L. afterwards); A., *Ancients*; I., *Irish*; S., *Scottish*; K., *Kilwinning*; Gib., *Gibraltar*; Jam., *Jamaica*; U.C., *Upper Canada*; L.C., *Lower Canada*; N.E., *New England*; N.Y., *New York*; and N.S., *Nova Scotia*. When known, the *name* is given before the *number* of a Lodge. A second date denotes erasure or last register, but in the majority of cases dormant Lodges continued to be shown in the Lists for many years after they had virtually ceased to exist.

For previous allusions to the general subject, the reader is referred to Chaps. XVIII., pp. 418, 419; XIX., pp. 443, 450; XX., pp. 482, 493; XXI., p. 8; XXII., pp. 42-44; XXIII., pp. 53, 54, 58-60, 62, 63, 74; and XXIX., pp. 313, 326 *et seq.*, 337; and for articles on "Military Masonry" by the present writer, to the *Freemason's Chronicle*, January 3, July 10 and 2, and October 2, 1880, and the "Voice of Masonry," 1880, p. 748.

[4] Warrant surrendered, 1830; reissued, 1878.

[5] Exchanged for No. 7, 1817; cancelled, 1858.

[6] Exchanged for No. 4, 1818; called in, 1821.

[7] Warrant returned, 1858; reissued, 1863.

[8] Closed by order of C.O.

[9] Exchanged for No. 12, 1817; called in, 1827.

Royal Artillery.[1]

1st Batt.,[2] Scotland, 134, A., 1764-74.
,, Chatham, 187, A., 1774-77.
,, Gibraltar, 230, A.,[3] 1785.
2d ,, Perth, 148, A.,[4] 1767.
4th ,, New York, 213, A.,[5] 1781.
,, 144, A., *cir.* 1804.
,, Gibraltar, 209, A., 1779.
4th ,, Gibraltar, 345, A., 1809-27.
5th Batt., Eastbourne, 101, A., 1812-28.
6th ,, Ceylon, 329, A., 1802-30.
9th ,, Gibraltar, 187, A., 1812-22.
10th ,, S. Africa, 354, A., 1812-51.
,, Gibraltar, 356, A., 1813-21.
Rl. H. Art., Colchester, 156, A., 1809-28.
[], Woolwich, 86, A.,[6] 1761.
Capt. Webdell's Cmpy., 183, A., 1773.
Quebec, St John, 241, A.,[7] 1787.
Pt. Royal, Jamaica, 262, A., 1790-1805.
Calcutta, 317, A.,[8] 1798.
Gibraltar, 2 and 5, Gib., 1802.
,, 4, 5, 9, and 11, Gib., 1811.
Quebec, 40, A., 1804-14.
Halifax, Virgin, 2, N.S.,[9] 1782.
,, Royal Standard, 39, N.S., 1819.

Royal Engineers.

Div. of Artificers, Jersey, 293, A., 1795. | Rl. Mil. Artificers, do., 350, A., 1810. | 37th Cmpy. R.E., 1235, E.,[10] 1863-64.

Foot Guards.

Coldstream Regiment, Perseverance, 492, E.,[11] 1776.

Infantry Regiments.

1st, 11, I., 1732-1847.
,, 74, I., 1737[12]-1801.
,, 381, I., 1762-65.
,, Unity P. and C., 574, E., 1798.
,, Rl. Thistle, 289, S., 1808-52.
2d, 244, I., 1754-1825.
,, 390, I., 1762-1815.
3d, 170, A., 1771-92.
4th, United, 147, S., 1769-1809.
,, 522, I., 1785-1823.
,, 91, I., 1857-65.
5th, 86, I., 1738-1815.
,, St George, 353, A., 1812-62.
6th, 643, I., 1785-1800.
,, 646, I., 1785.
,, 4, L.C., 1804.
,, Orthes, 689, E., 1817.
7th, 38, I., 1750.
,, 231, I., 1752.
,, 153, A.,[13] *cir.* 1804.
2 and 7, L.C., 1804.
8th, 255, E., 1755-1813.
9th, 246, I., 1754-70.
,, 183, A., 1803-29.
10th, 177, I., 1748-55.
,, 299, I., 1758-1803.
,, 378, I., 1761-65.
11th, 72, A., 1758-67.
,, 604, I., 1782-94.
,, 313, A., 1798-1813.
12th, D. of N'folk's, 58,[14] S., 1747-1809.
,, Mt. Calpe, 1116, E., 1860.
13th, 153, A., 1768-76.
,, 637, I., 1784-88.
,, 661, I., 1787-1819.
14th, 211, I., 1750-61.
,, 58, A., 1759-1813.
,, Union, 338, A., 1807-30.
,, Officers' L., 347, A., 1810-13.
,, Integrity, 771, E., 1846.
15th, 245, I., 1754.
16th, 293, I., 1758-1817.
16th, 300, I., 1758-1801.
17th, 136, I., 1748.
,, Unity, 168, S., 1771-1816.
,, 237, A., 1787-92.
,, Unity, 18,[15] 1779.
,, 921, I.,[16] 1802.
18th, 168, I., 1747.
,, 351, I., 1760-84.
,, 335, A., 1806-13.
,, 18, Jam.,[17] 1810.
19th, St Andre, 590, E., 1802-32.
20th, Minden, 63, I., 1748-1850.
,, Sphinx, 263, I., 1860.
21st, 33, I., *cir.* 1734.
,, 936, I.,[18] 1803.
22d, Moriah, 132, S., 1767-1809.
,, 251, I., 1791.
23d, 63, S., [19]1751-1809.
,, 137, S., 1767-1816.
,, 252, A., 1788-1822.
,, 738, I., [20]1808.

[1] The Lodges in the H.E.I.C. Artillery have been referred to in the last chapter (India). See also Chap. XVII., p. 350.

[2] Since 1859 the companies (R.A.) have been linked together in brigades instead of battalions.

[3] United with No. 13 in 1826.

[4] Present St John's Lodge, Gibraltar.

[5] Purchased the No. 9 (A.) in 1787, *now* Albion, No. 2, under the G.L. of Quebec.

[6] Purchased the No. 7 (A.) in 1788, *now* No. 13.

[7] *Now* under the G.L. of Quebec.

[8] *Now* No. 229.

[9] Nos. 2 and 39 became Nos. 829 and 835 (E.) at Halifax in 1829.

[10] "Warrant withdrawn and fee returned by order of the G.M." (Note in G.L. Reg.).

[11] Now No. 7, Royal York Lodge of Perseverance.

[12] This date is given by Barker (*ante*, p. 331)—the year 1783 appears in the G.L. Records—and the Pocket Companion, Dublin, shows only thirty-seven Irish Lodges as existing in 1735.

[13] In Downe's List, Dublin, 1804, only.

[14] *Ante*, p. 53.

[15] A Lodge in the 17th F. (which arrived in Boston, Jan. 1, 1776) is shown at this number on the rolls of the G.L. of England (A.) and Pennsylvania, and the warrant captured by the Americans was returned to the *Unity* Lodge, No. 18, in the 17th F., by General Parsons, in 1779. The *Scottish* Lodge (168) bore the same name, and I think must have become No. 18 on the Provincial List. *Cf. Freemasons' Chronicle*, July 10 and 24, and Oct. 2, 1880.

[16] Exchanged for No. 258, 1824; returned, 1847.

[17] Prov. G.L.

[18] Exchanged for its old number (33), 1817; last register, 1822.

[19] Confirmed, 1767.

[20] Cancelled, 1821; renewed, 1882.

24th, 426, E., 1768-1813.
25th, 92, I.,[1] 1749-1815.
,, 250, I.,[2] 1819.
26th, Cameronian, 309, I.,[3] 1758.
27th, 24, I., 1734.
,, 528, I., 1787-1815.
,, 692, I., 1808-18.
28th, 35, I., 1734.
,, [], N.E.,[4] 1758.
,, Royal Arch, 510, I., 1773-1824.
,, 6 and 9, Gib., 1804.
,, 260, I., 1809-15.
29th, Glttrng. Star, 322, I.,[5] 1759.
30th, 85, I., 1738.
,, 535, I.,[6] 1776.
31st, Fort George, 100, S., 1760-1852.
,, St George, 108, S.,[7] 1761-1816.
,, 5, Gib.,[8] 1802.
,, Meridian, 1045, E., 1858.
32d, 61, I., *cir.* 1747.
,, White's, 73, S., 1754-1809.
,, 617, I., 1783-85.
33d, 12, I., *cir.* 1732.
,, 90, A., 1761-1813.
,, 681, E., 1816-29.
34th, Barry, 466, E.,[9] 1784-1813.
,, 340, A., 1807-32.
35th, 205, I., 1749-90.
36th, 542, I., 1777-80.
,, 559, I.,[10] 1778.
37th, 52, A., 1756-1813.
,, N. Hants, 726, E., 1844-62.
38th, 441, I., 1765.
39th, Gibraltar, 128, I.,[11] 1742.
,, 290, I., 1758-1813.
40th, 42, A., N.D.
,, 204, I., 1810-13.
,, 284, I., 1821-58.
42d, 195, I., 1749-1815.
,, Hibernia, 42, I., 1809-40.
,, St Andrew, 310, S.,[12] 1811-48.
43d, St Patrick's, 156, S., 1769-1816.
44th, Rainsford, 467, E., 1784-1813.
,, 788, I., 1793.
45th, 445, I., 1766-73.
,, 272, A., 1792-1807.
46th, 227, I.,[13] 1752-1847.
47th, 192, I., 1748-1823.
,, 147, I., 1810-23.
48th, 218, I.,[14] 1750-1858.
,, 982, I., 1806-17.
49th, 354, I., 1760-1849.
,, 616, I., 1783-88.
50th, 113, I., 1763-70.
,, 112, A., 1763-1830.
,, 58, I., 1857-63.
51st, Orange, 94, A., 1761-1805.
,, 94, I., 1763-1815.
,, 690, I.,[15] 1788-96.
,, Orange, 274, S., 1801.
,, Minden, 677, E., 1816-43.
52d, 370, I., 1761-1825.
,, 226, E., 1762-1813.
,, 309, A., 1797-1801.
,, 170, A.,[16] 1801-13.
,, 53, N.S.,[17] 1826.
52d, Oxfordshire, 853, E., 1830-62.
,, 244, I., 1832-37.
53d, 236, I., 1753-75.
,, 950, I., 1804-24.
54th,[18] 669, E., 1838-62.
55th, []S.,[19] 1743.
,, 7, N.Y.,[20] 1762.
56th, George III., 101, S., 1760-1809.
,, 420, I.,[21] 1765-69.
57th, 41, A., 1755.
,, Zion, 3,
,, Albuera, 704, E., 1818-24.
58th, 466, I., 1769-1817.
,, 692, I., 1789.
,, 332, A.,[23] 1805-23.
59th, 243, I., 1754-97.
,, 219, I., 1810-17.
60th,[24] 448, E.,[25] 1764.
,, 7, N.Y.,[26] 1783.
62d, 407, I., 1763-86.
63d, 512, I.,[27] 1774-1814.
64th, D. of York, 106, S., 1761-1816.
,, 686, I., 1788-1817.
,, 130, I., 1817-58.
65th, 191, A.,[28] 1774.
,, 631, I., 1784.
66th, 392, I., 1763-64.
,, 538, I., 1777-90.
,, 580, I., 1780-90.
,, 656, I.,[29] N.D.
67th, 175, A.,[30] 1772.
,, 338, I., 1815-26.
68th, 714, I., 1790.

[1] The "Lodge chest" having been lost at Munster, in Germany, a new one was "consecrated" at Berwick, Dec. 2, 1763 (Minutes of St Abb Lodge, No. 70 (S.), Eyemouth).

[2] Exchanged for No. 25, 1823, warrant returned, 1839.

[3] Exchanged for No. 26 in 1823.

[4] Provincial warrant granted to hold a Lodge at Louisburg.

[5] Warrant returned, 1820; renewed, 1854.

[6] Apparently exchanged for No. 30 in 1805; last register, 1806.

[7] Charter confirmed, 1805.

[8] Prov. G.L.

[9] Previously No. 17, L.C.

[10] Exchanged for No. 36, 1781; returned, 1848.

[11] Warrant renewed April 1, 1819.

[12] Eighty-nine members were enrolled within nine months of its constitution; and fifty intrants were admitted in the four months immediately following the Battle of Waterloo.

[13] Lodge of Social and Military Virtues, *now* "Antiquity" No. 1, Quebec.

[14] *Cf.* Hayden, p. 31.

[15] *Cf. ante*, p. 368.

[16] The 2d Batt. 52d Foot was made the 96th Foot, 1803; the 95th, 1816; and disbanded 1818.

[17] Afterwards No. 842 on the general list, and a stationary Lodge until about 1838, when it was attached to the Rifle Brigade.

[18] A sermon was preached at St John, New Brunswick, December 26, 1786, before the members of a Lodge in this regiment. Its registry, however, I have failed to trace.

[19] The first Military Lodge under the G.L. of Scotland. *Cf. ante*, p. 53.

[20] Boston Records.

[21] 59th Foot in Downe's list, 1804.

[22] P.G.L. The Lodge held a dispensation from 1780.

[23] *Ante*, p. 308.

[24] "The Royal Americans," 1757-1816.

[25] Warrant originally granted in 1764, by the Prov. G.M. of New York to Lieut. J. Christie, 60th Foot, as Master, and others, to meet as Lodge No. 1 at Detroit. Became No. 62 in 1806, and later No. 3 G.L. of New York; and is now Zion Lodge No. 1 G.L. of Michigan.

[26] P.G.L. The Lodge was to be held "in H.M. Loyal American Regiment or elsewhere." *Cf. ante*, p. 58.

[27] *Cf.* Brennan, p. 377.

[28] Not issued.

[29] *Cf. post*, Maryland.

[30] Transferred to Rl. Cornish Miners, 1807; became a stationary Lodge, 1826; now No. 131 Truro.



68th, Durham L., 348, A., 1810-44.
69th, 174, I., 1791-1821.
,, 983, I., 1808-26.
70th, Hooker, 97, S., 1759-1809.
,, 7, Gib.,[1] 1804.
71st,[2] P. of W., 92, S., 1759-1809.
,, 895, I., 1801-58.
72d, 75, A., 1759-64.
,, 65, I., 1854-60.
75th, 292, I., 1810-25.
76th, 359, I., 1760-64.
,, 248, A., 1788-1828.
77th, [3] 578, I., 1780-82.
78th, 322, A., 1801-30.
79th, Waterloo, 191, A., 1808-38.
80th, St Andrew, 197, S., 1769[4]-1816.
,, Fortitude, 724, E., 1820-37.
82d, Thistle, 4, N.S.,[5] 1782.
,, 138, I., 1817-58.
83d, 339, I., 1759-64.
,, 435, I.,[6] 1808.
85th, 298, A., 1801-46.
88th, 176, I., 1821-40.
89th, 863, I., 1798-1818.
,, Hibernia, 633, E., 1836-44.
,, Social Friendship, 729, E., 1844.
90th, 8, Gib.,[7] 1803.
,, 688, E., 1817-24.
91st, Argyle, 321, A., 1799-1828.
92d, 364, I., 1761-62.
,, 333, A., 1805-32.
94th, Union, 121, S.,[8] 1764-1809.
,, Philanthropists, 591, E., 1802.
,, George William, 328, S., 1830-60.
95th,[9] 842, E., 1829-62.
96th, 170, A.[10]
,, 176, I., 1818-19.
97th, 984, I.,[11] 1808.
100th, 3, Gib., 1804.
103d,[12] 292, I., 1834-38.
108th, 4, Gib., 1804.
112th, 815, I., N.D.

Royal Marines.

Plymouth, Marine L., 237, E., 1759.
Portsmouth, 122, A., 1763-64.
St'neh'se, Amphibi'us L.,[13] 498, E., 1787.
Chatham, 256, A., 1789-92.
Chatham, Roy. Mar., 260, A., 1812.
Stonehouse, Roy. Mar., 336, A., 1808-30.
Woolwich, Roy. Mar., 328, A., 1810.

British Militia.

Aberdeenshire,[14] Aboyne, 278, S., 1799.
Antrim, 289, I., 1796-1856.
Argyle, St John, 258, S., 1795-1809.
Armagh, 888, I., 1800-45.
Ayr and Renfrew, St Paul, 271, S., 1799.
Berwickshire, Hirsel, 237, A., 1811-20.
Cambridge, 327, A., 1799-1801.
Carlow, 903, I., 1801-16.
Cavan, 300, I., 1801-30.
Cheshire, 541, E., 1794-1818.
Cork, 741, I., 1808-17.
,, (South), 495, I., 1794-1865.
Cornish Miners, Fortitude, 175 A., 1807.
Cornwall, Royal Cornwall, 618 E., 1810.
Cumberland, 215, A., 1807-38.
Devon (East), 216, A., 1781-1835.
Devon (North), Good Intention, 452, E., 1783.
,, (North), 228, A., 1812-21.
Donegal, 865, I., 1798-1821.
Downshire, 212, I., 1795-1808.
Dublin, 62, I., 1810-21.
Durham, St Cuthbert, 320, S., 1813-48.
Fermanagh, 864, I., 1798-1830.
Fifeshire, 311, S., 1811-37.
Forfar and Kincardine, 292, S., 1808.
Hants (Nth.), Love, 197, A., 1808-38.
Kerry, 66, I., 1810-56.
Kildare, 847, I., 1797-1825.
Kilkenny, 855, I., 1797-1825.
King's County, 948, I., 1804-47.
Lancashire (First), 197, A., 1776-1806.
Lancashire (Second), Knight of Malta, 309, A.,[15] 1803.
,, (Third), Unanimity, 147, A., 1812.
Leicester, 87, A., 1761-64.
Leitrim, 854, I., 1797.
Lincoln (South), 867, I., N.D.
London (West), Justice, 198, A., 1801.
,, ,, Euphrates, 292, A., 1812.
Louth, 10, I., 1809-49.
Mayo (South), 79, I., 1810-26.
,, (North), 81, I., 1812-25.
Meath, 898, I., 1801-49.
Middlesex (West), 298, A., 1796-1801.
,, (Westminster), Harmony, 583, E., 1799.

[1] P.G.L.

[2] Raised at Elgin as the 73d Foot, 1777, and became the 71st—a numerical title held by three previously extinct regiments—in 1786.

[3] *Ante*, p. 63.

[4] The first regiment numbered the 80th was disbanded in 1764. The second (Royal Edinburgh Volunteers) was raised in 1778, and disbanded in 1783. The Lodge, therefore, must really date from about 1780, which would accord with its position on the roll.

[5] A petitioner from "the Thistle Lodge, 82d Regiment, by dispensation," was relieved in 1789 by the (Atholl) Stewards' Lodge, "as a sojourner, with one guinea."

[6] Exchanged for No. 83, 1817; last register, 1846.

[7] P.G.L.

[8] In the famous Scots Brigade. This, except between 1688 and 1691, was in the Dutch service from 1586 until 1793. In 1794, it became the *fourth* English regiment numbered the 94th, and was disbanded 1818.

[9] The *fourth* regiment numbered the 95th, was raised in 1800, and in 1816 became the "Rifle Brigade," to which corps No. 842 was attached about 1838. *See* 52d Foot.

[10] *Ante*, 52d Foot.

[11] Exchanged for No. 176 in 1818. The *fifth* regiment numbered the 97th (Queen's Germans), was disbanded in 1819 as the "Queen's Own" or 96th Foot.

[12] Until 1858, "The Bombay European Regiment."

[13] Ceased to be a service Lodge in 1792; warrant reissued, 1803.

[14] *Ante*, p. 74.

[15] Exchanged for No. 120, 1804; erased 1822.

Middlesex (Westminster), 309, A., 1804.
Monaghan, 552, I., 1796.
,, 200, I., 1801-26.
Monmouth, 664, E., 1815-22.
Queen's County, 857, I., 1797-1832.
,, 398, I., 1805-10.
Roscommon, 242, I., 1808-20.
Shropshire,[1] Salopian, 153 A., 1810.
Sligo, 837, I., 1796-1835.
Southdown, 214, I., 1810-15.
Staffordshire, 327, A.,[2] 1801.
Tipperary, 856, I., 1797-1825.
Tyrone, 846, I., 1796-1818.
,, 562, I., 1797-1830.
Warwickshire, Shakespeare, 501 E.[3]
Westmeath,[4] 791, I., 1793-1826.
Wexford, 935, I., 1803-24.
Wicklow, 848, I., 1796-1815.
,, 877, I., 1800.
Wilts, Loyalty, 282, A., 1794-1834.
Yorkshire (First), Moriah, 176, A., 1772.
,, (East), St George, 442, E., 1782.
,, (West), Union, 626, E., 1811.
,, (N.), L. Dundas, 674, E., 1815.

Honourable Artillery Company of London.

Armoury House, Finsbury, Fitzroy, 830 E., 1849.[5]

Fencible Regiments.

P. of Wales F. Cavalry, 312, A., 1798.
Cornwall F. Light Drags., 582, E., 1799.
Breadalbane F., 907, I., 1801-13.
Elgin F., 860, I., 1798-1813.
Essex F., 825, I., 1796-1813.
Nova Scotia, Loyal Surrey Rangers, 587, E., 1801-13.

Garrison and Veteran Battalions.

Garrison Batt., 125, I., 1808-14.
4th ,, ,, 986, I., 1810-15.
4th Gar. Batt, Fr'dship, 343, A., 1809-32.
7th ,, ,, 992, I., 1808-15.
8th Garr. Batt., 995, I., 1808-14.
1st Veter. ,, 351, A., 1810-33.
4th Veteran Battalion, 988, I., 1808-15.

Auxiliary Corps (Foreign).

Reg. of Anspach-Beyreuth, 215, A., 1781.
Knyphausen, Hiram, 5, N.Y., 1783.
Recton's Hanoverian Brigade, 232, A.,[6] 1786.
Reg. of Anholt-Zerbst, 516, E., 1787.
Turkish Contingent, 373, S., 1856-64.

Foreign and Colonial Regiments.[7]

Scots Brigade, Holland, Union, 121, S.,[8] 1764.
Sicilian Foot, Naples, 433, E.,[9] 1768.
Garrison, Halifax, Union, 1, N.S., 1781.
Pr. Edw. I., St George, 2, N.S., 1781.
New Jersey Volunteers, St George, 2, N.Y., 1783.
King's Rangers, St James, 14, L.C., 1784.
Pr. Edw. I., 26, N.S., 1797.
1st American Regiment, 3, U.C., 1804.
Nova Scotia Regiment, 24, N.S., 1804.
Rl. Canadians, Glengarry, 1, L.C., 1805.
Military (under Travelling Warrant), 54 N.S., 1826.

[1] *Ante*, p. 44.
[2] Exchanged for No. 209, 1803; erased, 1827.
[3] A Norwich Lodge, taken by the Regiment in 1796, and brought to Warwick in 1802, where it became stationary, in spite of the opposition of the military members, in 1808.
[4] *Ante*, p. 44.
[5] The Court of Assistants in this year sanctioned the formation of a Masonic Lodge to consist of members of the company only. A proposal to establish "the Hon. the Artillery Company's Lodge" was agreed to in 1781, but negatived at the next Court (G. A. Raikes, Hist of the Hon. Art. Company). Although the "Fitz-Roy" Lodge, now No. 569, is stationary in a sense, as having met hitherto at the Armoury House of the Company, it would, without doubt, accompany that distinguished corps should it ever change its head-quarters in time of peace, or be arrayed with the regular forces in time of war.
[6] Probably granted to the Lodge previously named?
[7] The dates appended to the sixth and three following Lodges merely denote that they *existed* in those years.
[8] See 94th Foot.
[9] *Ante*, p. 298.

EXISTING BRITISH[1] FIELD LODGES, 1886.[2]

4th Drag. G'rds, St Pat'k's,	295, I., 1758.	12th Ft., Calpe,	824, E., 1860.	29th Ft.,	322, I., 1759.
5th ,, ,, Charity,	570, I., 1780.	14th ,, Integrity,	528, E., 1846.	31st ,, Meridian,	743, E., 1858.
12th Rl. Lancers, Sphinx,	179, I., 1868.	20th ,, Sphinx,	263, I., 1860.	38th ,,	441, I., 1765.
1st Foot, Unity, P. and C.,	316, E., 1798.	23d ,,	738, I., 1882.	39th ,, Gibraltar,	128, I., 1742.
6th ,, Orthes,	352, E., 1817.	26th ,, Cameronian,	26, I., 1758.	89th ,, Social Fr'ndship,	497, E., 1844.

Hon. Artillery Company, London, Fitzroy, 569, E., 1849.

SWEDEN.—An ancient document in the archives of the Grand Lodge informs us that "the Lodge 'St Jean Auxilaire'—instituted in 1752—was formed by sundry brethren of the military and travelling Lodges (*loges militaires et voyageuses*) existing at that time;" but with regard to the number of these itinerant bodies, the field of their operations, or indeed to any further particulars concerning them, we are left wholly in the dark. The next evidence in point of date—afforded by the same source of authority—relates to the formation of the "Lodge of the Swedish Army" (*Svenska Arméens*) at Greifswald, in Pomerania, January 10, 1761. According to its statutes, the seat of the Lodge was to be at the headquarters of the Swedish army during the continuance of the (Seven Years') war, and at Stockholm in time of peace. Captain (afterwards General) the Count of Salza was the first Master, and among the other founders were Barons de Beck-Trius, de Cederstrom, de Duval, and the Count de Creutz—all Swedish military officers. During the continuance of the war, the Lodge threw off shoots at Greifswald, Stralsund, and Christianstadt.[3] At the peace of 1763, it removed to Stockholm, after having received—February 17—a confirmation of its charter from the Grand Lodge of Sweden. The "Lodge of the Swedish Army" established a pension fund for wounded soldiers, and the recipients of its bounty wore silver medals, struck at the expense of the Lodge. Prince Frederick-Adolphe, Duc d'Ostrogothie, the king's brother, was its Master at the period of his decease; but in 1781 its labours came to an end, and the members joined other Lodges at the capital.

RUSSIA.—In 1761 a Field Lodge was formed in the Russian Army, which at that time had its winter quarters in West Prussia, and its headquarters at Marienburg. A second was established at the same place in 1764, which afterwards became the stationary Lodge "of the Three Towers." The latest appears to have been "George the Victorious," constituted by Grand Lodge Astrea, March 12, 1817.

GERMANY.—Throughout the empire, Field or Camp Lodges are regarded as merely auxiliary to the regular or stationary Lodges. The former are in every case erected to serve

[1] Authorities:—Minutes and Records, Grand Lodge of England; Masonic Calendars; Army Lists; Cannon, Historical Records of the British Army; Regimental Histories; Trimen, Regiments of the British Army; Early Histories G.L. of New York and Pennsylvania; Brennan, Standard History; Boston (U.S.A.) Records; Letters from the following officers of Grand Lodges—S. B. Oldham, Ireland; D. M. Lyon, Scotland; J. J. Mason, Canada; W. F. Bunting, New Brunswick; and G. H. Wakeford, Pr. Edw. I.; W. Badgley and J. H. Isaacson, Quebec (P.G.L.); and N.C.O. of British regiments—W. Robertson, 26th Foot; A. Paterson, 29th; W. Conyard, 38th; J. Horton (and also Major J. Powell), 39th; and Mr Edward Bacon, schoolmaster, R.A., Gibraltar.

[2] The present numbers are here given, but up to this point the various changes, except in the case of the Irish Lodges, have not been recorded. All the numbers, however, borne by the Scottish Field Lodges, will be found in the Constitutions, G. L. of Scotland, p. 166; whilst those of the entire body of English Lodges from 1729 down to the present date, are given by Lane in his "Masonic Records," a work of extraordinary merit, involving vast labour, which presents at a glance the skeleton history of every Lodge of English maternity.

[3] In 1762. Carl of the Three Griffins, Gustavus Adolphus of the Three Rays, and (possibly) Concord, respectively.

a temporary purpose, and before a candidate is accepted for initiation, he is required to name one of the latter as the Lodge he will repair to for admission, when the warrant of the movable and transitory body is surrendered or withdrawn. They only exist in time of war, or when an appeal to arms is believed to be impending. In the last century there were Military (which sometimes became Field) Lodges. These were constituted in garrisons and fortresses during peace as well as war. Examples are afforded by the three Lodges which head the subjoined table. The first was founded by Frederick the Great,[1] the second by French prisoners of war,[2] and the third by military officers in Potsdam. The Flaming Star, originally a Military Lodge, was established February 24, 1770, it being thought desirable by Krüger[3] "to take the brethren of Military rank out of all the Lodges, and to erect a separate Lodge for them, which, in the case of war, might follow the camp, and exemplify the benefits of Masonry in the field." From this time all military candidates were sent to the Flaming Star for initiation.

In 1778, there was a concentration of troops both in Saxony and Silesia, and the military duties of the Master—Marschall von Bieberstein—taking him in the former direction, he was accompanied by the Flaming Star, whilst a branch or "Dispensation" Lodge—duly constituted by the G.M.—under Major von Kleist proceeded to diffuse Masonic light in the other. On August 23, 1779, the brethren were reunited in a single Lodge, which is still in existence at Berlin.

Nos. 12-14 on the list were also erected in Saxony and Silesia in the commencement of the Bavarian War of Succession—the most important being the Golden Goblet, of which Zinnendorff was a member. No. 16 was established by Count von Lottom, in furtherance of his resolution to found a Lodge "on hearing that General Blücher was to command the Army Corps on the Prussian coast of the Baltic." The latter was a member of Field Lodge No. I., in 1812. The particulars with regard to No. 8 are a little confusing, and it is not clear that it ever received a warrant, or if so, at whose hands. The general in command appears to have arrested its development at a very early stage, and the same thing occurred in 1816, when an attempt was made by thirty military brethren to establish a Lodge in Sedan.[4]

1. Court L., Rhenisberg, 1739.	9. Blucher, Luxemburg, 1820.	15. At Hanover, 1797.
2. Parfaite Union, Magdeburg, 1761.	10. Victorious Eagle, Potsdam, 1850-51.	16. Field L. No. I., 1811-14.
3. Minerva, Potsdam, 1768.	11. William of the Black Forest, Rastadt, 1861-67.	17. ,, No. II., In France, 1818.
4. Flaming Star, Berlin, 1770.	12. Golden Goblet, Field Hospital, Silesia, 1778-79.	18. ,, No. III., ,, 1815-16.
5. ,, ,, (Deputy L.), 1778-79.	13. Army L. No. I., Silesia, 1778-79.	19. F. W. of the Iron Cross, 1818.
6. Frederick of Patriotism, 1812.	14. The Guide-Post, Saxony, 1778.	20. Iron Cross, Mayence, 1813-15.
7. Of the Iron Cross, 1815.		21. John of the Sword, 1797-99.
8. At Bar-le-Duc, 1816.		22. Adolphus of German Unity, 1817-24.

Two Lodges in Frankfort—of which mention has already been made[5]—are not shown in the foregoing table. One of these (consisting chiefly of foreigners) was founded by Count

[1] *Ante*, p. 242.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 244; Chap. XVIII., p. 418; and Freemason, vol. xix., pp. 496, 511, 524, 533, 556, 613, 627.

[3] *Ante*, pp. 244, 245.

[4] The first Lodge in the list was founded by Frederick II.; Nos. 2-7, and 9-11, by the Three Globes; 8, and 12-19, by the National Grand Lodge (Zinnendorff's); 20, by the Royal York; and 21, 22, by the Prov. Grand Lodge of Hanover. Most of them are extinct, and the few survivors have ceased to possess any military character.

[5] *Ante*, p. 231.

Schmettau in 1743, and the other would appear to date from about the year 1760. The latter, in the Royal Deux Ponts[1] Regiment, affiliated in 1762 with Lodge Union of Frankfort, receiving at the same time a local warrant empowering it to resume work as a "Field" (and *daughter*) Lodge on quitting that city. The Royal Deux Ponts Lodge joined the Strict Observance in 1771, but we again meet with one—Les Dragons Unis des Deux-Ponts—in the same Regiment, which was taken on the roll of the G.O. of France in 1783, with precedence from the previous year. This *Regiment*, and possibly the *Lodge*—which may have only shaken off the fetters of the S.O. in 1782—accompanied the expedition of General Rochambeau to North America in 1780, and was commanded by the Marquis de Deux Ponts.

HOLLAND.—The following Military Lodges (all of which are now extinct) were constituted by the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands:—

La Loge Militaire,	Maastricht,	1745.	St Andreas,	Sluis,	1786.	L'Union Constante Militaire,	Alkmaar,	1799.
L'Harmonie,	Sluis,	1749.	L'Union Helvétique,	Maastricht,	1788.			
La Concorde,	Venlo,	1757.	Biedertreu,	Heusden,	1788.	De Harten door Vriendschap Zaamverbonden,	Amersfoort,	1800.
L'Esprit du Corps,	Leeuwarden,	1777.	De Opgaande Oranjezon,	Sluis,	1789.			
Curâ et Vigilantiâ,	Suriname,	1777.	La Réunion Neufchatelloise,	Ceylon,	1790.	Fidelitas,	's Gravenhage,	1807.
L'Union Militaire,	Zwolle,	1778.				De Toevallige Vereeniging,	Bergen op Zoom,	1808.
L'Unanimité,	Brielle,	1783.	Pax Inimica Malis,	's Heerenberg,	1793.			
Le Temple de la Vertu,	Tholen,	1783.	La Fraternité Militaire,	Leeuwarden,	1795.	St Napoleon,	Amsterdam,	1810.
						La Paix,	Amsterdam,	1810.

De Militaire Broederschap, Alkmaar, 1814.

BELGIUM.—The subjoined list of Field and Garrison Lodges (none of which are in existence at this day) has been compiled from official and other sources:—

Friends of Order, 1st Army Div., 1832.	Defenders of Leopold, Namur, 1834.	United Brethren, 3d Army Div., 1835.
Scots Camp, 4th Army Div., 1833.	Shield of Belgium, 4th Foot, 1834.	Military Union, Beverloo, 1836.

No warrants for Field or Army Lodges have been granted at any time under the jurisdictions of Switzerland, Greece, Denmark, Hamburg, and Darmstadt. In the Austro-Hungarian empire, the members of both the sea and land services are forbidden to become Freemasons, "for which reason," writes the Grand Secretary of Hungary (1880), "there are no Military Lodges in existence, nor any military brethren among us."[2]

FRANCE.—Entombed in the archives of the Grand Orient are the records (*dossiers*) of about two hundred Regimental Lodges, together with a number of documents formerly belonging to the Lodges established in England by French prisoners of war, and which subsequently came under the G.O. These books and papers, according to their official custodian, "contain very valuable information (*renseignments précieux*)," which, however, considerations of time and space would have prevented my making any use of, even had I not been effectually barred from any such endeavour by the consciousness of already possessing what, for the purposes of

[1] German, *Zweibrücken;* French, *Deux Ponts;*—a town of Rhenish Bavaria, which, passing to Charles XI. of Sweden, became French territory in 1718, and is now again Bavarian. The fortunes of the Regiment doubtless followed those of the town.

[2] Authorities—Continental Field Lodges—to this point:—Handbuch, vols. i., p. 326; iv., p. 75; C. Schulze, Prussian Field Lodges (Zirkel Corr., iv., 1880, pp. 324-39); F. Q. Rev., 1846, p. 48; Letters from the late Carl Bergmann, P.M., Pilgrim Lodge; and the following officers of Grand Lodges:—E. E. Wendt, England; C. L. Thulstrup and R. Dickson, Sweden; T. Fürst, Hamburg; F. Feustel, Bayreuth; J. J. F. Noorziek and J. P. Vaillant, Holland; A. Uhl, Hungary; A. Hugel, Darmstadt; and G. Jottrand (Supreme Council), Belgium.

this sketch, may be termed a superfluity of materials. The Lodges in the following table are shown, as nearly as possible, in the order of their appearance in any official list. They are seventy-six in number, and while some were founded by the *Grand Lodge*, all such Lodges were afterwards newly constituted by the *Grand Orient*. The roll extends to 1787, and an asterisk in each instance is placed before the names of the fifty-two Lodges which in that year were represented at the G.O. by their deputies. The dates of origin given are those from which the Lodges were allowed to rank. Some of the regiments named in the table—as holding warrants for long periods—served in America during the War of Independence; and the stability, or tenacity of existence, of the older French Army Lodges, as contrasted with the ephemeral character of their successors under the Consulate and Empire, has induced me to describe the former with a minuteness of detail, which would be altogether out of keeping with the importance of the latter in a general history of Freemasonry.

The Lodge Montmorenci-Luxembourg, constituted June 1, 1762, in the Regiment of Hainault Infantry, of which the Duke of Luxemburg was the Colonel, was accorded—April 18, 1772—by the Grand Lodge of France, the privilege of attendance at all its meetings. This Lodge has been styled, with great show of reason, the stem or trunk from which the Grand Orient budded forth in December 1773. The list of its members in 1772 is certainly a remarkable one. The Duke of Luxemburg was the Master, the wardens were his son and the Prince de Rohan-Guéménée, and among the members—who were all, with one exception, noblemen—may be named the Princes of Condé, Ligne, Tarente, Montbazon, Nassau, and Pignatelli;[1] the Dukes of Lauzun, Coigny, and Fronsac; and many others of lesser rank. Of the first officers of the Grand Orient, the five highest in rank (after the Duc de Chartres, G.M.), and nearly the whole of the honorary grand officers, were members of this Lodge.[2]

The last Lodge on the list was constituted March 16, 1787, and its first Master was André Masséna — afterwards Marshal of France — at that time Adjutant of the Royal Italian Regiment.

The abbreviations, Inf., Cav., Drag., Art., Chass., and Huss., denote Infantry, Cavalry, Dragoons, Artillery, Chasseurs, and Hussars, respectively.

French Field Lodges down to the year 1787.

Parfaite Egalité,[3]	*Walsh*, Inf.,	1688.	*Union Frat.,	*Rl. Roussillon*, Inf.,	1765.
Parfaite Union,	*Vivarais*, Inf.,	1759.	Union Parfaite,	*Corps Rl. du Génie*,	1765.
,, ,,	*Dauphin*, Drag.,	1760.	S. Alexandre,	*Mousquetaires, 1ère. Cie.*,	1766.
Tendre Fraternité,	*Rl. Marine*, Inf.,	1760.	*Henri IV.,	*Corps Rl.*, Art.,[5]	1766.
*Union Parfaite,	*Vigier, Suisse*, Inf.,	1761.	*Parfait Union,	*Flandre*, Inf.,	1766.
*Montmorenci-Luxembourg,	*Hainault*, Inf.,	1762.	*Paix et Union,	*Lyonnois*, Inf.,	1767.
*Sigismond-Luxembourg,	*Hainault*, Inf.,	1763.	*Pureté,	*La Sarre*, Inf.,	1767.
*St Charles des Amis Réunis,	*Saintonge*, Inf.,	1763.	*Concorde,	*Auvergne*, Inf.,	1769.
*Parfaite Harmonie,	*Corps Rl. Marine*,	1764.	Amis Réunis,[6]	*Lyonnois*, Inf.,	1769.
*Militaire du Bourb.,[4]	*Bourbonnois*, Inf.,	1764.	*S. Louis,	*Guyenne*, Inf.,	1771.

[1] *Ante*, p. 298, note 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 151.

[3] This Lodge, in the "Regiment Irlandais de Walsh," was legitimated by the G.L. of France in 1772, and by the G.O. in 1777. According to an (English) Army List of 1743, the earliest Irish regiment existing at that time in the French service was only "formed" in 1690! *Cf. ante*, pp. 53, 157, 160.

[4] In 1787, Les Vrais Amis.

[5] Described as the "Toul Regiment," at La Fère, in 1776.

[6] In 1805, Les Amis Réunis de la Victoire, and the only Lodge on the above list shown in the official calendar for that year.

*S. Louis de l'Union,[1]	*Chass. des Cévennes,*	1771.	*Dragons Unis,	*Deux-Ponts,* Drag.,	1782.
*Parfaite Union,	*Rl. Champagne,* Cav.,	1773.	*Heureux Hasard,	*Foix,* Inf.,	1783.
Tendre Fraternité,	*Rl. Pologne,* Cav.,	1773.	*Maréchal Saxe,	*Septimanie,* Cav.,	1783.
*Heureux Hazard,	*Rl. Vaisseaux,* Inf.,	1772.	*Bonne Intelligence,	*Languedoc,* Inf.,	1781.
Parfaite Union,	*Vermandois,* Inf.,	1774.	S. Jean,	*Gendarmerie de Fr.,*	1783.
Union désirée,	*Mousquetaires, 2e. Cie.,*	1774.	*Élèves de Mars et Neptune,	*Marine,*	1783.
Parfait Union,	*Rl. Roussillon,* Cav.,	1774.	*Réunion Parfaite,	*Pyrennées,* Chass.,	1783.
*Triple Alliance,	*Beaujollois,* Inf.,	1774.	*Frères Unis,	*Maréchal Turenne,*	1784.
*Trois Frères Unis,	*La Cour* [],	1775.	*Bons Amis,	*M. de Camp. Gén.,* Cav.,	1784.
S. Louis,	*Du Roi,* Inf.,	1775.	*Modeste,	*Col. Général,* Inf.,	1784.
Marine,	*Marine (Corps Rl.),*	1775.	*Nouvelle Harmonie,	*Marine,*	1784.
Double Amitié,	*Navarre,* Inf.,	1775.	*Amitié,	*Brie,* Inf.,	1785.
Famille Unie,	*Condé,* Inf.,	1776.	*Amitié Frat.	*Segur,* Drag.,	1782.
Parfait Amitié,	*Conti,* Drag.,	1776.	*Parfaite Alliance,	*Bretagne,* Inf.,	1785.
*Sully,	*Toul.,* Art.,	1777.	*Réunion,	*Rl. Roussillon,* Inf.,	1785.
*Intimité,	*Orléans,* Inf.,	1777.	Amis Intimes,	*Perche,* Inf.,	1785.
*Fabert,	*Du Roi,* Inf.,	1777.	*Valeur,	*Touraine,* Inf.,	1785.
Parfaite Union,	*Rohan Soubise,* Inf.,	1777.	*Amis Réunis,	*Marine,*	1785.
Parfaite Union,	*Angoumois,* Inf.,	1777.	*Amis Réunis,	*Armagnac,* Inf.,	1786.
Amitié,	*Strasbourg,* Art.,	1778.	*Frères d'Armes,	*Berri,* Cav.,	1785.
*Amitié,	*Salm-Salm,* Inf.,	1778.	*Franchise,	*Picardie,* Inf.,	1786.
*Franchise Helvétique,	*Ernest, Suisse,* Inf.,	1778.	Vigilance,	*Bercheny,* Huss.,	1786.
*Guill. Tell,	*Sonnenberg Suisse,* Inf.,	1778.	*Vrais Soutiens,	*Gaudeloupe,*	1784.
*Amitié,	*Dauphiné,* Inf.,	1778.	Bellone,	*Penthievre,* Inf.,	1786.
*Amitié a l'Epreuve,	*Orleans,* Drag.,	1779.	*S. Louis de Palestine,	*Boufflers,* Drag.,	1787.
*Héroisme,	*Gardes du Roi, Cie. Écoss.,*	1779.	*Régularité,	*Gardes, Corps du Roi,*	1786.
*Vrais Amis,	*Médoc,* Inf.,	1780.	*Constance,	*Béarn,* Inf.,	1787.
*Maréchal Coigny,	*Col. Gén.,* Drag.,	1781.	Parfaite Amitié,	*Rl. Italian,* Inf.,	1787.

No Field Lodges were constituted in 1788 or 1789, and only eight between 1790 and 1801. The next seven years, however, witnessed an addition of sixty-four; but at the close of this period nearly all the Lodges established under the old Monarchy had ceased to exist. The Calendar of 1805 shows a total of forty-three, of which one only was of earlier date than the Revolution, the next in point of age being a Lodge of 1790, whilst no less than thirty-five had been warranted in 1802-4. In 1809, sixty-seven regiments had Lodges attached to them, and three years later the number had risen to sixty-nine. At this time the Lodges were both opened and closed with a cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" In 1811-13, six further Lodges were established, but, as already related, no less than four hundred and twenty-nine on the general roll became dormant in 1814. Two new Lodges were formed in 1817-19, but only three regiments in all are shown as possessed of Masonic warrants in 1820. Three Lodges were constituted between 1821 and 1834; and ten years later, "Cirnus" (1821), in the 10th Regiment of the line, the last of the long roll of French Military Lodges, disappeared from the scene. It may be added, that a confidential circular from the Minister of War—Marshal Soult—to the colonels of regiments, in 1845, declared "that it was contrary to the rules of the service for any of the military to become even members of the institution." Soult himself was a Freemason, as were also many other Marshals of France—for example, Serrurier, Beurnonville, Kellerman, Masséna, Lefebvre, Mortier, Perignon, Bernadotte, Murat, Macdonald, Lauriston, Magnan, and (it is alleged) Augereau, Brune, and Sebastiani.[2]

[1] The subsequent Lodges on the list are shown in the order in which they were constituted or legitimated by the G.O., and with the rank (or precedency) assigned to them by that body.

[2] Authorities:—Thory, Acta Lat., and Hist. G.O.; Daruty, Recherches, etc.; Rebold, Hist. Tr. G.L.; Isis ou L'Initiation Maçonnique, p. 308; F. Q. Rev., 1845, p. 490; 1846, p. 48; 1851, p. 183; and Letters from MM. Thévenot (G.O. of Fr.), and J. E. Daruty (Mauritius). *Cf. ante,* pp. 157, 160, 164, 169.

AMERICA.—The general history of Masonry in the United States may be divided into three periods—the first extending to the year 1755, the second to the Peace of Versailles in 1783, and the third until the present date. Of these, the first and last will be hereafter considered, but the second—so far, at least, as the details are capable of being treated as a whole—I shall, to the best of my ability, deal with in the current section, premising, however, that in the next chapter the story will be duly brought up to the point thus reached by anticipation, and continued after a smooth and methodical fashion.

According to a talented writer, "all warranted American Lodges, previous to the French War [1755], had worked the rituals and acknowledged the authority of the Grand Lodge of England only (sometimes denominated the Grand Lodge of Moderns); but during this war Lodges holding warrants from the Grand Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, and the Ancients of London, were working in America. They probably owed their introduction to the Military brethren."[1]

Here it may be convenient to explain, that while the members of Lodges under all the jurisdictions of the British Islands, with the exception of the Original Grand Lodge of England, were generically classified as "Ancient Masons," the terms "Ancient York Masons" and "Ancient York Masonry" were at first only employed by the English Schismatics, and did not come into common use—in America—until towards the close of the century.

A list of the stationary Lodges established in North America by the authority of European Grand Lodges, other than that of the earliest of such bodies, will be found in Chapter XXXI.,[2] but the influences which conduced to their formation, and to their subsequent predominance over the original Lodges of the Continent, I shall now proceed to narrate.

It will, however, in some degree clear the ground for our inquiry to mention that prior to the French War the only Lodge of a military character known to have been established in America was one at Annapolis Royal, in Nova Scotia, formed in 1738 by Erasmus James Phillips—Fort-Major of that garrison—as D.G.M. under an authority from Boston.

1755.—General Braddock arrived in America with two thousand regular troops, and was defeated by the French and mortally wounded, July 8. Other regiments were despatched from Britain in this and later years. The movements of these battalions can be easily traced in a number of well-known books. A list of the British regiments to which Lodges were attached has been already given.

1756.—In this year there were six battalions and eight independent companies of King's troops in America, the whole being under the Earl of Loudoun. Richard Gridley was authorised—May 13—by the Prov. G.M. of North America, "to congregate all Free and Accepted Masons in the Expedition against Crown Point, and form them into one or more Lodges." For military reasons, however, the proposed movement against Ticonderoga and Crown Point was not attempted.

Richard Gridley—the younger brother of Jeremy Gridley, Prov. G.M. of North America—was born in 1711, and after seeing much active service, was appointed Chief Engineer and

[1] Sidney Hayden, Washington, and his Masonic Compeers, 1866, p. 31.

[2] Where will be found the *general* history of Freemasonry in the United States. "Ancient Masonry," however, in the conventional acceptation of that term, is so closely associated with the proceedings of the numerous Field Lodges in America, that its consideration becomes indispensable to the present narrative, and will, it is to be hoped, enable the reader to grasp the subject more firmly than if the entire history of American Masonry were to be presented in Chapter XXXI.

Colonel of Infantry in 1755. For his distinguished services at the siege of Quebec he received a pension and grant of land from the British Government. Appointed Major-General by the Provincial Congress, September 20, 1775. D.G.M., St John's Grand Lodge, Boston, January 22, 1768, and continued to hold that office until the Union of the two Grand Lodges in Massachusetts (1792), though his presence in Grand Lodge is last recorded under the year 1787. It is probable that the connection of this veteran soldier and Craftsman with the older Grand Lodge was not without influence in preventing its total collapse pending the happy amalgamation of the two Grand Lodges in 1792. Scottish charters for Lodges in Blandford (Virginia) and Boston were granted March 9 and November 30 respectively.

1757.—Lodge at Lake George named in the Boston Records[1] April 8. Colonel John Young, 60th Foot, appointed Scottish Provincial G.M. in America, November 14. Three Ancient warrants sent by Laurence Dermott to Halifax, in one of which Erasmus James Philips was named as Prov. G.M. About this year "several persons in Philadelphia, active in political and private life, were made Masons according to the practice of the Ancients."[2]

1758.—Capitulation of Louisbourg, July 26: a Lodge formed there in the 28th Foot by Richard Gridley, November 13. A warrant—No. 69—granted by the Ancient or Schismatic G.L. of England to Philadelphia. After this year there were only—in that city—one or two notices of any Lodges under the older (English) sanction. Scottish charters were issued by the Grand Lodge and "Mother Kilwinning" respectively to brethren at Fredericksburg[3] and Tappahannock[4] (Virginia).

1759.—Abraham Savage was authorised by Jeremy Gridley, Prov. G.M. of North America, to "Congregate all Free and Accepted Masons in the Expedition against Canada into one or more Lodges," April 13. Crown Point surrendered, August 4; and twelve officers of the 1st Foot were made Masons in the Lodge there by the Master, Abraham Savage. Capitulation of Quebec, September 18. "The anniversary of St John the Evangelist was duly observed by the several Lodges of Freemasons in the Garrison,"[5] where, at the time, Colonel Young, Provincial Grand Master of North America, under Scotland, was present with his regiment, the 60th Foot or "Royal Americans."

1760.—Quebec invested by the French, May 11. Commodore Swanton, with the Vanguard[6] and two frigates, arrived and raised the siege, May 16. Charter of St Andrew's Lodge—granted[7] in 1756—received at Boston, September 4. No. 98 (S.) erected at Charleston, South Carolina.

1761.—The members of the "Boston Regular Lodges" were forbidden to visit St Andrews. Charter—No. 89—appointing William Ball Prov. G.M. of Pennsylvania, granted by the Ancients, but not received. No. 92 (A.) erected at Charleston, S.C.

[1] *I.e.*, The Early Proceedings of the "St John's" and Massachusetts Grand Lodges (at Boston), recently published, and a copy of which—from Mr S. D. Nickerson—has reached me as these sheets are passing through the press.

[2] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. xxxiii.

[3] Washington's "Mother Lodge," originally established by warrant from New England, but which shifted its allegiance in 1758.

[4] Or Rappahannock. Both are Virginian names, but Wylie gives one and Lyon the other.

[5] Knox, Campaigns in North America, 1769, vol. ii., p. 235. [6] *Ante*, p. 400, and Chap. XX., p. 482.

[7] By the G.L. of Scotland, to certain persons who, having been irregularly initiated, were refused admission into the Boston Lodges.

1762.—A Lodge in the 55th Foot[1]—No. 7 from New York—petitioned Jeremy Gridley to grant a charter to the Provincial troops at Crown Point (March 5), and a Deputation was issued to Colonel Ingersoll to hold a Lodge there.

1763.—Nos. 117 (S.) erected at Norfolk, Virginia, and 399 (I.) at New York.

Owing to the loss of a great part of its records by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, the number of stationary Lodges warranted in America from that jurisdiction must remain a matter of uncertainty. Lodge No. 74, in the 1st Foot, as we have already seen,[2] gave an exact copy of its warrant to a set of brethren at Albany (N.Y.) in 1759, and it is unreasonable to believe that it was a solitary instance of the kind. Schultz[3] mentions three Lodges of unknown origin in Maryland, as having existed in 1759, 1761, and 1763, and it is possible, to say the least, that one or more of them may have derived their authority either directly or indirectly from Ireland? Dove, also, in his account of the early Lodges in Virginia, names the Irish as one of the *five* jurisdictions by which that State was Masonically "occupied" in 1777.[4]

1764.—Provincial warrant—No. 89—received in Philadelphia from the Ancient or Schismatic G.L. of England. "From the time of the establishing of these Lodges of the four degrees by the Ancients, such records as we can find," says a careful writer, "show the speedy decline of the Moderns."[5] A Lodge at Quebec—probably constituted by Richard Gridley or Abraham Savage—is first named in the Boston Records of this year.

1765.—No. 346, at Joppa, Maryland, under the *Original* Grand Lodge of England, was inaugurated November 21; and the 14th by-law, passed the same day, enacts:—"That none who hath been Admitted in any *Modern* Lodge shall be Admitted as a Member of this Lodge, without taking the respective Obligations Peculiar to *Ancient* Masons."[6]

1766.—In this year bickerings occurred between the St Andrew's and the "Boston Regular Lodges," and "a Union of Love and Friendship," to which the members of both jurisdictions should be parties, was proposed by the former.

1767.—The funeral of Jeremy Gridley, Prov. G.M., North America, took place September 12, and the members of St Andrew's Lodge—sixty-four in number (Joseph Warren being the S.W.)—walked in the procession. After this, however, when every generous effort on the part of St Andrew's had completely failed, and when it became evident that no "Union of Love and Friendship" could be effected, the members of that Lodge changed their ground. Men like Warren, Revere, Hancock, and others of illustrious name, felt their patience exhausted, and determined not to quietly submit to be any longer denounced as clandestine Masons and impostors. The early proceedings of St Andrew's were indeed as irregular as it is possible to conceive. Originating in the association of nine Masons who had been made clandestinely, it was chartered by the G.L. of Scotland in 1756, and then numbered twenty-one members, exclusive of the original nine, who had left Boston in the interval. Its charter did not arrive until 1760, at which time the Lodge had been increased by eighteen additional members, so that in all thirty-one candidates were initiated before the Lodge received its charter, and thirteen before the charter was signed. At a conference—held April 28, 1766—between committees of St John's G.L. and St Andrew's Lodge (Richard Gridley being a

[1] This may have been the Scottish Lodge in this regiment, and if so, like the one in the 17th Foot, it must have accepted a Provincial number. *Cf. ante*, pp. 401, 402.

[2] *Ante*, p. 331. [3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 25, 30, 68. [4] *Cf. post*, under the year 1778.

[5] C. E. Meyer, Hist. of Jerusalem R. A. Chapter, p. 10. [6] Schultz, Freemasonry in Maryland, p. 39.

member of one and Joseph Warren of the other), the representatives of the latter fully admitted the illegality of their early proceedings, but contended that it was in the power of the G.M. of Scotland to "make irregular Masons, Regular." Against this, the other committee formulated their belief that "the Language of the Constitutions for irregularities was SUBMISSION."[1] The older Society forgot for a moment its animosity over the grave of its Grand Master, and, as already related, the brethren of both jurisdictions walked together in the procession. Subsequently, however—and this brings us to the point reached above—the spirit of manliness prompted the leading members of St Andrew's to vindicate their own characters as Masons, and to stand forth in defence of the Lodge which made them. It was therefore voted unanimously on St Andrew's Day (November 30), that during the continuance of the interdict against Masonic intercourse imposed by the English Prov. G.L., the brethren under that jurisdiction, unless also members of, or raised Masters in, St Andrew's, were not to be admitted as visitors.

In this year there were three Lodges at work under the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania (Ancients), the last of which—Royal Arch Lodge—was constituted October 20.

From the earlier records of this Lodge, it appears "that they received and acted upon the petitions of at least one hundred Modern Masons, who petitioned to be made Ancient Masons, and upon their petitions taking the same course as the profane, they were, after approval by ballot, regularly initiated."[2] No. 3 maintained a close intercourse with a Lodge in the 18th Foot—No. 351 (I.)—and the Royal Arch furniture of the two bodies became in a measure common property.

1768.—The Grand Lodge of Scotland erected a Lodge—No. 143—at East Florida, and appointed Governor James Grant, Prov. G.M. for North America, southern district. In this year a standing army was quartered in Boston. The 14th, 29th, and a part of the 59th Regiments, with a train of Artillery, arrived October 1, and a short time after, the 64th and 65th Regiments, direct from Ireland. In these regiments were three Lodges, all working under what was then commonly known as the "Ancient System"—Nos. 58 (A.), 14th Foot; 322 (I.), 29th; and 106 (S.), 64th. The presence of these troops created an intense excitement, and the members of St Andrew's, particularly Joseph Warren, participated in the universal feeling of opposition to the continuance of this strong force in Boston. Nevertheless, the members of the Lodge saw the opportunity before them of forming a Grand Lodge under the authority of the Grand Master of Scotland, and with this end in view, did not scruple to enter into fraternal communion with, and to make use of, their brethren in the obnoxious regiments.[3]

None of these Field Lodges were present at the installation of John Rowe—the Prov. G.M. under England—on November 23, but all of them joined St Andrew's, in December, in a petition to the G.L. of Scotland, requesting the appointment of "a Grand Master of Ancient Masons in America," and nominating Joseph Warren for that office.

1769.—The Earl of Dalhousie, G.M., Scotland, appointed Joseph Warren, "G.M. of Masons in Boston, New England, and within one hundred miles of the same," May 30. The commission was received in September, but in the interval the 64th Regiment had been removed from Boston. Little notice was taken of the Lodges in the other regiments in the arrangements for the installation, and they were merely informed of the approaching event. The

[1] *Sic*, in Boston Records, p. 107. [2] Meyer, p. 11. [3] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1869, p. 162.

Grand Lodge was formally inaugurated on December 27, in the presence of St Andrew's and of Lodges Nos. 58 and 322, in the 14th and 29th Regiments respectively. Although for convenience sake this body will be henceforth referred to as the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge," it may be observed that it did not adopt that title until December 6, 1782.

1771.—No. 169 (A.), established in Battery Marsh, Boston. This Lodge, which is only once named in the records of the Massachusetts G.L., accompanied the British army to New York on the evacuation of Boston in 1776.

1772.—By a further Scottish patent, signed by the Earl of Dumfries, Joseph Warren was appointed Grand Master for the Continent of America, March 3. The strife between the rival systems of Masonry is thus pleasantly alluded to in the records of a Lodge at Falmouth,[1] Massachusetts, under the date of December 16 in this year:—

> In order to establish harmony amongst the Freemasons in this town, it is *Voted*, That (for the future) the Lodge be opened one evening in the Modern form and the next evening in the Ancient form, which is to be continued till the Lodge vote to the contrary.[2]
>
> "N.B.—The makings to be as usual in this Lodge."

1773.—A resolution was passed *nem. con.* that the members of St Andrew's and of the Lodges under the "Massachusetts" Grand Lodge should be admitted as visiting Brothers in the Lodges under the older (Boston) jurisdiction, January 29. John Rowe, "G.M.," and Henry Price, "P.G.M.," attended the meeting of the English Prov. G.L. on Boston Neck, June 24; and among the visitors was Joseph Warren, also described as "G.M." Meetings of both Grand Lodges took place, December 27, on which date Warren was installed under his patent of the previous year, and at a fixed hour each G.L. drank the health of the other.

In this year certain ships laden with tea were boarded in Boston Harbour by Paul Revere and others, disguised as Mohawk Indians, and their cargoes, consisting of 342 chests of tea, valued at £18,000, thrown into the sea, December 16.

1774.—Nos. 177 (S.) and 190 (A.) were established at Philadelphia and Charleston, S.C., respectively. No. 243 (I.), in the 59th Foot, placed itself "under the Protection and Direction" of the Massachusetts G.L. The British Government shut up the port of Boston, repealed the charter of the State of Massachusetts, and sent a body of troops to Boston under General Gage. The other colonies took the part of the people of Boston, and deputies from each Province were sent to Philadelphia, where they assembled in Congress for the first time, December 5.

1775.—On April 18, the day before the battle of Lexington, Dr Joseph Warren, hearing of the intended approach of the British, under General Gage, to Concord and Lexington, despatched Paul Revere to the latter town, *via* Charlestown, to announce the British expedition of the following day.[3]

Paul Revere was an active member of St Andrew's Lodge, and after filling both Wardens' chairs, and twice holding the office of D.G.M. in the "Massachusetts G.L.," served as G.M. of the (United) G.L. of Massachusetts, 1795-97.

[1] Warrant granted by Gridley, 1762; renewed by Rowe, 1769; *now* Portland Lodge, No. 1, Maine.

[2] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1877, p. 118.

[3] An account of the "Midnight Ride of Paul Revere" will be found in the "Tales of a Wayside Inn," by Longfellow.

Hostilities commenced between Great Britain and America, April 19. The town of Boston became a garrison, and was abandoned by many of its inhabitants, so that the regular meetings of the stationary Lodges were suspended.[1] Joseph Warren appointed Major-General, June 14. Battle of Bunker's Hill, and death of Warren, June 17. Colonel Richard Gridley, D.G.M., St John's G.L., the engineer who planned the works that Warren laid down his life to defend, was also wounded in the fight. The war was carried into Canada, and Major-General Montgomery fell at the assault of Quebec, December 31.

Prince Hall, and fourteen other free coloured citizens of Boston, were initiated in "a travelling Lodge attached to one of the British Regiments in the army of General Gage,"[2] March 6. St John's Regimental Lodge, No. 1, New York,[3] organised July 24; and a "Kilwinning" charter granted to brethren at Falmouth, Virginia, December 20.

1776.—American Union Lodge, established February 15, by a warrant issued in the name of John Rowe, G.M. (St John's G.L.), and bearing the signature of Richard Gridley, his Deputy. Boston evacuated by the British, March 17. Funeral of Joseph Warren, April 8. Richard Gridley was a pall-bearer, but John Rowe, though present by invitation of Joseph Webb (D.G.M., Mass. G.L.)—according to his own diary—"was very much Insulted," and retired.[4] Declaration of Independence, July 4. It is said that all but three of those that signed it were Freemasons. British occupation of New York, September 15, and introduction of so-called "Ancient Masonry" into that State. Little or no intercourse was held between the Army and the Provincial Lodges. Of the latter, those in the city of New York virtually ceased to meet, while the others, with the exception of St Patrick's—which met at Johnson Hall, the family seat of the Prov. G.M.—continued their labours, and were subjected to but little interruption during the war. Of the Prov. G.L. under Sir John Johnson, there are no records after this year. St Patrick's Lodge was constituted in 1766, Sir William Johnson serving as Master until 1770, when his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, took his place. Sir John (the Prov. G.M. and second Baronet) was a regular attendant from 1767 to 1773. Sir William, late in life, took to his home as his wife Mary Brant, or "Miss Molly," as she was called; and her brother, Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea, was afterwards secretary to Colonel Guy Johnson, who succeeded his father-in-law as General Superintendent of the Indian Department. Joseph Brant was a Freemason, and during the fierce struggle for independence, many military brethren owed their lives to his protection, one of whom, Captain John M'Kinstry, at the period of Brant's interposition on his behalf, after the battle of the Cedars, near Montreal, in 1776, was actually bound to a tree, and surrounded by the faggots intended for his immolation.[5] Similar tales are related of Tecumseh, the famous Shawnee warrior and orator, in connection with the war of 1812.

1777.—The authority granted to Joseph Warren by the G.L. of Scotland having died with him, the Master and Wardens of the subordinate Lodges were summoned to attend and elect

[1] There are no records of the St John's and Massachusetts Grand Lodges, in the former case between January 27, 1775, and February 17, 1787; and in the latter, between April 19, 1775, and December 27, 1776.

[2] Grand Master Gardner, Mass., *ut supra.*

[3] *I.e.*, under the *Original* Prov. G.L., which, as we shall presently see, was supplanted by the *Ancients* in 1781.

[4] Rowe was elected a member of St Andrew's Lodge in 1766, and of the Boston Committee of Safety, November 30 1773, though with regard to the latter, his diary records, "was Chose a Committee Man much against my Will."

[5] W. L. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, 1838, vols. i., pp. 18, 33; ii., p. 156.

a Grand Master by Joseph Webb, his late Deputy. Accordingly, eleven brethren[1] met as a Grand Lodge, and elected Joseph Webb Grand Master, March 8. This, if we leave out of present consideration the Lodge (and Grand Lodge) at Philadelphia, in 1731, which will be referred to at some length in the next chapter, was the first Independent or self-created Grand Lodge on the Continent. Philadelphia was occupied by the British, September 27. At that time the Provincial Grand Lodge (A.) had eighteen Lodges on its register. The American army took post at Valley Forge, twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, and traditions affirm that Lodges were held in this camp, which Washington often attended. There can hardly be a doubt that such was the case, but unfortunately no records of the Continental Field Lodges, for this year, are in existence.

1778.—Philadelphia evacuated by the British, June 18. The Grand Lodge of Virginia, the *second* Independent organisation of the kind, formed October 13. The Lodges in this State had derived their charters from the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland, "Mother Kilwinning," the Prov. G. Lodges of New England and Pennsylvania, and (according to Dove[2]) the G.L. of Ireland. At the close of this year, the city of New York, the town of Newport, Rhode Island, and Savannah, Georgia (captured December 29), were alone held by the British.

1779.—No. 210 (A.), constituted at New York—making with No. 169 (A.)—removed from Boston in 1776—two "Ancient" Lodges in that city. Three Lodges in the Continental Army were chartered by the Prov. G.L. (A.) of Pennsylvania.[3] "The membership of the Lodges subordinate to the two Grand Lodges in Philadelphia gradually became merged, the Ancients receiving and remaking the Moderns. The records of the Grand Lodge contain the names of many Modern Masons who were subsequently identified with the Ancients."[4] A notable instance of this is the case of Dr William Smith, Provost of the University, who was a so-called "Modern" in 1755, and became Grand Secretary of the Ancients (in Pennsylvania), October 22, 1779.

1780.—Washington nominated as General Grand Master by the G.L. of Pennsylvania, January 13; Convention of American Field Lodges at Morristown, February 7. A French force,[5] under General Rochambeau, arrived at Newport, R.I., July 12. Among the subordinate officers employed with this expedition were the Dukes de Laval Montmorency, de Castries, and de Lauzun, Prince de Broglio, the Marquis and the Count de Deux Ponts, Count de Segur, and many other noblemen. The Baron de Kalb, a Major-General in the American army—mortally wounded at the battle of Camden, August 17—was buried with military and Masonic honours by his victorious enemies. In this year No. 212 (A.) was established at New York; and three further warrants were granted in the Continental army by the G.L. of Pennsylvania, on the roll of which body there were now thirty-one subordinate Lodges.

1781.—The "Ancient" and Field Lodges in New York met as a Grand Lodge, and elected Grand Officers, January 23; and a warrant for a Prov. Grand Lodge—No. 219—was granted

[1] Ten of these, including Webb and Paul Revere—as D.G.M. and S.G.W. respectively—acted as Grand Officers, the proceedings virtually resulting in the wheels of the old machinery being again set in motion.

[2] Virginia Text Book, p. 129. [3] All the American Field Lodges will be found in a subsequent table.

[4] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. xlix.

[5] Including the regiments of Agenais, Saintonge, Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, Touraine, Neustrie, Anhalt, Royal Deux Ponts, de Lauzun, and Gatinais. The last named came from St Domingo with the Marquis de Saint-Simon, and for its gallantry at York Town was allowed to resume its former name of "Royal Auvergne." *Cf. ante.* pp. 407, 408.

by the (Atholl) G.L. of England, September 5. A Lodge in the Continental army was established in this year under a Pennsylvanian charter.

1782.—Provincial Grand Lodge of New York (A.) inaugurated by the following Lodges:—Stationary—Nos. 169, 210, 212 (A.); and Nos. 132 (S.), 52 (A.), 441 (I.), 213 (A.), and 215 (A.), together with a Lodge under dispensation—in the 22d, 37th, and 38th Regiments, the 4th Battalion Royal Artillery, the Regiment of Anspach-Beyreuth, and the 57th Foot respectively, December 5. The title of "Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons" was assumed by the G.L. at Boston under Joseph Webb, December 6, and from the official records of the same date we learn that three subordinate Lodges were constituted before the death of Joseph Warren, and fourteen subsequently.

1783.—Peace of Versailles, April 19. The *third* Independent Grand Lodge, that of Maryland, organised July 31. A majority of the Grand Officers, being about to leave New York with the British army, commended the "Grand Warrant" to the care of their successors, September 19. At this date seven Lodges had received charters from the Prov. G.L., four of which were attached to the New Jersey Volunteers, the 57th Foot, the Regiment de Knyphausen, and the Loyal American Regiment; also two Irish Lodges, Nos. 478, in the 17th Dragoons, and 90, in the 33d Foot, had at different dates ranged themselves under its banner. In this year there were forty Lodges on the roll of the G.L. of Pennsylvania, and eighteen under the Grand Body of which Webb was the head, in Massachusetts. Of the former, ten were established in Maryland (before the close of 1782), five in New Jersey, four in Delaware, three each in Virginia and South Carolina, and single Lodges in North Carolina and Georgia.[1] Of the latter, six were outside the State of Massachusetts, viz., in Connecticut three, and in New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York one each. Thus making a grand total of thirty-three Lodges from these two sources only—whose members gloried in the title of "Ancients," and believed that they were walking in the old paths, from which the older Grand Lodge of England and her daughter Lodges had lamentably strayed.

Ten Lodges in all were at work in the American army during the Revolution, the earliest of which was—

St John's Regimental Lodge, warranted by the Prov. G.L. of New York, July 24, 1775, *i.e.*, before the military occupation of that city by the British. There are no records, and we only learn that it was attached to the United States battalion during the war.

American Union, though of later date, was the first Lodge organised in the Continental army, and may be justly regarded as the eldest Masonic daughter of the Federation. It was formed—February 15, 1776—by warrant of the English Prov. G.M. of North America—John Rowe—in the Connecticut Line of the army, wherever stationed, provided no other G.M. held authority. Shortly after, the Lodge having removed to New York, asked for a confirmation of their charter from the D.G.M., Dr Middleton; but a new warrant was granted to the members under the name of Military Union, No. I. The Lodge is described as having "moved with the army as a pillar of light in parts of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey." Joel Clark, the first Master, was taken prisoner August 27, and died in captivity. He was succeeded by S. H. Parsons (the first treasurer), and the latter by Jonathan Heart (the first Secretary).

[1] This is inclusive of Lodges in the Military Lines other than that of Pennsylvania.

The original warrant was taken by Heart to Marietta, Ohio, and the Lodge is now No. I. on the roll of that State.

WASHINGTON LODGE, No. 10, was constituted at West Point—November 11, 1779—by Jonathan Heart, as representative of Joseph Webb, G.M. Massachusetts G.L. The first Master was Brigadier-General J. Paterson, and the Wardens, Colonels Benjamin Tupper and John Greaton. At this and the previous Lodge (American Union) General Washington was a frequent visitor.

ARMY LODGE, No. 27, in the Maryland Line, was warranted by the G.L. of Pennsylvania in April 1780. The first Master was Brigadier-General Mordecai Gist, and the Wardens, Colonel Otho Williams and Major Archibald Anderson. All three greatly distinguished themselves at the battle of Camden, August 17, 1780, Gist in command of a brigade, and Williams as Adjutant-General; while after the defeat of the Americans Major Anderson was the only infantry officer who kept together any number of men.

No records of the American Field Lodges of the Revolution have been preserved, except a portion of the minutes of American Union, and some returns of the Washington Lodge. The latter merely inform us that in 1782 two hundred and forty-five names had—up to that date—been borne on the roll of the Lodge.[1] The former are of a more interesting character. The principal officers of the army, and the general in command, are frequently named as visitors, and at all the banquets, while the first toast was "Washington" or "Congress," the second was invariably—"Warren, Montgomery, and Wooster," followed by the Dead March.[2]

Dr Warren was the first man of distinction to lay down his life in the cause of American liberty. "At Boston," says a famous writer, "Joseph Warren, a young man whom nature had endowed with grace and manly beauty, and a courage that bordered on rash audacity, uttered the new war-cry of the world, FREEDOM AND EQUALITY." ∴ ∴ "The good judgment and daring of Warren singled him out above all others then in the province as the leader of rebellion."[3] He presided over the Provincial Congress the day before the battle of Bunker's Hill—where, though holding the commission of Major-General, he fought as a volunteer. It was ordered by Congress, that a monument should be erected at Boston in remembrance of him, and—having left behind him very little of this world's substance—that his son should be considered as the child of the public, and be educated at the expense of the United States.

Warren was initiated in St Andrew's Lodge, Boston, in 1761, and became its Master in 1768. During his Grand Mastership there were thirty-seven meetings of the Grand Lodge, thirty-four of which were held in "ample form."

Montgomery was of Irish birth, and after serving with distinction in the French war, settled in America. The commission of Brigadier-General in the Continental Army was bestowed upon him early in the war, and he was killed at the attack on Quebec, December 31, 1775. No man that ever fell in battle during a civil contest was more universally regretted, and his untimely fate was as much deplored in England as in the country of his adoption. He was among the Masonic friends who gathered around Washington at Cambridge in the beginning of the war.

David Wooster, who was born in 1711, served as a Captain in the expedition against

[1] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1877, pp. 63-67.

[2] E. G. Storer, Freemasonry in Connecticut, 1859, pp. 14-48.

[3] Bancroft, Centenary edit., 1876, vol. iii., p. 598.

Louisburg in 1745. In the French war he commanded a regiment, and subsequently became a Brigadier-General. In 1776 he was appointed Major-General in the American Army, and was mortally wounded while leading an attack on the British troops at Ridgefield, April 27, 1777. General (then Captain) Wooster was the first Master of the first chartered Lodge in Connecticut, instituted in 1750—now Hiram No. 1.

According to the late C. W. Moore, all the American Generals of the Revolution, with the exception of Benedict Arnold, were Freemasons. The Marquis de Lafayette was among the number, and it is believed that he was initiated in American Union Lodge at Morristown, the jewels and furniture used on the occasion being lent by St John's Lodge at Newark, N.J.

In nearly all cases the Army Lodges, in the event of removal from one State to another, were authorised to continue working, unless there was in existence a Grand or Provincial Grand Lodge, when the sanction of the presiding officer had to be obtained. In this we may possibly discern the first germ of the principle of Exclusive (State) Jurisdiction.

It is supported by evidence, that the asperities which characterised the rivalry of the two Masonic systems, found no place in the Army Lodges. To quote the words of a somewhat impassioned orator, "the 'Ancient and Modern' contest turned to ashes in the red-hot furnace of liberty," and it is on record, that at the constitution of Washington Lodge, Jonathan Heart of "American Union," under the titular "Moderns," was appointed by Joseph Webb, G.M. of the Boston "Ancients," his Special Deputy Grand Master, to open and inaugurate the new Lodge.

On December 27, 1779—the headquarters of the Army being then at Morristown, New Jersey—the American Union Lodge met to celebrate the festival of St John. At this meeting "a petition was read, representing the present state of Freemasonry to the several Deputy Grand Masters in the United States of America, desiring them to adopt some measures for appointing a Grand Master over said States;" and it was ordered "that the petition be circulated through the different Lines in the Army;" also, "that a committee be appointed from the different Lodges in the Army, from each Line, and from the Staff of the Army, to convene on the 1st of February, at Morristown, to take it into consideration." There were present on this occasion thirty-six members of the Lodge, and sixty-eight visitors, one of whom was General Washington.

Before, however, these proceedings ripened into action, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, at a special meeting—held January 13, 1780—passed three resolutions; the first, affirming the principle that it would be for the benefit of Masonry "that a Grand Master of Masons throughout the United States" should be nominated on the part of that Grand Lodge; the second, unanimously electing General Washington to the office; and the third, directing "that the minutes of the election and appointment should be transmitted to the different Grand Lodges in the United States, and their concurrence therein should be requested."

At the same meeting a committee was nominated "to inform themselves of the number of Grand Lodges in America, and the names of their officers"—a point upon which a good deal of ignorance prevailed throughout the country at large, as I shall hereafter have occasion to show.

On February 7, 1780, "according to the recommendation of the *Convention* Lodge," held December 27, a committee of ten met at Morristown, delegated by the Masons in the Military Lines of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Maryland; St John's Regimental Lodge,

the Staff of the Army, and the Artillery. The representatives of the Massachusetts and Connecticut Military Lines—John Pierce and Jonathan Heart—also acting on behalf of Washington and American Union Lodges respectively. Mordecai Gist was chosen President, and Otho Williams, Secretary of the Committee. An address was then drawn up to "the Grand Masters of the several Lodges in the respective United States of America." In this—to avert "the impending dangers of Schisms and Apostacy"—the expediency was maintained of "establishing one Grand Lodge in America, to preside over and govern all other Lodges, licensed or to be licensed, upon the Continent;" and the Grand Masters, or a majority of their number, were requested to nominate as M.W.G.M., a brother whose merit and capacity might be adequate to a station so important, and to submit his name, together with that of the Lodge to be established, "to our Grand Mother Lodge in Europe for approbation and confirmation." This "address" being read and unanimously agreed to, was "*signed in convention*, and the committee adjourned without delay."

A "Convention Lodge" from the different Lines of the Army and departments, was held—March 6—under the authority of the American Union Lodge, at which the proceedings of the committee were unanimously approved.

At this period the only Grand Lodges (in the contemplation of the Committee) were those in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and although the name of Washington as Grand Master designate does not appear in the address from the Masonic Convention in the army, yet it was formally signified to these Grand Lodges that he was their choice. It will be observed that the Masons of the various Military Lines met three times in convention—on the first occasion to propound a scheme, on the second to arrange the details, and on the third to ratify the proceedings of the executive committee. Washington, therefore, whose name is recorded among those of the visitors on St John's Day, 1779, was as much a party to the proceedings of that date as were the actual members present of the American Union Lodge. This doubtless led to the project being taken up so warmly by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, by which body it was communicated to other jurisdictions; but they did not view it with favour, and no action resulted. It is a little singular that in Philadelphia—then the metropolis of North America—the governing Masonic body were only "informed" on July 27, 1780, that there was a Grand Lodge in Virginia, and the records from which this is gleaned[1] give—under the same date—the following:—"It is reported that there is a Grand Lodge in Boston." In the same year—September 4—Joseph Webb (Massachusetts) knew of but two American Grand Lodges, that of Pennsylvania and his own, and had heard of no increase in the number beyond the G.L. of New York so late as March 8, 1787.

The idea of a General Grand Master or Superintending Grand Lodge was revived in 1790, when it was taken up by Georgia, and at various other times (and ways), some seventeen in all, the last occasion being in 1862. It is somewhat curious that the project, though constantly revived by a number of American Grand Lodges *after* 1780, has since that date encountered the determined opposition of the Masonic community in Pennsylvania. The belief that General Washington was Grand Master of the United States—at one time a very prevalent one[2]—was strengthened by a Masonic medal, struck in 1797, having on one

[1] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. 17. "June 20, 1785.—Received the names of the Grd. Officers of the State of Virginia. The Grd. Secy. is requested to make enquiry as to their antiquity" (*Ibid.*, p. 55).

[2] *Ante*, p. 353.

side the initials, "G.W., G.G.M."[1] The following, however, is his Masonic record briefly told:—He was initiated in the Fredericksburg Lodge, Virginia, November 4, 1752, and became a Master Mason, August 4, 1753. This Lodge derived its authority from Boston, but obtained a Scottish charter in 1758, which seems on the whole to fortify a conjecture which has been advanced by Hayden,[2] that Washington was "*healed* and re-obligated" in No. 227 (46th Foot) in order to qualify him for admission into a Lodge held under a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. In 1779 he declined the office of G.M. of Virginia, but accepted that of Master of Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, in his native State, in 1788. As President of the United States he was sworn in—April 30, 1789—on the Bible of St John's Lodge, New York, by Chancellor Livingstone, G.M. of that State. In 1793—September 18—he laid the corner-stone of the Capitol, and is described in the official proceedings as "Grand Master *pro tem.*, and Worshipful Master of No. 22, of Virginia." Washington died in 1799, and was buried with Masonic honours on December 18 of that year.

It is a curious circumstance, and deserves to be recorded, that with the exception of Major-General Richard Gridley, who attended two meetings of the St John's Grand Lodge, Boston, in 1787, Washington appears to have been the only man of mark, who, graduating under the older system of Masonry before its popularity was on the wane, associated himself at all closely with the proceedings of the Craft, either during the war with England or at any later date. Before the political troubles—as will be hereafter narrated—no one figured more prominently on the Masonic stage than Benjamin Franklin; but we nowhere read of his participating in Masonic fellowship, in the country of his birth, after his return from England in 1762. According to a publication of great weight and authority, "the 'Moderns' numbered among their prominent members many who were opposed to the independence of the colonies, while the Ancients were mostly in favour thereof."[3] In 1776 the earliest Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was practically extinct, its members having been sharply divided in political sentiment at the era of the Revolution, and their Grand Master, Chief Justice Allen, having placed himself under the protection of General Howe. At the same date the condition of affairs was very similar in New York, the Prov. G.M. of which State, Sir John Johnson, was commissioned as a colonel by the British, and (according to an unfriendly biographer) "directed the movements of as bloody a band of savages and outlaws as existed during the Revolution;"[4] while at Boston the influence of Joseph Warren, both in Masonry and politics, has already been narrated.

At the termination of hostilities in 1783, we find, therefore, that in Pennsylvania the Ancients were not only supreme but unchallenged. In Massachusetts about an equal number of Lodges held charters from each of the two Grand Lodges, and at the Union of these bodies in 1792 the only allusion to the diversity of rites was the single proviso that "All distinctions between Ancient and Modern Masons shall be abolished as far as practicable."[5] In New York many of the Lodges under the older sanction gradually attached themselves to the predominant system, and beyond the fact that their members were understood to have shifted their allegiance, and to have become "Ancients," very little more seems to have been required of them. In South Carolina the strife lingered for some years, and this I imagine to have

[1] See Plate, fig. 9.
[2] P. 31; *cf. ante*, p. 59.
[3] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. xxxix.
[4] Hayden, p. 257.
[5] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1877, p. 45.

been mainly the result of the presence of a large British garrison in that State during the closing years of the struggle for independence.

Gradually, however, all distinctions between the two systems were removed throughout the Continent, and the prudent course adopted by the Grand Lodge of New Jersey, in 1807, must be commended, by which body the difficulties of reconciling any discrepancies were at once surmounted by the appointment of a committee "to consider of and introduce an uniform system of working to be observed throughout the several Lodges of the State." [1]

AMERICAN FIELD LODGES.[2]

U.S. Battalion, St John's,	1 N.Y.,	1775.	Pennsylvania Line,	29 P.,	1780.
Connecticut Line, American Union,	[] N.E.,	1776.	New Jersey Line,	81 P.,	1781.
1st Reg. Pennsyl. Artillery,	19 P.,	1779.	,, ,,	36 P.,	1782.
Massachusetts Line, Washington,	13 M.,	1779.	Legion of the U.S.A.,	58 P.,	1793.
North Carolina Regiment,	20 P.,	1779.	2d Div. Northern Army,	[] N.Y.,	1814.
Maryland Line,	27 P.,	1780.	United States Army,	140 P.,	1814.
Pennsylvania Line,	28 P.,	1780.	Missouri Military,	86 Mo.,	1847.
			Vera Cruz, Quitman, 96 Miss.,		1848.

The first ten Lodges on this list were in existence during the Revolution. The third in order, now "Montgomery," No. 19, Philadelphia, is traditionally asserted to have been "originally a Military Lodge, with a travelling warrant from the G.L. of England." All warrants issued to military bodies were recalled by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1784, and from that date the Army Lodges either ceased to exist or assumed a new character.

An application for "a warrant to hold a Travelling Lodge in the armies of the United States" was refused by the G.L. of New Jersey in 1791; and in the same year a "Travelling Warrant" was granted by the G.L. of New York to some non-military brethren desirous of erecting a Lodge in the Island of Curaçoa.

The first Field Lodge, after the peace—No. 58 (P.)—was established in the "Legion of the United States," commanded by General Anthony Wayne, in 1793; and it is said that nearly all the members were killed in the Indian War. After this, in the G.L. of New York—March 2, 1814—"a petition from a number of officers of the second division of the Northern Army, at Plattsburgh, praying for a 'marching warrant,' to be called Northern Light Lodge, was read and referred to the Grand Officers." Whether the charter solicited was granted or not, I am unable to state; but later in the same year a Field Lodge—No. 140—was erected by the G.L. of Pennsylvania, to be held wherever the Master for the time being should be stationed in the Army of the United States.

The last two Lodges on the list were established during the Mexican war, and it is quite possible that there were others, though the particulars with regard to them have not fallen in my way.

Field Lodges sprang up with rather a luxuriant growth during the late civil war, and were freely established on both sides. But the experience of the war was decidedly unfavourable to their utility, and we find the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, in 1865, congratulated on having "kept herself free from the difficulties, embarrassments, and entanglements, which the

[1] J. H. Hough, Origin of Masonry in New Jersey, p. 125.

[2] The letters N.Y. denote *New York*; N.E., *New England* (St John's G.L.); P., *Pennsylvania*; M., *Massachusetts G.L.*; Mo., *Missouri*: and Miss., *Mississippi*.

issuing of warrants for Army Lodges could not but have led to." The practice was, to issue dispensations, and when the Regiments in which they were held were mustered out of the service, or the individuals to whom they were granted returned to civil life, the Lodges ceased to exist.

The following statistics have been supplied to me with regard to the number of dispensations issued in the different jurisdictions:—Alabama, nineteen; Arkansas, thirteen; New York, eight; New Hampshire, five; Massachusetts, Virginia, Louisiana, and North Carolina, several each; and both in Connecticut and Nebraska, single dispensations. None whatever were granted in Kentucky, Tennessee, California, Kansas, Oregon, and Pennsylvania, and the general verdict passed upon such Lodges by all the American Grand Secretaries with whom I have been in correspondence, is strikingly in accord with the remarks of Past Grand Master Perkins of the last-named State, in 1865, to which I have already referred. There are no Lodges in the Standing Army of the United States, and for this a very sufficient reason will be found, in the fact that the few Regiments of the Regular Army are generally—if not always—divided into small fractions, separated at widely different posts.[1]

[1] Authorities—besides those already cited—Bancroft, Hist. U.S.; Ramsay, The Revolution of South Carolina, 1785; Andrews, Hist. of the Wars, 1786; Steadman, Hist. Amer. War, 1794; Carmichael-Smyth, Precis of the Wars in Canada, 1862; Léon Chotteau, Les Français En Amerique, 1876; Barker, Early Hist. G.L. New York; Proc. G.L. Pennsylvania and Michigan, 1865; Massachusetts and Connecticut, 1866; Letters from Grand Secretaries Frizzle (Tenn.), Barber (Ark.), Abell (Cal.), Cheever (Mass.), Austin (N.Y.), Pain (N.C.), Bowen (Neb.), Wheeler (Conn.), Brown (Kan.), Babcock (Ore.), Isaacs (Va.), Batchelor (La.), and Cleaver (N.H.). I am also very greatly indebted to Mr Sereno D. Nickerson of Boston, who has drawn my attention to many entries in the Proceedings of American Grand Lodges, which would otherwise have escaped my observation, as well as to the Deputy G.M. (Clifford P. MacCalla) and the Chairman of the Library Committee (C. E. Meyer), G.L. of Pennsylvania; also to Hughan, whose store of facts, placed ungrudgingly at my disposal, has vastly added to the materials out of which this and the next chapter have been constructed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

FREEMASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DOCUMENTARY evidence and tradition are alike silent with regard to the introduction of Masonry into America. Lord Alexander, Viscount Canada, who in company with his brother Anthony—Master of Work to the King—became a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1634, shortly afterwards founded a colony on the river St Lawrence.[1] But if any Lodges were established by early explorers of the continent, they perished before the dawn of accredited Masonic history, leaving behind them no traces of their existence. It has indeed been related that in 1658 the three degrees of Masonry were introduced by some Dutch Jews into Newport, Rhode Island,[2] but the statement is unworthy of serious refutation.

Governor Belcher, as mentioned at an earlier page,[3] was admitted (according to his own testimony) into the Craft in 1704, and must have carried back with him some slight acquaintance with its principles on his return to the New World in 1705. Ten years later—March 10, 1715—a letter is said to have been written by John Moore, the King's Collector at the port of Philadelphia, in which he alludes to a few evenings spent in festivity with his Masonic brethren.[4] There is also a tradition that a Lodge under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England was duly warranted at Boston in 1720, but died out shortly afterwards owing to the violent opposition it encountered.[5] After this we are brought down without a break to the year 1730, when the real history of Masonry in the United States may be said to have its commencement, and we find ourselves fairly launched upon an inquiry of great interest and singular complexity.

It is not so difficult a task to plant new truths as to root out old errors, and therefore the practice of Timotheus, an ancient teacher of rhetoric, must be commended, who always demanded a double fee from those pupils who had been instructed by others, since in that case he had not only to plant in, but also to root out.

So long, indeed, as specious probabilities are placed on the same footing with well-attested facts, so long will Masonic history be a misleading guide, and the misfortune is—to

[1] Chaps. VIII., p. 408; XXIII., p. 47; Lyon, p. 86.
[2] F. Peterson, Hist. of Rhode Island.
[3] Chap. XVI., p. 269.
[4] Proc. G.L. Pennsyl., 1882, p. 152.
[5] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1883, p. 155.

quote Hobbes, who considered all books to be merely extracts and copies—"that most authors are like sheep, never deviating from the beaten path."

Of late years, it is true, many new facts have been brought to light, and the materials for an exhaustive sketch of the early Masonry of America have been vastly extended. Nevertheless the story continues to be told in the old way, and there has hitherto been no attempt to deal with the subject as a whole, divested of the incrustations of error which have been laid over it by successive narrators.

To those who love to ride at anchor, it may be a disquieting reflection that no Statute of Limitations is recognised in our courts of literary jurisdiction. But this fact notwithstanding, the student of our antiquities cannot always hold his opinions in solution, expecting that fresh discoveries will keep pace with the search for them.

In historical inquiry—as observed at the outset of this work—finality can have no place, but while I readily admit that the conclusions to which I am about to give expression may be overturned by additional facts, I shall cherish the hope that no evidence available at the time of writing will be found to have been neglected, nor that I have anywhere failed to indicate with sufficient fulness the points on which differences of opinion may rationally exist.

With the names of Daniel Coxe and Henry Price the generality of Masonic students will be familiar. The former received a deputation as Provincial Grand Master, but there is hardly a *scintilla* of evidence to show that he ever exercised any authority under it. The latter, on the other hand, exercised all the authority of a Prov. G.M., though no absolute proof is forthcoming that he was at any time in lawful possession of a deputation.

The various questions arising, directly or indirectly, out of the authority granted or exercised by Coxe and Price respectively, have been largely debated in the journals of the Craft. By one set of writers the Masonic precedency of Philadelphia, and by another that of Boston (Massachusetts), has been affirmed. But it seems to me equally impossible to side completely with the former or the latter, and the examination upon which we are about to enter will, I think, necessitate our following the example of Lord Keeper Bridgman, of whom it is related "that if a case admitted of divers doubts, what the lawyers call points, he would never give all on one side, but either party should have somewhat to go away with."[1]

In the earliest minute-book of the Grand Lodge of England there is a list of Lodges, with the names of their members, as registered in 1731-32. Although there are some omissions—in the absence, doubtless, of returns—a roll is given of by far a majority of the Lodges, the total silence of the records with regard to the membership of the "Old Horn Lodge," being perhaps of all the *lacunæ* the loss that will be chiefly deplored. The last Lodge on the list is No. 104, at the Virgin's Inn, Derby, constituted September 14, 1732. With the exception of the dates of constitution, which I have taken from the Engraved Lists, and the publication of Dr Anderson (1738 edition), the following are extracts from this register. The names shown are in each case a selection from the actual list of members.[2]

[1] Roger North, Lives of the Norths, edit. 1826, vol. i., p. 179.

[2] In dealing with the *early* history of American Masonry, I have looked through the small end of the telescope, while in the latter—or comparatively modern—portion, the instrument has been reversed, and by treating the subject in broader outline, I have endeavoured to bring it within the limits of a general history.

No.	Description.	Date of Constitution.
8	DEVIL TAVERN, WITHIN TEMPLE BAR. Claude Crespigny (Master), Edw. Ravenell (S.W.), John Houghton, and Daniel Coxe.	April 25, 1722.
75	RAINBOW COFFEE-HOUSE, IN YORK BUILDINGS. John Pitt (Master), Edward Ravenell, John Houghton, "*Senr.*"; John Houghton, "*Junr.*"; and Henry Price.	July 17, 1730.
79	CASTLE, IN HIGHGATE. Thos. Moore (Master), A. Chocke (D.G.M., 1727), W. Blackerby (G. Treas., 1730-37); and Claude Crespigny.	1731.

In the Lodge at the "Devil" there were twenty-eight members, and the name of Daniel Coxe appears as the eighteenth on the list. The Lodge at the "Rainbow" boasted a much larger membership, no less than sixty-three names figuring in the roll, of which the fifty-third in order was that of Henry Price.

At about the middle of the last-named list there is an apparent break, and then follows a further series of names, belonging in all probability to brethren who had become members in 1732. There can hardly be a doubt as to the Daniel Coxe and Henry Price of the Lodges Nos. 8 and 75, being the American worthies bearing the same names. The former was certainly in England in the early part of 1731, and the latter refers on more than one occasion to having been personally acquainted with some of the leading Masons of London about 1733. Moreover, his patent as Prov. G.M., which he always stated was delivered to him in person, bears the date (according to records, the authority of which will be presently examined) of April 30 of that year.

It will be seen that three persons—Claude Crespigny, Edward Ravenell, and John Houghton—belonged at the same time to more than one Lodge, while in the case of two of them, the dual membership was of an identical character. These points may be usefully noted, as a good deal of speculation has arisen with regard both to Coxe and Price, which the details here given may assist in placing on a sounder basis. Thus, to slightly anticipate, Claude Crespigny, the Master of the Lodge to which Coxe belonged, was also a member of No. 79, then meeting at the Castle in Highgate, but shortly to become vacant, and later still to be arbitrarily assigned in a publication of 1735, to a Lodge within Coxe's jurisdiction. To this may be added, that Edward Ravenell and John Houghton apparently enjoyed Masonic fellowship both with Coxe and Price.

Among the members of other English Lodges at the same period, as shown in the register of Grand Lodge, were governors Burrington and Tinker, Sir W. Keith, Bart., Richard Hull, Randall Took, Ralph Farwinter, Captain William Douglas, and Alexander Pope. The last name, though an illustrious one, is not connected in any way with the spread of Masonry beyond the seas, but the others are those of well-known characters, who were all either Colonial Governors or Provincial Grand Masters abroad.

Daniel Coxe was the son of Dr Daniel Coxe of London, who from the year 1687 to 1690 was the largest landed proprietor and also the Governor of the Province of West Jersey. The father was a man of large wealth, and before his arrival in America had been in succession the physician to the Consort of Charles II., and to Queen Anne. The younger Coxe, who

was born about the year 1674, arrived in England in November 1716, and six years later published "A Description of the English Province of CAROLANA." This was written in support of a claim, which he had inherited from his father, to the extensive region then called "Carolana." It included the present States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, and all the country north on both sides of the Mississippi, up as high as Kentucky. In the preface the author suggests that all the North American colonies should be UNITED, and it has been maintained "that the celebrated 'Albany plan of Union,' recommended by Dr Franklin in 1754, is little more than a transcript of the design sketched by Daniel Coxe many years before."

A letter written by Coxe from Trenton, Falls of Delaware, dated April 28, 1728, shows that he must have returned to America, in the interval preceding the Masonic occurrences which it becomes my next task to relate.

On June 5, 1730, he was appointed by the Duke of Norfolk, Provincial Grand Master of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—his deputation or commission differing, it may be observed, in some important particulars from those of any similar instrument of this class. The term of office of Daniel Coxe was limited to two years, from June 24, 1730, "after which time," the brethren "in all or any" of the three colonies aforesaid, were "empowered every other year on the feast of St John the Baptist to elect a Provincial Grand Master," who, with the concurrence of his Deputy and Wardens, might establish Lodges at his discretion. An account in writing of the number of Lodges so constituted, with the names of the members, was to be furnished annually, but there is no allusion whatever to the payment of a *fee* for registration or for any other purpose. The deputation was granted, it may be added, on the petition of Coxe himself "and several other brethren residing and about to reside" in the Provinces over which his authority was made to extend.

In 1731—January 29—Coxe attended a meeting of the Grand Lodge of England, on which occasion his health was drunk "as Provincial Grand Master of North America."

In the same year, according to the records already referred to, we again meet with his name as a member of Lodge No. 8, meeting at the Devil Tavern, within Temple Bar.

The date of his final return to New Jersey, I am unable to supply, but it is on record that he was appointed Associate Justice of that Province in 1734, an office held by him until his death, which is thus announced in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 26, 1739:—

"Yesterday morning, died at Trenton, the Hon. Daniel Cox, Esq., one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the Province of New Jersey."

The archives of the Grand Lodge of England contain no further allusion to the subject of this memoir, and a thorough inquiry among his descendants for letters and papers bearing upon the subject has failed to disclose any testimony whatever of the exercise by him, or by any one acting under his authority, of the prerogatives conferred by his deputation.[1]

If, however, we accept without demur the statements in the following letter, which is said to have been written—November 17, 1754—by Henry Bell,[2] at that time residing in

[1] J. H. Hough, Origin of Masonry in New Jersey, 1870, p. 9.

[2] The name of Henry Bell appears on the Tax Lists of Derry Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, for the years 1750-59 (Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., Introduction, p. x.).

Lancaster, to Dr Thomas Cadwallader,[1] of Philadelphia, there can remain no doubt as to the first Grand Master in America having constituted a Lodge at Philadelphia:—

"As you well know, I was one of the originators of the first Masonic Lodge in Philadelphia. A party of us used to meet at the Tun Tavern, in Water Street, and sometimes opened a Lodge there. Once, in the fall of 1730, we formed a design of obtaining a Charter for a regular Lodge, and made application to the Grand Lodge of England for one, but before receiving it, we heard that Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, had been appointed by that Grand Lodge as Provincial Grand Master of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. We therefore made application to him, and our request was granted."

The documentary evidence last presented rests on the authority of the Library Committee, Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, who state, "The letter was exhibited in the Grand Secretary's office [Philadelphia], in 1872. It bore all the marks of being genuine, and we have no doubt of its being correct." But, it has been pertinently observed,[2] "Where has the letter been for one hundred and twenty years? In whose custody? Why has it never been brought to light before? What is the full text? These, and numerous other questions, must be satisfactorily answered before we can admit this piece of evidence. For an item that has been waited for almost one hundred and fifty years, it comes remarkably pat. If not a swift witness in one sense, it is in another, for it certainly covers the whole ground."

Again, the opening words of the letter, addressed to Cadwallader, who was only initiated —in a Lodge of which Bell was at no time a member—in 1737, are somewhat enigmatical. Moreover, we are led to believe that in the fall of 1730, there was but a single body of Masons in Philadelphia, whereas the existence of at least a plurality of Lodges, on December 8 of that year, is distinctly stated in Franklin's newspaper.

What is new is not necessarily true, and indications are not wanting that, even in Philadelphia itself, among those by whom the authenticity of the letter was formerly upheld, there are some persons who begin to doubt the validity of the proofs, and it is, at least, a significant fact, that since the discovery by MacCalla of some genuine records dating from 1731, the document has been as far as possible withdrawn from the arena of discussion.

The letter, indeed, though inadmissible as evidence in any court of justice, has derived a factitious importance from its appearance in two official publications,[3] though it may be well doubted whether we should have heard of it at all, had the early ledger of St John's Lodge (*liber* B.)—with which it clashes—been discovered ten years earlier than it actually was?

The only other evidence that I have met with relating to the possible exercise of jurisdiction by Coxe, occurs in a letter of July 28, 1762, written from Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, claiming a deputation, which Jeremy Gridley, Prov. G.M. at Boston, had promised to send, on the receipt of satisfactory proof that Daniel Coxe had died before 1754.[4]

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 8, 1730, contains the earliest printed notice of the Craft in America:—

[1] An eminent physician, born 1707; a member of St John's Lodge, Philadelphia, 1737; died 1779.

[2] By Mr Sereno D. Nickerson, in the "New England Freemason," vol. i., 1874, p. 380; and Proc. G.L. of Mass., 1883, p. 187. This distinguished Mason was G.M. of Massachusetts in 1874, and Grand Secretary in 1883.

[3] Dedication Memorial, Masonic Temple, Philadelphia, 1875, p. 21; Early Hist. Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Introduction, 1877, p. xi.

[4] E. T. Schultz, Freemasonry in Maryland, 1884, p. 24; Boston Records, 1886, p. 78.

"As there are several Lodges of Freemasons erected in this Province, and people have lately been much amused with conjecture concerning them, we think the following account of Freemasonry from London will not be unacceptable to our readers."

Then follows a recital, that "By the death of a gentleman who was one of the Brotherhood of Freemasons, there has lately happened a discovery of abundance of their secret signs and wonders, with the mysterious manner of their admission into that Fraternity, contained in a manuscript found among his papers."

Although Franklin here deposes to the existence of *several* Lodges in 1730, there is no further evidence that will enable us to identify more than one of them—St John's Lodge, Philadelphia—in which that remarkable man is believed, with good reason, to have himself received the light of Masonry in February 1731. The date of Franklin's initiation remained for a long time uncertain, although it was rightly assumed that the insertion by him in his newspaper of a so-called "exposure of Masonry" must have necessarily preceded his own membership of the Society.

The discovery by Mr Clifford P. MacCalla, in 1884, of an original Masonic record, dating from 1731, has thrown much light on the early history of the Craft in Pennsylvania. The book in question is bound in parchment or vellum, and bears on the front cover the words—

"PHILADELPHIA CITY,
"ST JOHN'S LODGE, LIBRE B."

The title with which it is labelled, suggests a "Liber A.," or earlier record of the Lodge. This, however, has not yet been found, and it would be idle to speculate upon its contents. Liber B. is the Secretary's ledger account with all the members of the Lodge from June 24, 1731, to June 24, 1738. Altogether, the names are given of fifty members between 1731 and 1737. The initiation or entrance fee was £3, until 1734, when it was raised to £5. The monthly dues (also styled "quota" and "omition") were 6*d.* per member, and there was a fine of 1s. for absence. The lodge met on the *first Monday* of each month, and (in the opinion of local antiquaries) was constituted (with thirteen members) at the close of 1730, or the beginning of 1731. Among the names—June 24, 1731—we find those of "W^m^. Button, late Mast.; W^m^. Allen, Esq., Grand Mast^r^.; and William Pringle, Deputy Mast^r^.:" the last two brethren being continued in their respective offices in the following year, as we shall see by an extract from Franklin's newspaper to be presently quoted. The name of one Warden is given for the year 1735, and of both for 1736, 1737, and 1738. These are identical with those of the *Grand* Wardens for the same years, and in every case the brethren named as Grand Officers in the period covered by Liber B., were members of the private Lodge. If, indeed, any lingering doubt remained as to the *Lodge* and the *Grand Lodge* being one and the same body, this would be dispelled by a printed notice of June 16, 1737, signed by "Thomas Hopkinson, Grand Master," and his officers, "on behalf of all the members of St John's Lodge at Philadelphia."[1]

Dr Thomas Cadwallader, whose name is first given under the year 1737, was a (Grand) Warden in 1738. Of Henry Bell there is no mention. Benjamin Franklin is charged—June 24, 1731—"To remainder of your £3 entrance is £2, 0*s.*," and had apparently paid the

[1] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. 79. *Cf. post*, p. 434.

sum of £1, five months before, or some time during that period, as he is charged with five months previous dues. This will tend to prove that he was made a Mason in February 1731. The last entries in the records or accounts, were made by Franklin, and an interesting report, drawn up—June 5, 1732—by a committee of the members, is pronounced on good authority to be in his handwriting.

This report is distinct from the Ledger, but both these ancient documents fulfil the legal requirement "of coming from the proper custody," having been inherited by Mr G. T. Ingham, together with other old writings and papers, formerly the property of David Hall, for many years Franklin's partner in the printing business.[1] Two of the "Resolutions" agreed to by Franklin and the other members of the committee, are so quaintly expressed, and withal so admirable in their tenor, that I am induced to transcribe them:—

> "1. That since the excellent Science of Geometry and Architecture is so much recommended in our ancient Constitutions, Masonry being first instituted with this Design, among others, to distinguish the true and skilful Architect from unskilful Pretenders; total ignorance of this art is very unbecoming a Man who bears the worthy Name and Character of MASON:
>
> "We therefore conclude, that it is the Duty of every Member to make himself, in some Measure, acquainted therewith, as he would honour the Society he belongs to, and conform to the Constitutions.
>
> "2. That every Member may have an Opportunity of so doing, the present Cash to be laid out in the best Books of Architecture, suitable Mathematical Instruments, &c."

It will be remembered, that by the terms of his Patent, Daniel Coxe was to hold office until June 24, 1732, when a new Grand Master was to be elected, and the following notice which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 26, in that year, has been relied upon, as proving to demonstration that a successor to Coxe was duly chosen in strict accordance with the terms of the Deputation.

> "Philadelphia, June 26.
>
> "Saturday last being St John's day, a Grand Lodge of the ancient and honorable Society of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS was held at the Sun Tavern in Water Street, when, after a handsome entertainment, the Worshipful W. Allen, Esq., was unanimously chosen *Grand Master* of this Province for the year ensuing, who was pleased to appoint *Mr William Pringle* Deputy Master. Wardens chosen for the ensuing year were *Thomas Boude* and *Benjamin Franklin*."

But as Allen and Pringle were already Grand Master and Deputy, respectively, in 1731, this piece of evidence will only become consistent with the supposition that Coxe's mantle really fell on Allen, by indulging very largely in conjecture. If, then, a loose rein is given to the imagination, it may be possible to conceive that Coxe obtained permission to resign in favour of Allen in 1731, or that the entries in the ledger of St John's Lodge were not made during the actual years under which they appear?

[1] Keystone, September 5, 1885. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XIV., p. 195.

Allen was succeeded in the chair of St John's (and the Grand) Lodge by Humphrey Murray, in 1733, and the latter by Benjamin Franklin, in 1734. Before attaining this distinction, however, the printer and editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* had visited Boston, where he seems to have made the acquaintance of Henry Price, in the autumn of 1733.[1] The election of the journalist of that era, but who was afterwards destined to take high rank as a philosopher, diplomatist, and statesman, is thus announced in the columns of his own newspaper:—

"Philadelphia, June 27 [1734].

"Monday last a Grand Lodge of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in this Province, was held at the *Tun Tavern* in Water Street, when BENJAMIN FRANKLIN being elected Grand Master for the year ensuing, appointed Mr John Crap to be his Deputy: and James Hamilton, Esq., and Thomas Hopkinson, Gent., were chosen Wardens. After which a very elegant entertainment was provided, and the Proprietor [Thomas Penn], the Governor, and several other persons of distinction, honored the Society with their presence."

This paragraph was reprinted in several of the London papers,[2] a circumstance which we shall do well to bear in mind, when the appearance of a Philadelphian Lodge in a list given by a Dublin Calendar as the roll of the Grand Lodge of England for 1734, has to be considered, and if possible accounted for.

In the same year, Franklin reprinted Dr Anderson's Book of Constitutions, and wrote two important letters, one an official communication to the Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston, the other a private note to Henry Price the G.M. They are thus worded:—

"RIGHT WORSHIPFUL GRAND MASTER AND MOST WORTHY AND DEAR BRETHREN,—We acknowledge your favor of the 23d of October past, and rejoice that the Grand Master (whom God bless) hath so happily recovered from his late indisposition; and we now, glass in hand, drink to the establishment of his health, and the prosperity of your whole Lodge.

"We have seen in the Boston prints an article of news from London, importing that at a Grand Lodge held there in August last, Mr Price's deputation and power was extended over all America, which advice we hope is true, and we heartily congratulate him thereupon, and though this has not been as yet regularly signified to us by you, yet, giving credit thereto, we think it our duty to lay before your Lodge what we apprehend needful to be done for us, in order to promote and strengthen the interest of Masonry in this Province (which seems to want the sanction of some authority derived from home, to give the proceedings and determinations of our Lodge their due weight), to wit, a Deputation or Charter granted by the Right Worshipful Mr Price, by virtue of his commission from Britain, confirming the Brethren of Pennsylvania in the privileges they at present enjoy of holding annually their Grand Lodge, choosing their Grand Master, Wardens, and other officers, who may manage all affairs relating to the Brethren here with full power and authority, according to the customs and usages of Masons, the said Grand Master of Pennsylvania only yielding his chair when the Grand Master of all America shall be in place. This, if it seem good and reasonable to you to grant, will not only be extremely agreeable to us, but will also, we are confident, conduce much to the welfare, establishment, and reputation of Masonry in these parts. We therefore submit it for your consideration, and, as we hope our request will be complied with, we desire that it may be done as soon as possible, and also accompanied with a

[1] According to his autobiography, Franklin, who left his home in October 1723, *after ten years' absence from Boston*, made a journey there, to visit his relatives (Works, edit. by Jared Sparks, 1840, vol. i., p. 128).

[2] The *St James' Evening Post*, Sept. 3, *Read's Weekly Journal*, Sept. 7, 1734, and doubtless others.

copy of the R. W. Grand Master's first Deputation, and of the instrument by which it appears to be enlarged as above mentioned, witnessed by your Wardens, and signed by the Secretary; for which favors this Lodge doubt not of being able to behave so as not to be thought ungrateful.

"We are, Right Worshipful Grand Master and Most Worthy Brethren, Your Affectionate Brethren and obliged humble Servts.,

"Signed at the request of the Lodge,

"B. FRANKLIN, G.M.

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 28, 1734."

"DEAR BROTHER PRICE,—I am glad to hear of your recovery. I hope to have seen you here this Fall, agreeable to the expectation you were so good as to give me; but since sickness has prevented your coming while the weather was moderate, I have no room to flatter myself with a visit from you before the Spring, when a deputation of the Brethren here will have an opportunity of showing how much they esteem you. I beg leave to recommend their request to you, and to inform you that some false and rebel Brethren, who are foreigners, being about to set up a distinct Lodge in opposition to the old and true Brethren here, pretending to make Masons for a bowl of punch, and the Craft is like to come into disesteem among us unless the true Brethren are countenanced and distinguished by some such special authority as herein desired. I entreat, therefore, that whatever you shall think proper to do therein may be sent by the next post, if possible, or the next following.

"I am, Your Affectionate Brother & humb. Servt.,

"B. FRANKLIN, *G.M.*

"*Pennsylvania.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 28, 1734.

"P.S.—If more of the Constitutions are wanted among you, please hint it to me."

From these letters it may be inferred that a rumour of Price having received an extension of authority had reached Philadelphia; also, that *at the time of their being written,* the Masonic body over which Franklin presided, had not received a warrant from either Coxe or Price, since in each of these cases "the sanction of some authority derived from home" would not have been required. It will be observed, moreover, that a confirmation of privileges already existing is all that is solicited. Some analogy between the Masonic and the political dependence of a colony upon the mother country was doubtless present to Franklin's mind. But that he considered his own position as being one whit inferior to that of Price, under the latter's first deputation, is negatived by the stipulation providing for "the Grand Master of Pennsylvania only yielding his chair when the Grand Master of All America [should] be in place."

According to a long series of authorities, a Lodge was warranted at Philadelphia by Henry Price in 1734; but this exercise of jurisdiction, if it took place at all, cannot have occurred until after the two letters of November 28 in that year were written. This point, however, we shall approach later, and I pass to a curious entry in the *Pocket Companion for Free-Masons,* printed at Dublin in 1735. At the end of the book a list is given of the warranted Lodges in Ireland, Great Britain, etc. The Irish Lodges head the roll, and absorb thirty-seven *numbers,* the first English Lodge being therefore shown as No. 38. At the 116th place on this compound list, or, if we deduct the 37 Irish Lodges, at the No. 79, there appears: "The Hoop in Water Street in Philadelphia, 1st Monday." The work quoted from is a

reprint of a London publication of the same name and date; and except with regard to one particular, the list of English Lodges given in the latter has been reproduced with scrupulous fidelity in the former. The *Pocket Companion*, London, shows a vacant niche at the No. 79, which, as we have seen, is filled, in its Dublin namesake, by a Lodge at Water Street, Philadelphia, meeting on the *first Monday* in the month.

The judicial office to which Daniel Coxe was appointed in 1734, together with his death in 1739, have already been recorded. During the period covered by these years, the "Earliest Grand Master in America" resided within twenty miles of Philadelphia. Neither the letters written by Franklin in 1734, however, nor his obituary notice of Coxe in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, betray the slightest knowledge by the former, of the latter being even a member of the Society. This silence with regard to the grant of a deputation to Coxe it is now impossible to explain. Yet if we put on one side the letters of 1734, and the newspaper entry of 1739, the remaining evidence affords good reason for supposing that Franklin was aware of Coxe's appointment in the former year, and still stronger ground for believing that it could not have been absent from his knowledge in the latter.

The proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England were circulated far and wide—by the newspapers and in private letters, as well as by oral communication. But, passing over the earlier date, there is scarcely any room for doubt that in 1739 Franklin must have read—or, at the very least, have had his attention called to—the positive statement in the Constitutions of 1738, that Coxe was appointed a Provincial Grand Master during the administration of the Duke of Norfolk?

Why, then, it may be asked, if the grant of a patent to Coxe may be reasonably assumed to have come to the knowledge of Franklin, do we meet with no allusion to the fact in the newspaper of the latter? Towards the solution of this problem I shall merely offer a conjecture. If Daniel Coxe never exercised the authority conferred upon him by his deputation, or, in more homely language, withdrew from Masonry on his return to America, this would afford some ground for supposing that his brethren of the Craft entertained a very natural disinclination to claim as a member of the Society one who, so to speak, had plainly but unmistakably turned his back upon it. I may also add, with special reference to the obituary notice of 1739 that, as far as we can now discern, between the years 1737 and 1749, Masonry in Pennsylvania was under a cloud, and courted not the light.

We may, however, assume with some confidence—and on this point the Franklin letters of 1734 seem to me conclusive—that the brethren at Philadelphia would not have applied to Henry Price for a deputation or charter, *confirming* their privileges of holding a Grand Lodge annually and regulating their own affairs, if they had received at any previous date "an authority from home," under the hand of Daniel Coxe.

Franklin was succeeded as Grand Master by James Hamilton, who in turn gave place to Thomas Hopkinson, the latter being, at the time of his election, the Admiralty Judge in the province, and the former subsequently becoming the first native Governor of Pennsylvania. Each year there was a new occupant of the chair, which in 1737 was filled by William Plumsted, a member of the Common Council, whose tenure of office was preceded by a lamentable event, that was fraught with much evil to the Society. On June 13, 1737, an apprentice to an apothecary at Philadelphia sustained such injuries from his master and two others, whilst receiving at their hands what he believed to be a Masonic degree, that death was the

result.[1] This incident, as might be expected, was turned to the disadvantage of the Fraternity by the anti-Masons of that period; and the *Weekly Mercury*—a rival sheet to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*—falsely accused Franklin of conniving at the transaction. The parties concerned in this tragical occurrence were not Masons; and the Grand Officers, in a public notice (dated June 16), to which I have already in part alluded,[2] expressed, after reciting the facts of the outrage, "in Behalf of all the Members of St John's Lodge, at Philad'a, the Abhorrence of all true Brethren to such Practices in general, and their Innocence of this Fact in particular." Nevertheless, the growth of Masonry in the province was arrested, and its progress retarded, by the catastrophe. Grand Officers were apparently chosen in 1738 and 1741; but after the latter year the fount becomes dried up whence particulars of the annual elections have hitherto been derived, so we can only conclude, from the silence of Franklin's newspaper with regard to St John's Lodge, that it vegetated in obscurity until 1749.

In the year last-named—July 10—Franklin was appointed Provincial Grand Master by Thomas Oxnard, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole of North America—from which it seems to follow, as a logical deduction, that he eventually obtained in 1749 what he had vainly applied for in 1734.

At the first Grand Lodge held under this deputation—September 5, 1749—Franklin appointed his Grand Officers, and "at the same meeting a warrant was granted to James *Pogreen* and others to hold a Lodge in Philadelphia." So far Dr Mease,[3] whose sketch of the "Society of Masons" is given in full in the official history of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania,[4] and the latter informs us (on a later page) that the charter in question was granted to "St John's Lodge," of which, however, the first Master is stated to have been James *Pogrew*. The same name apparently, though again we meet with a slight variation of spelling, occurs in an original document showing the debts due for quarterage by members of the "First Lodge" in June 1752. In this the name of "Jas. *Polgreen*" is given, his liabilities extending to December 1751, beyond which the record does not go.[5]

The Lodge of 1749 seems therefore not to have been a new creation, but a revival of the body over which Allen presided in 1731, and if such was the case, Franklin himself, in both instances, Grand Lodge and Lodge, served as the conduit pipe through which his anxiously sought "authority from home" was derived.

Meetings of the Prov. Grand Lodge were regularly held until March 13, 1750, when William Allen, Recorder of Philadelphia, presented a patent signed by Lord Byron, G.M. of England, appointing him Provincial Grand Master, which was duly recognised, and he then nominated Benjamin Franklin as his Deputy.

The first Masonic Hall in America was erected at Philadelphia in 1754, and in the following year—the same Grand and Deputy Grand Masters holding office as in 1750—we find that three subordinate Lodges were represented at the Feast of St John the Baptist. In the official publication[6] upon which I am mainly relying at this part of the narrative, it is

[1] June 16, 1737.—"We hear that on Monday night last, some people, pretending to be *Free Masons*, got together in a cellar with a young man, who was desirous of being made one, and in the ceremonies, 'tis said, they threw some burning spirits upon him, either accidentally or to terrify him, which burnt him so that he was obliged to take his bed, and died this morning" (*Pennsylvania Gazette*).

[2] *Ante*, p. 429. [3] The Picture of Philadelphia, 1811, p. 288 *et seq.* [4] Introduction, p. xxv.

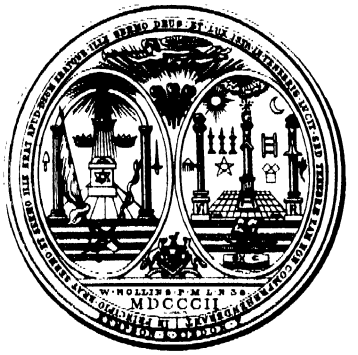
[5] *Ibid.*, p. xxxii. [6] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl.

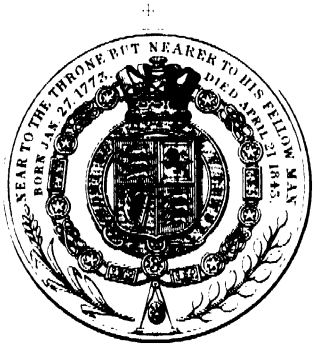
PLATE I.


MDCCLXXX

2


GRAND MASTERS LODGE
GENERAL ST JAMES
1848

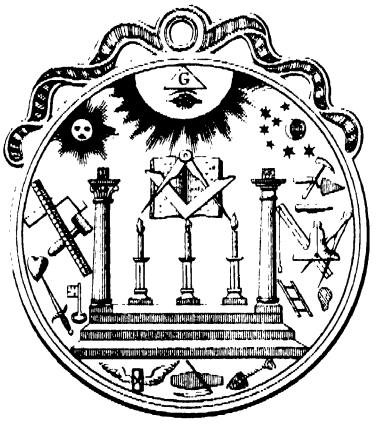

MDCCCII


NEAR TO THE THRONE BUT NEARER TO HIS FELLOW MAN
BORN JAN 27 1773
DIED APRIL 21 1843

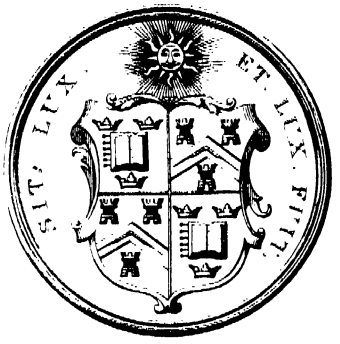

ROMÆ A I
5742

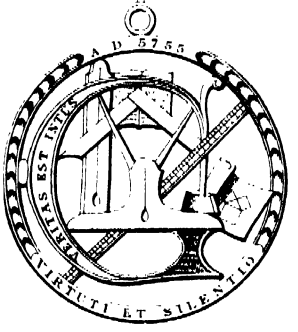

יהוה
5829


GENERAL
LAFAYETTE




WASHINGTON PRESIDENT
1797


SIT LUX ET LUX FIT


A D 5755
VERITAS EST INTUS
VIRTUTI ET SILENTIO


DOMINUS ILLUMINATIO MEA

assumed that two of these were the First and Second "St John's" Lodges, or in other words, the unchartered and the chartered bodies of 1731 and 1749 respectively. But the evidence with which we are presented by no means justifies this conclusion, nor can we be quite certain that more than a single Lodge was in existence before 1754.[1]

In 1758 Pennsylvania was invaded by the "Ancients" or Schismatics, and from that time the Lodges under the older sanction declined, and gradually faded into obscurity. The last printed notice of any of them occurred in 1760, and in the same year—November 17—Franklin was present at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of England, in the minutes of which body he is described as "Prov. G.M. of Philadelphia," a title that may suggest the possibility of his having been elected to the office previously held by Allen?

Afterwards, during his diplomatic career, and while a resident in France, Franklin joined the Lodge of the Nine Muses, of which Lalande and other literary celebrities were also members.[2] He took a prominent part in the initiation of Voltaire, and on the death of that philosopher, acted as S.W. of the Lodge of Sorrow held to celebrate his memory.

The Lodge of the "Nine Muses" regarded Franklin with such veneration, that it struck a medal in his honour, and he was greeted with much cordiality by a Lodge at Rouen as late as 1785.

The last official act of the First Lodge in Philadelphia occurred in 1782, at which date it still existed, but in a state of suspended animation, and with but few members. About eleven years later all the Lodges in that city under the original Grand Lodge of England[3] ceased to exist. Their hall was sold, and a part of the proceeds, amounting to nearly £600, was handed over to the civic authorities to aid in forming a fund for supplying the poor inhabitants with fuel in the winter season.

At this point, and before proceeding with a memoir of Henry Price, and a review of the evidence which is closely associated with his name, it will be convenient if we pause to examine a little in detail some of the leading features of the early Masonry of Pennsylvania.

In the first place, the documentary evidence showing the existence of a Lodge reaches back to 1731, and as we then only commence with "Liber B.," the actual date at which the brethren who are named in it (or those they may have succeeded) associated together as a body, must remain a pure matter of conjecture. "Liber A.," if produced, might indeed bring us within measurable distance of this period, but on the other hand it is equally possible—not to say probable—that it would point to an uninterrupted succession of Philadelphian Masons meeting at St John's Lodge, to use a familiar expression, "from time immemorial," which, as we all know, signifies in Masonic phrase, an era more or less remote from the existence of actual records, but at all events going beyond, or as it were, behind them.

But without going back any further than the year 1731, we shall do well to reflect that

[1] All the subordinate Grand Officers appointed by Franklin on September 5, 1749, belonged to the First or St John's Lodge, which body (it is said) in concert with the *Grand Lodge* erected the hall in 1754. But I strongly suspect that the subscribers were all members of the Lodge. The fact, moreover, that no other Lodges contributed to the expenses, affords a strong argument against the possibility of there being any such in existence at that time.

[2] Chap. XXV., p. 156.

[3] None of them, however, obtained a footing on its roll.

the sovereignty of Grand Lodges was then only on its trial. Such bodies had been formed, it is true, at London, York, and Dublin, though we should be careful to remember that the latter towns were as much under *English* government as Philadelphia. But in Scotland—the most ancient home of Masonic precedent—there were as yet no chartered Lodges, and assemblies of brethren, formed as in Philadelphia, were the only Masonic associations existing in that country. Brethren united to form Lodges in neighbourhoods where there were fair chances of their continuance, and such assemblies, though without any other sanction, were not styled irregular when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was erected in 1736, the old Lodges, whether offshoots of "Mother Kilwinning," of other ancient courts of Operative Masonry, or simply the results of local combinations, uniting to form that organisation which has happily continued to this day.

It is evident that brethren who had left the old World, and brought to their new homes a knowledge of the Craft, were as much within their rights in holding Lodges in Philadelphia, Portsmouth (New Hampshire), and elsewhere in America, as those who assembled in like manner in England and Scotland; and just as in the latter countries the members of such Lodges were accepted as petitioners for written Constitutions without their legal status as Masons being demurred to, so we shall find that the Boston authorities raised no objection to the Masonic regularity of the Portsmouth brethren, but granted their request for a warrant in 1736. We have already seen that in 1734 the Prov. G.M. of New England was requested to *confirm* Dr Franklin and others in their privileges in Pennsylvania—thus completing the parallel.

In those early days a piece of paper or parchment, containing a written or printed authority for certain brethren and their successors to meet as a Lodge, was not held in the superstitious reverence with which it afterwards became regarded.[1] The old customs were gradually being supplanted by the new, but the former evinced great tenacity of existence in some instances, especially in the British colonies, where they appear to have remained for the longest period of time unmodified. The modern doctrine with respect to the formation of Grand Lodges it is not my purpose to examine at any length. Every case should, I think, be judged on its own merits, and the hard and fast rule laid down that three Lodges must be represented on such an occasion[2] seems to me as inconvenient in practice as it certainly is deficient in authority. But even if the rule in question were now regarded as sound Masonic law throughout the universe, we could hardly, by any feat of *ex post facto* legislation, so strain its application as to embrace the proceedings of the brethren at Philadelphia in 1731. The Fraternity there must be held to have been as much and as legally a Grand Lodge as that of "*All* England at York." Their meetings, for all we know to the contrary, may have been held before the era of Grand Lodges, and they

[1] Later in the century, both in England and America (and the practice was not unknown in France), the existence as well as the regularity of a Lodge was deemed to be bound up with its Charter. Thus the succession of members might come to an end, but after any interval, no matter of what duration, the issue of the old warrant to an entirely new set of brethren, was viewed as a reinstatement or revival of the original Lodge. The absurdity of this custom is self-evident, and its unfairness becomes apparent, when we reflect that under the G.L. of England the only Lodges that would necessarily become extinct on the death or dispersion of their members, were the memorable Four by whose act that body came into existence! *Cf.* Chap. XVII., p. 340.

[2] Mackey, p. 320.

certainly were before the influence of the earliest of these bodies had made itself felt across the seas.[1]

Henry Price—as we learn from the epitaph upon his tombstone—was born about 1697, and came to New England about 1723. No trace of him can be found in Boston until 1732, when he is described in some legal proceedings as a tailor, from the nature of which, however, it has been conjectured that he must have been established in his business a year or two earlier. So far his fullest biographer, but other authorities who have worked their way through the same materials which he used for the compilation of his memoir, are of opinion that there is no evidence whatever to support the statement that Henry Price was known in Boston before 1733. The discrepancy is immaterial. If the name shown on the roll of the Lodge at the Rainbow, No. 75, was his, he must have been in London—judging from its position on the list—in 1732. That he was also there in the following year we may infer from his own written statements in 1755 and 1768, and it was then, as he tells us, that he received a deputation appointing him Provincial Grand Master of New England. The visit, therefore, was in all probability a continuous one. In the spring of 1733 he seems to have returned to Boston, and in the same year Governor Jonathan Belcher appointed him Cornet in his troop of Guards, with the rank of Major, and from that time—at least so it is averred—he was known as Major Price.

In 1736 he entered into partnership with Francis Beteille, who was a shopkeeper, while Price himself carried on the tailoring department. The latter branch of the business appears to have been given up about 1739, as after that date both partners are described as shopkeepers. Price became the sole partner in 1741, and as a merchant or shopkeeper carried on the business alone until 1750, when he retired.

About May 14, 1780, while using an axe in splitting rails, it glanced and struck him in the abdomen, inflicting a severe and fatal wound. His will was executed on the following day, and in the words of the authority upon which I am relying for the preliminaries of this sketch,[2] "it especially shows what his religious character was; the possession of three pews in meeting-houses not of his faith and of his Church evince the strong sympathy he had for religious instruction, and the aid he afforded for its support."

Price lingered until May 20, when he died at his homestead in Townsend, aged eighty-three years. He left an estate of great value, but which was afterwards much reduced by lawsuits, insecurity of his titles to real estate, and by the general depression resulting from the war of the Revolution upon all property in the new States.

We have it on the authority of Price himself that he received one deputation from Viscount Montague in 1733, appointing him Provincial Grand Master of New England, and another from the Earl of Crawford in 1734, extending his powers over all North America. No record, however, has been preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge of England of the issue of any such documents; neither does Price's name appear in the lists of Provincial

[1] Authorities up to this point:—Records, G.L. of England; Hayden, Washington and his Masonic Compeers, 1866; Hough, Masonry in New Jersey, 1870; Mitchell, Hist. of Masonry, 1871; Mackey, 1874, *s.v.* Franklin; Early Hist. G.L. of Pennsylvania, 1877-84; MacCalla, Philadelphia, the Mother City of Freemasonry in America, 1876, and Hist. of St John's Lodge, 1884; Phototypes of Liber B. of St John's Lodge, 1884; Schultz, Masonry in Maryland, 1884; World Wide Register, 1860; and the *Keystone* (Philadelphia), *passim*.

[2] W. S. Gardner, Address upon Henry Price, 1872, p. 12.

Grand Masters given in the Constitutions of 1738, 1756, and 1767. It is shown, indeed, in the Engraved List for 1770 as Prov. G.M. of North America—an appointment then actually held by John Rowe, whose name never appears at all in the English Calendars, though that of Price, having once gained a footing, was continued annually until 1804—twenty-four years after his decease!

The tangled web of Masonic history in Massachusetts is not to be easily unravelled; but as every writer may hope to profit by the labours of those who have preceded him—to some extent, at least—I shall indulge in this consolatory reflection while engaged in the examination of a subject which has been so largely canvassed in the journals of the Craft.[1]

According to the stream of Masonic writers, a Provincial Grand Lodge, and also a private Lodge, were established at Boston by Henry Price in 1733. It is important, however, to recognise, at the outset of our inquiry, the very precarious foundation of authority on which the early Masonic history of Massachusetts reposes. The actual records of the Provincial Grand Lodge—by which I mean a contemporaneous account of its proceedings—date from 1751. There are also "what appear to be transcripts of brief memoranda describing the important incidents in the history of that body between 1733 and 1750; or they may have been made up from the recollection of brethren who had been active among the Craft during these seventeen years."[2]

From the documents of the latter class we learn that on July 30, 1733 (Old Style), Henry Price gathered round him ten brethren, and opened the Provincial Grand Lodge. Eight persons were then made Masons, and the whole eighteen brethren joined in a petition, asking that they might be formed into a constituted and regular Lodge, which prayer was granted on the same day.

A copy is given of the deputation granted to Price by Lord Montague, but the original petition signed by the eighteen and addressed to the former has been preserved. Of the latter Charles Pelham made a transcript, which—after a close comparison—Mr Jacob Norton says "contains many ideas that are not in the original;" and adds: "If he took liberties with one document, he may have done so with the others."[3] This remark is incontrovertible, but even a sullied stream is a blessing compared to a total drought, and in the present case I do not think much benefit will arise from too minute a verbal criticism of the evidence. Even if the text of the missing deputation had been supplied by Pelham from conjecture, this would not invalidate the fact—if such it be—that Price was at one time the lawful owner of an English patent. Not, indeed, that there is reason for supposing any such thing. For my own part, I altogether fail to trace the clumsy hand of the forger in the alleged transcript; and unless we bid Henry Price stand aside as a witness wholly unworthy of credit, the text of the deputation actually granted in 1733 comes down to us duly attested by the original holder.

[1] Freemason, vol. iii., 1870, pp. 68, 358; vol. v., 1872, pp. 483, 495; Masonic Magazine, vol. i., 1873-74, p. 322; vol. ii., 1874-75, pp. 275, 304; Freemason's Chronicle, Nov. 10, 1877; Nov. 6, 13, and 20; Dec. 18 and 25, 1880; Jan. 1 and 29, 1881; March 1, 1884; Keystone, July 3, 1880; etc., etc.

[2] Mr Sereno D. Nickerson, G.S., in Proc. G.L. Mass., 1883, p. 157. Mr Jacob Norton states: "In 1751, Charles Pelham was appointed G.S.; but instead of beginning his record with June 1751, he thought best to manufacture first a record from 1733. That part of the record is therefore unreliable; but yet certain facts therein are corroborated by original MSS. of that period, and some statements we may take for granted. The Lodge record, as well as that of the Master Masons' Lodge, were also the handiwork of Bro. Pelham" (Freemason's Chronicle, Nov. 10, 1877).

[3] Review of Grand Master Gardner's Address on Henry Price (Freemason, vol. v., 1872, p. 483).

This document bears date April 30, 1733, and the text, like that of the Coxe deputation, of which it is almost a counterpart, is without any allusion to fees; but there is no proviso for the election of a successor, and the Prov. G.M. was empowered to constitute Lodges without the concurrence of his Deputy and Grand Wardens.

Price's memory has suffered more at the hands of panegyrists than calumniators; but I shall endeavour to steer equally clear of the "special pleading" of the one, or the "historical pyrrhonism" of the other.

The "First Lodge in Boston," or "Holy Lodge of St John," was really constituted August 31, 1733. This is placed beyond dispute by two letters of 1736, in which brethren are recommended (by that body) to the favourable notice of the Grand Lodge of England and of Lodge Glasgow Kilwinning respectively. These are severally dated June 23 and September 1. Both documents are signed by Price (as G.M.) and his Deputy, and the later one by the Master (Robert Tomlinson) and officers of the Lodge. Each letter recites that the Lodge was constituted August 31, 1733, by Henry Price, Provincial Grand Master.[1] Copies of both are among the Boston records; but the letter of September 1, 1736, has also been transcribed into the minutes of Lodge Glasgow Kilwinning of November 2 in the same year, from which a certified extract has been published by Lyon.[2]

In 1734, as we have already seen, a rumour was afloat that Price's deputation and power had been extended over all America. From Franklin's letter of November 28 in that year, we may, I think, infer that the belief in Price's *earlier* patent was at least a prevalent one; while the subsequent action of the G.M. of Pennsylvania goes far to prove that the *alleged* later commission empowering Price to dispense grace beyond the limits of New England had no real existence.

Among the documentary evidence, however, of the inferior class still preserved at Boston, there is a singular memorandum which merits our attention:—

"June 24, 1734.—About this time our Worshl. Brot., Mr. Benja. Franklin from Philadelphia, became acquainted with Our Rt. Worsl. Grand Master, Mr. Price, who further Instructed him in the Royal Art, and said Franklin on his Return to Philadelphia call'd the Brethren there together, who pettition'd Our Rt. Worshl. Grand Master for a Constitution to hold a Lodge, and Our Rt. Worshl. Grand Master having this Year Recd. Orders from the Grand Lodge in England to Establish Masonry in all North America, did send a Deputation to Philadelphia, appointing the Rt. Worshl. Mr. Benja. Franklin first Master; which is the beginning of Masonry there."[3]

This was first printed, I believe, in 1792,[4] and I am not aware that its accuracy was ever called in question until 1869.[5] There are persons still living who took part in a solemn centennial celebration by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1834! At the present date, however,

[1] Unless these letters are wholly devoid of meaning—and it will be sufficient if we rely on that of September 1, 1736, of which a copy is preserved by Lodge Glasgow Kilwinning—Henry Price, at the date from which they speak, had for three years filled the office of Prov. G.M.

[2] A transcript of the *reply* of the Glasgow Lodge, dated February 23, 1737, in the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin, and bound up with one of his reprints of the 1723 Constitutions, was recently acquired by Mr S. D. Nickerson, who announced his discovery in the *Keystone* of June 24, 1880.

[3] Boston Records, p. 4.

[4] Constitutions, G.L. Mass.

[5] By Mr Jacob Norton.

it is only of service in assisting us to gauge with greater precision the historical value of the collection, of which it forms a part. There is a *substratum* of truth in the memorandum. Undoubtedly Franklin asked Price for a warrant, which, it is almost as equally demonstrable, was never granted,—or, to vary the expression, never *accepted*. In legal phraseology, there was no attournment (or acknowledgment of Price's authority over him) by Franklin. But this was, nevertheless, confidently assumed to have taken place by Pelham, or the Boston archivist for the time being. The facts, it is true, do not altogether square with the hypothesis. Franklin's visit to Boston occurred in 1733, and his letters to Price were written towards the close of 1734. Still, it is not necessary to impeach the good faith of the annalist. The Lodge at Philadelphia applied, without doubt—through Franklin—to Henry Price for a Charter, and if any excuse is needed for the conclusion which was arrived at in 1751, or earlier, by the Provincial Grand Officers, we find it in a recent review of the evidence, by the Grand Master for the time being of Massachusetts, where it is stoutly maintained "that Franklin received what he asked for."[1]

The date, however, of the application from Philadelphia seems to have been passed over very lightly. It is, at all events, free from doubt, that Franklin and the others could not have received *before* November 28, 1734, what they only solicited on that date. Then there is the rebutting evidence of the year 1749, which, in the opinion of most people, will be decisive of the whole point at issue, and justify the inference that the entire proofs were not forthcoming with which Franklin very properly asked to be supplied.[2]

The "first Lodge in Boston"—constituted by Price, August 31, 1733—obtained a place on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England in 1734. The Engraved (or official) Lists for 1731-33 are missing, which is to be regretted, as a curious problem presents itself in connection with an unofficial[3] list of Lodges really dating from 1734, from which the Lodge at Boston is excluded, while, to make up for the omission, one at Philadelphia finds a place.

In 1731, as we have already seen,[4] the sign of the house, where the seventy-ninth Lodge on the general list met, was the Castle at Highgate. The place or number occupied by the Lodge in question was vacant in 1733,[5] and 1734,[6] but in 1735 we find it again filled, and on this occasion the sign of the house is the Crown and Angel, Little St Martin's Lane,[7] which is also given in the official list for 1736.

In the Engraved List for 1734 there are 128 numbers in all (the 79th being vacant), and the last three are thus shown:—

126, Boston, in New England [*no date*]; 127, Valenciennes, in French Flanders [*no date*]; and 128, Duke of Marlborough, Petticoate Lane, White Chapell, November 5, 1734.

In a list of the following year, evidently taken by Picart from an official one published after February 24, and before June 24, 1735, there are no vacant numbers (the 79th being again filled). Nos. 126-128 are occupied in the same way as narrated in the last paragraph,

[1] Mr Sereno D. Nickerson in the "New England Freemason," vol. i., 1874, p. 382.

[2] It is evident, from his requiring copies of both patents, that the earlier one of 1733 had not been shown to Franklin by Price during their intercourse in that year.

[3] *I.c.*, as regards the *English* Lodges. The publication was "approved of, and recommended by," the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

[4] *Ante*, p. 426. [5] Rawlinson MS., Bodleian Library. [6] Engraved List.

[7] Picart. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 276, note 4.

and it contains an additional Lodge—No. 129—at the Mason's Arms, Plymouth, constituted January 26, 1735.

Next comes the evidence of the *Pocket Companion for Freemasons*, of which editions bearing the imprint "MDCCXXXV.," were published both in London[1] and Dublin.[2]

The earlier of the two was, without doubt, the English publication; and in this we find a roll of Lodges, of which there are 126 in all, agreeing exactly (including the vacancy at the 79th place) with that given in the official list for 1734, down to the No. 125, but at the following and last number—126—we meet with the Duke of Marlborough's Head, which, in the Engraved Series, appears at the No. 128. Thus, the Lodges at Boston and Valenciennes are omitted from the *Pocket Companion*, which must have been printed *after* November 5, 1734, the date of constitution of the Lodge at the Duke of Marlborough's Head, and apparently *before* the admission on the roll of the two foreign Lodges above named.

In the *Pocket Companion*, Dublin, the 79th place—which in the English or earlier edition is vacant—is filled by the Lodge at the Hoop, Water Street, Philadelphia. In other respects the Lodges on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England are given in the same order, and described in the same words, as in the *Pocket Companion*, London.

The appearance of a Philadelphian Lodge in the Irish edition is consistent with the theory that the notice of Franklin's election in 1734, must have been seen and read in Dublin, where, it seems at least a reasonable conjecture, in the interval between the two publications, intelligence may also have been received from London of the constitution of an *American* Lodge? Here we have, what I shall venture to term, a natural explanation of the mystery. It is quite clear that the existence of the "First Lodge at Boston," as a unit on the Grand Lodge roll, must have become commonly known almost immediately *after* the appearance of the *Pocket Companion*, Dublin. Therefore we have only to hazard the supposition, that shortly *before* the publication of the work in question, the bare fact of a new Lodge in British North America, having been taken on the general list, had in some way obtained currency—and that this addition to the roll was assumed in Dublin to be identical with the Lodge at Philadelphia?

A theory, however, has been advanced that the *first* Lodge borne at the No. 79 on the English roll was the one at the Hoop (or other tavern) in Water Street, Philadelphia, in which case it must have been placed on the general list in 1730 or 1731. In support of this view it is argued that the date on which the Lodge at the Castle, Highgate, paid its fee for constitution—November 21, 1732—was unusually late for a Lodge formed in 1731, and fairly warrants the inference that an earlier Lodge must have previously occupied the same number. The position of the Lodge at Philadelphia, on the Dublin list, it is then contended, among other Lodges of 1730 or 1731, altogether squares with this hypothesis.

Yet although the Engraved Lists for 1731-33 are missing, we learn from the official Calendar for 1736 and the Constitutions of 1738, that Nos. 77 and 81 were constituted on January 11 and November 1, 1731, respectively. The three intermediate Lodges were erected in the same *year*, but the *months* are not given. We can therefore only assume that as the centre of the group, the position of No. 79 on the list indicates that it was warranted about June 1731. At all events we may conclude that the *number* was allotted after March 25, as

[1] Printed and sold by E. Rider in Blackmore Street, near Clare Market.

[2] Printed by E. Rider, and sold at the *Printing Office* in *George's Lane*; T. Jones in *Clarendon Street*; and J. Pennel at the *Hercules* in *St Patrick Street*.

Anderson has not in this instance added the date of the *historical* to that of the *legal* year, which he appears to have invariably done when describing any day between January 1 and March 25.

This will harmonise perfectly with the list of Lodges as shown in the Grand Lodge Register for 1731-32. Next, the payment by No. 79 of the fee for its constitution on November 21, 1732, proves that it had a continuous existence down to nearly the close of that year. Nor would such a payment import a proximate dissolution. All we know with certainty is, that according to a list drawn up by Dr Rawlinson, apparently between March and July 1733, the Lodge at the Castle, Highgate, was extinct, and the No. 79 a vacant one —remaining so until after November 5, 1734, the date borne by the last Lodge on the Engraved List for that year.

St John's Lodge, Philadelphia, of which Franklin was "Grand Master" in 1734, assembled on the first Monday in the month, which was also the day of meeting of the Lodge at the "Hoop" in the same city, as described by the *Pocket Companion.*

There was a "Sun" as well as a "Tun" tavern in Water Street, Philadelphia. According to Franklin's *Gazette*, the "Grand Lodge" in 1732 met at the former, and in the two following years at the latter. All three designations, Sun, Tun, or Hoop, are believed by MacCalla to apply to one public-house at different dates not far apart.[1]

I shall now pass from the consideration of No. 79 to that of No. 126 on the same list.

It is a well-established fact that more than one edition of the Engraved Series was often published in the same year. This may serve to explain why the Lodges at Boston and Valenciennes are not shown in the *Pocket Companion*, London,[2] but which includes nevertheless a London Lodge—No. 126, at the sign of the Duke of Marlborough—subsequently placed below them on the list. The first Lodge at this number, then, was constituted November 5, 1734, and the date is of importance as assisting us to determine about what period the First Lodge at Boston obtained a footing on our roll. This apparently occurred in November or December 1734, or to speak roundly, about fifteen months after its original constitution. The delay in registration is a material point, since it forms one of the aggregate of minor circumstances upon which I think we shall do well to base our final judgment of Henry Price. It has been nowhere doubted that the Lodge was regularly established, but it has been urged that the deputation granted to Price was simply an authority to open a Lodge, or in other words, a warrant of constitution—not a patent as Provincial Grand Master. Had this been so, the Lodge at Boston would have appeared on the roll in 1733, at (about) the No. 113, as the roll was arranged according to "seniority of constitution," an expression, the meaning of which has now become obsolete, but in use at that time to indicate that the precedency of Lodges was to be regulated by the priority of the written instruments severally possessed by them. In plainer words, the "constitution" of a Lodge was its warrant or authority to assemble, and the columns headed "constituted" in the Engraved Lists merely gave the dates when the various Lodges were chartered by the Grand Master or his Deputy. Thus, the days of meeting of the Boston Lodge, with the year and month of its formation, would have been duly entered in the register of Grand Lodge, and thence transferred in the ordinary course to the published list, had the deputation granted to Price been of the limited character which has been suggested. But the Lodge did not even secure a footing on the general list until

[1] Keystone, November 7, 1885.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XVII., p. 390.

some fifteen months after its establishment, while the days of meeting—"2d and 4th Sat^{y}.' —appear for the first time in the Engraved List for 1738, and the *year* of constitution, though without the *month*, through the same channel of publication in 1740. Yet, there is no room for doubt that the Lodge was regarded as having been properly constituted by some competent authority, which in the case before us could only have emanated from Price. In other words, the admission of the First Lodge of Boston on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, involved as a necessary corollary, a recognition of the Provincial commission under which it was called into being.

Great stress has been laid on the absence of Price's name from the lists of Provincial Grand Masters published in the successive editions of the Constitutions. But with regard to this purely negative evidence there are some considerations which have not as yet received their due weight. The preservation or destruction of historical materials is as providential as the guidance of events.[1] Of this aphorism the existing records of the Grand Lodge of England afford a good illustration. The first minute-book of that body relates the proceedings of the Grand Lodge from June 24, 1723, to March 17, 1731. In the same volume are contained several lists of Lodges, with the names of their members, and copies of various deputations granted to brethren in foreign parts—and among them the exact text of the patent issued to Daniel Coxe.

The second minute-book begins with the proceedings of March 27, 1731, and ends with those of April 26, 1771. Volume II., however, was not used like its predecessor, as a receptacle for documentary waifs and strays, which, by transcription into the actual minute-book of Grand Lodge, were happily preserved from destruction. From the date, therefore, at which the earliest minute-book ends, many occurrences not actually forming a part of the proceedings in Grand Lodge, must have been recorded on loose papers or in books that have now perished. Dr Anderson, in preparing the second edition of his Constitutions, had the minutes of Grand Lodge to refer to; but with regard to what other records were placed at his disposal, it is now, of course, impossible to speak with precision. Still, judging by results, there is very little in the Constitutions of 1738, which betrays a deeper fount of information than the recorded proceedings of the Grand Lodge.

The deputation granted to Daniel Coxe necessarily came under observation, but not so the later patent to Henry Price, the date of which precluded its being entered in the first volume of minutes, and, as already related, documents of that class found no place in the second. William Read, moreover, who had been Grand Secretary from December 27, 1727, was succeeded—March 30, 1734—by John Revis; and it was not until February 24, 1735, that Anderson sought the permission of Grand Lodge to bring out a new edition of his Constitutions. Above all, we must not forget that the latest contribution to the literature of the Craft by the "Father of Masonic History" has come down to us without any great weight of authority.[2] Bearing all this in mind, we need attach less importance to the omission of Price's name in the successive editions of the Constitutions. The case of his successor, Robert Tomlinson, whose appointment is duly recorded, stands on quite another footing. It is but natural to suppose that Anderson obtained from John Revis a list of Provincial Grand Masters in foreign parts appointed during his own tenure of office. For the same reason, I am inclined to regard the claim advanced by Price to have had his authority extended over

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XVI., p. 258.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

all America by Lord Crawford, in 1734, as an hallucination arising out of circumstances which are only dimly shadowed in Franklin's letter of that year.[1] The files of Boston newspapers for 1734 are incomplete, and the "article of news from London" referred to by the "Grand Master" of Pennsylvania cannot be found. A search by me in the library of the British Museum has been equally fruitless. But the accuracy of Franklin was such[2] as to leave no room for doubt that a statement, importing the extension of Price's "deputation and power over all North America," duly appeared in some Boston print.

On February 5, 1736, a petition (the original of which has been preserved) was addressed by six brethren at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Henry Price, whom they style "Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons held in Boston." The petitioners described themselves as "*of the holy and exquisite Lodge of St John,*" and asked for power to hold a Lodge "According to order as is and has been granted to faithfull Brothers in all parts of the World," and they declared that they had their "Constitutions both in print and *manuscript* as good and as ancient as any that England can afford." The favour was asked because they had heard "there is a Superiour Lodge held in Boston." Be it noted, this was early in 1736, when no Lodge had been warranted at Portsmouth; and as the brethren stated they possessed "Constitutions" in *manuscript*—which it is hardly possible could have been anything else than a copy of the "Old Charges"—as well as in print, the evidence is consistent with the supposition that while at the date named the Lodge must have been some years in existence, its origin may have reached back even to the seventeenth century.

I am anxious not to lay too much stress on the precise meaning attached by me to the mention of manuscript Constitutions; nevertheless I think the petition may be taken as fair evidence that in 1736 there were brethren in New Hampshire (meeting as Masons in a Lodge) who possessed a copy (or reprint) of the English Constitutions published in 1723, as well as a version of an older set of laws in MS., thus pointing to the possible existence of the Lodge at even an earlier period than the Grand Lodge era of 1716-17.

In the same year (1736) Price is alluded to in the two letters of recommendation from the First Lodge of Boston, which have been previously referred to, as "Provincial Grand Master." The later of these is dated September 1, 1736, and three months afterwards—December 7—the charge of the province of New England was committed by patent to Robert Tomlinson. Whether Price resigned or was superseded, there is no evidence to show; but it is not unreasonable to suppose that, with the influx of many new members of higher social standing, there may have arisen a feeling that his occupation in life was incompatible with the appointment. Therefore, choice was made of Tomlinson, "a gentleman of means and distinction." The deputation to Price's successor recites that it was granted in response to the prayer of a petition that a *new* Prov. G.M. for New England might be nominated. To the word "new" great importance has been attached by some commentators, but I think without reason, as the more we rely upon the early Boston records as independent authorities, the greater becomes the necessity of critically appraising the *weight* and thereby the value of their testimony.

[1] *Ante*, p. 431.

[2] "Through the press, no one was so active as Benjamin Franklin. His newspaper defended freedom of speech and of the press, for he held that falsehood alone dreads attack and cries out for auxiliaries, while truth scorns the aid of the secular arm, and triumphs by her innate strength" (Bancroft, Hist. U.S.A., vol. ii., 1885, p. 260).

The deputation requires the sum of two guineas, in respect of every new Lodge constituted by the Prov. G.M., "to be paid into the Stock of General Charity." This fee, it may be remarked, gradually increased in amount, becoming, as we learn from subsequent patents, two guineas and a-half, in Oxnard's time, and three guineas under later administrations.

In 1738, Tomlinson went to England, *viâ* Antigua, "where," says the Rev. T. M. Harris,[1] "finding some old Boston Masons, he went to work and made the Governor, and sundry other gentlemen of distinction, Masons, whereby from our Lodge sprung Masonry in the West Indies." Soon after his arrival in London, he was present at a meeting of the Grand Lodge—which was also attended by John Hammerton, Prov. G.M. of Carolina—January 31, 1739.

His death in 1740 left the province without a head, and an interregnum of some duration ensued, during which—so the Boston records tell us—Price presided and acted as Provincial Grand Master.

The vacancy was filled up, September 23, 1743, by the appointment of Thomas Oxnard, a merchant of character and influence. The deputation contains a recital, that "a Provincial Grand Master for North America, in the room of Robert Tomlinson," had been asked for, so it is highly probable, that the enlarged patent conferred on Oxnard—wherein the jurisdiction craved is duly granted to him—simply originated in a mistake, either on the part of the Grand Secretary, or on that of Governor Belcher, at whose instance the appointment is said to have been made. Nor can the error, if such it were, be styled an uncommon one, for the same comprehensive title was bestowed on Daniel Coxe, when the Deputy Grand Master proposed his health in 1731.[2]

The "Second Lodge in Boston" was constituted in the usual manner, on February 15, 1750. In the previous year, as we have already seen, Franklin received a Provincial Commission from Oxnard, and it will be convenient, therefore, if at this point, the narrative is interrupted, while we pause to consider some of the more striking features in the system of Masonry which for nearly twenty years had existed side by side in the two Colonies of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

At each capital, Boston and Philadelphia, there was a Society of Masons, meeting sometimes as a Grand, and at other times as a Private Lodge. That the same characteristics were common to the two brotherhoods, we may fairly assume, which is so far an advantage, inasmuch as while our stock of information is but small regarding the one, we know absolutely nothing of the inner life of the other. To the extent possible, an outline has been already given of the early Masonry of Pennsylvania, and I shall now proceed to supplement that sketch, by some remarks of a kindred character.

Whether Henry Price was the first Master of the Lodge founded by him in 1733, is a matter of uncertainty, but he appears to have filled that position at the establishment of the Lodge of Masters, and Second Lodge of Boston, in 1738 and 1750 respectively. In the First Lodge only two degrees were conferred, the third not being given in it until 1794.

A separate set of minutes was kept of the *Master Masons' Lodge*, or, in other words, of the "Lodge of Masters." Independent records of the Third Degree were frequently kept in

[1] Constitutions, G. L. Mass., 1792. A biographical sketch of the compiler will be found in the "Proceedings" of the same body, 1874, pp. 185-93.

[2] *Ante*, p. 427.

this country also. Mr Norton estimates that between 1733 and January 2, 1739, the number of Masons identified with the "First Lodge in Boston" was 105, 15 of whom, he thinks, founded the Master Masons' Lodge, and 6 only were subsequently raised therein. From the latter period to September 1751, 238 joined the Lodge, of whom 84 became Master Masons, so that many appear to have been content with the First and Second Degrees, just as we find was formerly the case in Scotland—where the practice was a very general one until late in the last century—and is still so in Germany. Thomas Oxnard (afterwards Prov. G.M.), who was Master of the Lodge in 1736, and again in 1737, was not raised to the degree of Master Mason until 1739.

The "Lodge" and the "Grand Lodge" at Boston, appear to have been regarded—at least during the first decade of their existence—as one and the same body, both at home and abroad. The letter of September 1, 1736, despatched in the lesser capacity, to Lodge Glasgow Kilwinning, is signed by Price as G.M., while a communication dated June 27, 1739, "from the Grand Lodge at the Court-house in St John's," Antigua,—written by command of Governor Mathew, the Prov. G.M.,—was addressed, not to the G.L. of New England, but to the First Lodge of Boston. The latter body was styled the Mother Lodge of New England, and of America, by a committee of its members in 1741, the two titles being used in a correspondence with Governor Belcher and his successor Governor Shirley. Jonathan Belcher was Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire from 1730 to 1741, and it was in the latter year, when thanked for his protection by the First Lodge of Boston, that he placed on record his long connection with the Society, to which I have adverted on an earlier page.[1] Governor Shirley was not a Mason, nor did he avail of the sufficiently broad hint that he should become one, thrown out by the "MOTHER LODGE OF AMERICA,"[2] through their committee in 1741—"As it has been the Custom for men in the most exalted Station to have the Door of our Society'e Constitution always opened to them (when desired), we think it our Duty to acquaint your Excellency with that Custom, and assure you, that we shall chearfully attend your Excellency's Pleasure therein."

It is probable that at Boston, as well as in Philadelphia, the brethren assembled as a *Lodge* at all meetings except (on St John's Days, and) when officers were elected (or appointed). This was evidently the practice in the latter city, where, indeed, the possibility may be conceived of the expression "Grand Lodge" bearing in the first instance only the restricted signification of the *adjective*, without the meaning which is now conventionally ascribed to it in conjunction with the *noun*? Besides, we must not lose sight of the fact, that for half a century and more after the occurrences I am relating, there was nothing at all unusual in the assumption by a private Lodge, of a prefix now only met with in connection with a governing body. So late as 1786, the Grand Lodge of Scotland found it necessary to ordain, that no Master should be addressed by the style or title of *Grand*, except the Grand Master Mason of that country.[3] The expression, "Mother Lodge of America," used in 1741 by a committee of the first Lodge in Boston, forcibly reminds us of the maternal title assumed under closely analogous circumstances by the Lodge of Kilwinning, the "Three Globes" at Berlin, and other European Lodges. The members of the Prov. Grand Lodge of New England, so long as there was only one Lodge in the province, must have belonged to it,

[1] *Ante*, p. 424; Chap. XVI., p. 269.

[2] *Sic*, in Boston Records, p. 390.

[3] Laurie, 1859, p. 139; Lyon, p. 331; Constitution and Laws of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1881, p. 6.

but they formed after all but a single brotherhood, though meeting at times in different capacities.

Oxnard went to England in the summer of 1751, and on October 7 of the same year, a "Humble Remonstrance" signed by the Masters and Wardens of the First, Second, Third, and Masters' Lodges of Boston, was addressed to the G.M. of England, in which it was requested that a "Full and Plenary Commission to act as Grand Master in and over all the Lodges in North America" might be granted to him and his successors. On January 20, 1752, the D.G.M. (M^{c}Daniel) convened a meeting of the Prov. Grand Lodge, to decide who should take the chair under Old Regulation XXI. It was moved that the right belonged to Henry Price, but on a vote being taken whether two of the Brethren should be sent to desire him "to come and resume his office, it passed in the negative." Whether the movement, or the opposition thereto, grew out of any ill feeling, or whether Oxnard's appointment had any connection with it, cannot now be determined. Price did not resent the vote, for he was present at the next meeting, and at the Festival, at each of which M^{c}Daniel presided.

On June 26, 1754, Oxnard died after a lingering illness, his funeral, attended by the Prov. Grand Lodge, taking place on the 29th; and on the 12th of the following month two brethren were appointed by the Deputy Grand Master to wait upon Price and request him to resume his office as G.M.,—which he did on the same day.

On October 11, 1754, a Committee was elected to obtain the appointment of "Jeremy Gridley, Esq^{r}., Counsellor at Law." The petition to the G.M. of England, signed by M^{c}Daniel (D.G.M. under Oxnard), and six others, recites that on the decease of Oxnard, Henry Price, "formerly G. Master, reassumed the chair *pro tempore*," and expresses the desire of the members that "all future Grand Masters should be deputed for three years only," this being clogged, however, with a proviso for the continuance in office of the Prov. G.M. at the will of the P.G.L. Mention is also made in the petition of the origin of Masonry "here" (*i.e.*, Boston) in 1733, "and in the year following" (it continues), "our then G.M., Price, received orders from G.M. Crawford to establish masonry *in all North America*, in pursuance of which the several Lodges hereafter mentioned have rec^{d} Constitutions from us."[1] They likewise craved "due precedency, and that in order thereunto our G.M. elect may in his deputation be styled G.M. of all North America."

Price wrote—August 6, 1755—in support of the petition, describing his services as Prov. G.M., and how he was succeeded by Tomlinson, and the latter by Oxnard, when the chair reverted to him again, "according to the Constitutions." He declared, that with his consent, all the Brethren in North America had made Choice of their Bro^{r}., Jeremy Gridley; after which he mentions the payment of the fee of three guineas, per Capt. Phillips, to the Rev. John Entick, and expresses surprise at receiving no acknowledgment.

Price, with pardonable pride, records the great success of Masonry in America since his settling there. "No less than forty Lodges," he says, have "sprung from my first Lodge in Boston." "Therefore," he proceeds, "we desire that our deputation may be made out for, or over, *all North America*."[2]

[1] The Lodges referred to are the first twelve—omitting the *second* Lodge at Philadelphia—of those outside Massachusetts, shown in the table of Lodges (on the next page), warranted by Henry Price or his successors.

[2] The italics are mine. In the same letter, Price states that he received a deputation for *North America* from Lord Montague in April 1733, and held it for *four* years; that he was succeeded in his office by Tomlinson and Oxnard; and that he has "some remote thoughts of once more seeing London with all Brethren in the Grand Lodge after twenty-two years' absence."

At this point it may be convenient if the narrative is interrupted by a list of the Lodges warranted at any time by Price or his successors, so far at least as their names have been preserved in documents now extant. The following table has been compiled from the "Boston Records," and an asterisk denotes in each case that the Lodge is mentioned *for the first time* among those represented or otherwise at a meeting of the Grand Lodge. Thus, the Lodge in Virginia, which appears under the year 1766, was probably that in which Washington received the light of Masonry at Fredericksburg in 1752; and it is scarcely possible that such a cluster of Lodges could have been formed in a single year (1766) without some allusion to their charters or fees of Constitution, appearing in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge. There was certainly one other Lodge—American Union—which received a warrant from the same source of authority, but as explained above, the list has been made up from actual entries in the official records of the G.L. of Massachusetts.

LODGES UNDER THE ENGLISH PROV. G.L. AT BOSTON.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,	1734.	Marblehead, Massachusetts,	1760.
Portsmouth, New Hampshire,	1735.	Surranam,* [Dutch Guiana],	1761.
Charleston, South Carolina,	1735.	Hartford, Connecticut,	1762.
Boston, Master's Lodge,	1738.	Falmouth,[3] Massachusetts,	1762.
Antigua, West Indies,	1738.	Elizabeth Town, New Jersey,	1762.
Annapolis, Nova Scotia,	1738.	Quebec,*	1764.
Newfoundland,	1746.	Crown Point, Provincial Troops,	1764.
Newport,[1] Rhode Island,	1749.	Waterbury, Connecticut,	1765.
Boston, Second Lodge of,	1750.	Prince Town, New Jersey,	1765.
„ Third Lodge of,	1750.	Norwich,* [Connecticut ?],	1766.
Annapolis, Maryland,	1750.	Virginia,*	1766.
Halifax, Nova Scotia,	1750.	Salem,*	1766.
Newhaven, Connecticut,	1750.	St Christopher,* West Indies,	1766.
Philadelphia,[2] Pennsylvania,	1752.	Barbadoes,* „	1766.
New London, Connecticut,	1753.	Pitt County,* North Carolina,	1766.
Middletown, „	1754.	Newbury,* [Massachusetts ?],	1766.
Lake George,* Canada,	1757.	Newfoundland,* Second Lodge of,	1766.
Louisburgh, 28th Foot,	1758.	Wallingford, Connecticut,	1769.
Crown Point, Canada,	1758.	Sherburne, Massachusetts,	1771.
Providence, Rhode Island,	1757.	Guildford, Connecticut,	1771.
Newport (Master's Lodge),	1759.	Boston, 4th Lodge of (Rising Sun),	1772.

Gridley's deputation, dated April 4, 1755, was granted prior to the receipt of Price' letter. It conferred authority over "all Such Provinces and Places in North America and the Territories thereof, *of which no Provincial Grand Master is at present appointed.*" The commission winds up with an exhortation to the holder to remit the sum of three guineas to the Grand Treasurer, in London, for every Lodge he should constitute.

It will be observed that the deputation of 1755 to Gridley was a qualified one, in respect to his appointment for "all America." Not so, however, the one sent to Oxnard of 1743, which simply specifies his title to be "Provincial Grand Master of North America." I assume,

[1] Warrant of Confirmation, 1753.

[2] "Aprill 10th, 1752.—For the Lodge att Philadelphia Bro^r. McDaniel appeared and paid for their Constitution £31 ,, 10 ,," (Boston Records, p. 20). This payment, amounting to about two guineas and a half actual money, must have been made on behalf of the Lodge chartered at the meeting presided over by Franklin in 1749.

[3] *Ante*, p. 414.

nevertheless, that in reality Oxnard possessed no further powers than were bestowed on Gridley, viz., to act as Prov. G.M. in North America, in districts or territories for which no Prov. G.M. had been appointed; for we may rest assured that neither of these two representatives of the Grand Lodge of England in the Western Hemisphere, had any authority over the Prov. G.M.'s of Pennsylvania, New York, and South Carolina, who had been appointed from home during their respective tenures of office.[1]

Attorney-General Gridley—an initiate of the St John's Lodge, May 11, 1748—was installed as Prov. G.M. by Henry Price on October 1, 1755, with great pomp and ceremony, the two brethren, "clothed with their jewels and badges, walking together" in the procession to Trinity Church, after the Masonic meeting held in the Concert Hall, Boston.

Jeremy Gridley, who at the time of his decease was Attorney-General, a member of the General Court, and a Justice of the Province, Colonel of the First Regiment of Militia, and President of the Marine Society, died September 10, 1767. The Provincial Grand Lodge in the following month requested Price to reassume his old office, and in October 23, he was invested with the Jewel of Grand Master by John Rowe, D.G.M., who addressed him in the following words:—"You, (to the Satisfaction of all the Lodges[2]) have had the Honour of first introducing Masonry into these Parts of the World, and intentionally, for the good of Masonry, have resign'd the Chair of Grand Master to three Successors, whom Providence has deprived us off."

The Feast of St John the Evangelist was observed December 30, 1767, Henry Price presiding. The same day, as Grand Master, he executed a commission to Thomas Cooper as D.G.M. of North Carolina, "by virtue of the power and authority committed to [him] by Lord Viscount Montague, Grand Master of Masons."

At an adjourned Grand Lodge held January 22, 1768, on the nomination of the Grand Master (*pro tem.*), John Rowe (D.G.M. and Treasurer) was elected to the office of "Grand Master of Masons for North America," 12 out of 16 votes being recorded in his favour, whereupon he was saluted as G.M. elect.

A committee of nine was appointed to write to England for the patent, and, having settled the text of the communication on January 25, 1768, signed the petition accordingly. The appointment was solicited for three years only, but with certain reservations, which, as in the former instance, would have rendered nugatory the provision for a restricted term of office.

The petition winds up with the following clause:—

"Whereas Masonry in America originated in this Place Anno 5733, and in the year following, our then Grand Master Price received Orders from Grand Master Craufurd to establish Masonry in all North America, in Pursuance of which the several Lodges hereafter mentioned have received Constitutions from us.[3] We therefore crave due Precedency, and

[1] Of this there is distinct evidence in the case of Gridley, who, in 1762, only consented to warrant a Lodge at Elizabeth-town, New Jersey, on receiving information that Daniel Coxe had died before the grant of his own deputation. *Cf. ante*, p. 428.

[2] The words within parenthesis may either be a merely complimentary phrase, or they may import that Price had made good *a disputed title* to the "Honour" upon which he was congratulated?

[3] Hugh McDaniel, chairman of the Committee, was made a Mason in the First Lodge, January 30, 1735, less than eighteen months after the organisation of the Grand Lodge by Price. In June 1736, he was elected Senior Warden of the First Lodge, which constituted him a member of the Grand Lodge, and continued to represent that Lodge as Warden or Master until 1744, when he was appointed Deputy Grand Master. Thus (it is contended), he must have been thoroughly informed of the early history of Masonry in New England and of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

that in Order thereunto, Our Grand Master Elect may, in his Deputation, be styled Grand Master of all North America."

Then follow the signatures of the petitioners (or Committee), and after these, there is a postscript or memorandum which reads:—

"2d Lodge, or No. 2 in Boston, Constituted Feb. 15, 1749[O.S.], meets the 3d Wednesday in every month at the British Coffee House, in King Street."

"New Haven Lodge, in Connecticut, Constituted in November 1750, kept at the Golden Lion in that Town."

"Providence Lodge, in Rhode Island Government, Constituted Jan. 18, 1757, meets the first and third Wednesday of every month."

"Marblehead Lodge, in this Government, Constituted March 25, 1760."

A letter, dated January 27, 1768, was forwarded at the same time by Price, addressed to the G.M., Grand Officers, and Brethren, "in Grand Lodge assembled," stating that "the money now sent to you is for the Constitution of four Lodges in America, which I pray may be Registered in the Grand Lodge Books; the money would have been paid long before, but some unforeseen accidents prevented." It will be seen that no explanation is really given with regard to the delay in remitting to England fees which, on the writer's own showing, had been in arrear from 1750. Virtually, indeed, it was the first "return" made by the Prov. Grand Lodge since 1733; but Price expresses a hope that "the said Lodges will not be denied their Rank, according to the Time of their Constitution, notwithstanding the above Omission;" and for particulars the Grand Master is referred to "the Letter from the Grand Committee of the Grand Lodge here, which goes by the same hand that presents this to you."

Price then goes on to say that "several other Lodges have been Constituted by the Grand Lodge here in different parts of America, who have not yet Transmitted to us the Stated Fees for their Constitution." Payment, however, was promised on the amounts being received, so that such Lodges might "likewise be Registered." He next recites the oft-told tale of his having been appointed Prov. G.M. of New England by Lord Montacute in 1733, and that in the year 1735 [1734] his commission was extended over all North America by Lord Crauford. On inquiry, however, he found that "said Deputations were never Registered, though [he himself] paid three Guineas therefor to Thomas Batson, Esqr., then Deputy Grand Master, who, with the Grand Wardens then in being, signed [his] said Deputation." He then proceeds with the claim that his own patent was the first ever issued "to any part of America"—here, as we see, plainly ignoring the earlier appointment of Daniel Coxe, as officially stated in the editions of the Constitutions for 1738, 1756, and 1767. "So," he continues, "would submit it to your Wisdom and Justice whether said Deputations should not be Registered in their proper Place, without any further Consideration therefor, and the Grand Lodge here have Rank according to Date, as it has (by Virtue of said Deputations) been the foundation of Masonry in America, and I [Henry Price] the Founder." The letter concludes with the following:—

"*P.S.*—R^t. Worshipful, I herewith send you an Attested Copy of my said Deputation in

the Grand Lodge Book of this Place, under the Hand of our Grand Secretary, whose Signature you may depend upon as genuine. H. P."

The copy of this epistle in the Boston Records, contains two misstatements, which have been much criticised—one, the name (Montacute), wrongly assigned by Price to Lord Montague; and the other, his assertion with regard to the extension of his powers, in 1735. But the first is easily explained on the supposition that his clerk (or amanuensis) must have followed the spelling given by Entick (Constitutions, 1756), and both are to a great extent neutralised by the fact that the petition which accompanied the letter states the name of Lord Montague correctly, and dates the extension of powers at 1734.[1]

But the letter has other features which demand our attention. It is, for instance, a curious circumstance that the attested copy of Price's deputation was made from a *transcript*, and not from the original; while the alleged payment to D.G.M. Batson stands in need of some further explanation, as it is doubtful whether any fee was paid at that time by a Prov. G.M. for his deputation, and the sum of three guineas does not represent the ordinary amount which he was required to contribute at a subsequent period.

William Jackson, who took the petition and letter to England, carried also with him a recommendation from the Grand Lodge in Boston, dated January 22, 1768—signed by Henry Price, G.M., and his Grand Wardens—to their "Mother Lodge" in England. He returned to Boston with a deputation for John Rowe, who is styled "Provincial Grand Master for all North America, and the Territories thereunto belonging, where no other Provincial Grand Master is in being," issued by order of the Duke of Beaufort, G.M., and dated May 12, 1768.

We are told that "the Deputation of Rowe contains a complete and thorough vindication of Price."[2] It recites that he was "constituted Provincial Grand Master for North America" by Viscount Montague, April 13, 1733, and that "He Resigning, Recommends John Rowe."

From this, according to the same commentator, there is no appeal; but putting aside the notorious fact that the historical value of recitals in Masonic charters is very much in keeping with that of the preambles of ancient statutes,[3] the misstatements with regard to locality, date, and the resignation of Price, seem to me to carry with them their own condemnation.

John Rowe outlived Henry Price—who died in 1780—and continued to hold the office of Prov. G.M. until his own decease in 1787. But from about the date of the *former's* appointment until 1804, the name of the *latter* was annually shown in the Calendar of the Grand

[1] Another copy of the letter is preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge of England. In this the name of Lord Montague is correctly spelt, while the words ascribed to Price with regard to his Grand Lodge are, that it had been "the Foundations of Masonry in America." Four original letters from Henry Price to the Grand Secretary of England are in the same custody. These are dated June 8 and December 20, 1769, and January 29 and May 16, 1770. The letter of June 8, 1769, is in duplicate. Each of the others is endorsed "Lr. from the P.G.M. for America." With one unimportant exception (December 20, 1769), copies of the letters are given by Gardner. In every case Price's own handwriting is limited to his signature.

[2] Gardner, p. 53—in a review of whose "Address," however, Mr Jacob Norton observes—"The petition for the First Lodge of Boston stated that Price's deputation was dated April 13, 1732, and in the year of Masonry 5732, but both dates were altered several years afterwards into 1733 and 5733" (Freemason, vol. v., 1872, p. 483). The final 3 in each case certainly appears—from a *facsimile* of the petition—to have been originally a 2. As a motive for the alteration, the tardy discovery by Price of the fact that Viscount Montague only became Grand Master on the *nineteenth* day of April 1732, has been suggested?

[3] *Cf.* Chaps. VII., p. 378; XIX., p. 439.

Lodge of England as "Provincial G.M. for North America." Why it was persistently kept there throughout this long period—and there is distinct evidence that in 1792, if not before, the Grand Secretary in London was informed of Price's death—is, in my opinion, only another example of the gross carelessness of the executive of the Grand Lodge of England with regard to the foreign and Colonial Lodges on the roll of that body. The explanation given by Gardner is, that the Grand Officers, desirous of repairing "the injury which had been done to the fame of Henry Price, purposely retained his name upon the Official Calendar for thirty-six years, a period of time equal to that which had elapsed from the time of his appointment in 1733 to the date of his recognition in 1768!"

This far-fetched scheme of reparation need not be seriously discussed. It will be wiser to balance one error of the Grand Lodge publications against the other. From this we may safely arrive at the conclusion, that the omission of Price's name in the Constitutions of 1738, 1756, and 1767, is of no greater historical value than its insertion in the Calendars of 1770-1804.

It remains to be stated that Rowe's name does not appear in any English Calendar as Prov. G.M., also that there are no communications in the archives at Boston addressed to him in such capacity.

In reply to Price's letter of January 27, 1768, Grand Secretary French wrote a long letter, dated November 29, in the same year. French succeeded Samuel Spencer, whose protracted illness was the cause of the delay. The Grand Secretary consented to register the four Lodges as desired, but requested that in future an account might be forwarded immediately of every Lodge, when constituted, as otherwise it could not be expected that they should rank in their order of precedency. Why Price's name was not to be found in the list of Prov. G.M.'s he expressed himself unable to explain, but his letter goes on to state, "These mistakes might have been long since rectified, if you had kept up, according to your Charter, a regular annual correspondence with the Grand Lodge. However, as it appears by some loose papers[1] in my possession that you had resigned in favour of John Rowe, [the Grand Master] desires you will forward a letter to me relating to this point, per first opportunity, that the Provincialship may be properly settled, with an account of the date of his warrant. No deputation which has been granted since your appointment for any part of America, can affect you, as their authority can only extend over those provinces where no other Provincial Grand Master is appointed." Here we find French asking for the date of Rowe's patent, evidently not being aware of its having been signed earlier in the same year by his predecessor (deceased). This shows what little interest was taken at that time in Masonry beyond the seas. The Grand Secretary also informs Price that no deputation granted since his own could affect his status. This assertion was simply ridiculous,

[1] A copy of this letter is to be found in the MS. volume of records (p. 120), to which I have already referred. In the same book (p. 3) are the following curious entries in the handwriting of Grand Secretary French :—

"N.B.—The Deputation of Bror. H. Price has never come to my hand, but among other loose papers I have found the following memorandum. [Signed] THOS. FRENCH.

"Viscount Montague, G.M.

"Henry Price, Esq., P.G.M. for all North America and the territories thereunto belonging, Dated April 13th, 1733, desire the favour to resign his Provincialship in favour of John Rowe, Esq., to be Provincial G.M. over North America where no other Provincial is appointed. BEAUFORT, G.M.

"He resigning recommends John Rowe, Esq. We therefore do hereby con—"

as the later deputations to Oxnard, Gridley, and Rowe gave them authority over all parts of North America, for which no Prov. G.M. was appointed, consequently Price's position was wholly ignored, and indeed was not officially recognised (except indirectly) until 1768, in Rowe's patent, by which, however, Price himself was superseded.

To the request of the Duke of Beaufort, G.M., as communicated through Thomas French, Price replied—June 3, 1769—in the following words:—"It would be tedious to explain the matter of my resigning as Provincial Grand Master; I recommended our Right Worshipful Brother John Rowe to be Provincial Grand Master of New England, but you cannot find that I ever gave up my own Appointment over all North America: this ∴ ∴ I shall explain to you ∴ ∴ face to face in London, some time in the Fall ∴ ∴ then we may settle the Provincial Grand Masters and Rank the Lodges properly."

Yet the writer of this letter had himself particularly requested that the deputation to Gridley might be "made out for all North America," and on the decease of that Brother, nominated John Rowe for the vacant appointment. Price, it is quite evident, was not possessed of a very retentive memory, but it is only fair to recollect that his age at that time exceeded the three score and ten, which, the Scripture informs us, is the ordinary span of man's activity.

The letter last cited was acknowledged by James Heseltine—appointed Grand Secretary April 28, 1769—who in a communication dated September 6, 1769, requests Price to forward certain proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England "to the Lodges in America, except those in Canada, North and South Carolina, to which Lodges [he had] forwarded the same [himself]." This letter was addressed to "Henry Price, P.G.M. for America," and it indicates clearly that —Canada and the Carolinas alone excepted—his authority was understood in England to extend over the whole Continent. With one further allusion I shall bring to a close my extracts from this correspondence. On January 29, 1770, Price wrote to Heseltine, and once more expresses an intention of soon visiting London, when he purposes to "Give the Grand Lodge a true State of Masonry in America."

Price attended the Prov. Grand Lodge for the last time on January 28, 1774. There were but three Communications held after this prior to the siege of Boston, when the meetings of all the Lodges were suspended. At the last of these—January 27, 1775—Richard Gridley presided as D.G.M., and was again *nominated* to that office, but at his own request a ballot was taken, which resulted in his being unanimously *elected.*

In 1776, the diary of John Rowe records, under June 25, "dined with the Brethren of the Lodges under my direction." The next evidence brings us to 1783, in which year—February 7—the First and Second Lodges of Boston amalgamated; the Third Lodge seems to have passed quietly out of existence, but the Fourth, which was originally an offshoot of St John's, rejoined its parent Lodge in 1791. In 1784, according to a local almanack, there were thirty Lodges under the St John's and twenty under the Massachusetts, Grand Lodges. In the same year, the African Lodge—No. 459—Boston, received an English charter, and St Andrew's split into two parts, one (with the warrant) separating from, and the other adhering to, the Massachusetts Grand Lodge. The latter became the "Rising States Lodge," with the rank of No. 1, and in 1809, united—under the old name—with the former, which in that year was readmitted within the fold.

John Rowe died in 1787, and meetings of the St John's Grand Lodge were held on

February 7 and August 4 of that year under the presidency of Richard Gridley, D.G.M., with John Cutler (a former grand officer[1]) as S.G.W. The latter—after whose name again appear the letters "S.G.W."—took the chair "as Grand Master" on July 29, 1790, when a Grand Lodge was held for "the Choice of new G. Officers," and a Grand *Junior* Warden, Treasurer, and Secretary were elected. Further meetings took place November 25, 1791, January 13, and March 2 and 5, 1792, at all of which Cutler presided, and on the last occasion is described as "D.G.M." This date—March 5—is that of the Union of the two Grand Lodges in Boston, the initiative with regard to which was taken by the junior body in 1787, though nothing came of it until 1792, when seven electors from each of the Grand Lodges, under the chairmanship of Paul Revere, D.G.M. of the younger Society, made choice of John Cutler as the first Grand Master of the "Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."[2]

The following American Lodges were placed on the English Register, and without exception continued to figure annually in the official lists until 1813. The first date in each case is that from which the Lodge was allowed to rank, but the second denotes the actual year of its original appearance in the published Calendar.

LODGES ON THE ROLL OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND, 1733-89.

No.			No.		
126,	St John's, Boston, Massachusetts,	1733-34.	141,	2d Lodge, Boston, Massachusetts,	1750-69.
139,	Solomon's, Savannah, Georgia,	1735-36.	142,	Marblehead Lodge, Massachusetts,	1760-69.
236,	Royal Exchange, Norfolk, Virginia,	1753-54.	143,	New Haven, Connecticut,	1750-69.
205,	Swan, Yorktown, Virginia,	1755-56.	224,	Providence Lodge, Rhode Island,	1757-69.
213,	Wilmington, North Carolina,	1754-56.	448,	Zion Lodge, Detroit [*Michigan*[3]],	1764-73.
247,	Prince George, Winyaw, S.C.,	1743-60.	457,	Williamsburg Lodge, Virginia,	1773-74.
248,	Union, Charleston, S.C.,	1755-60.	458,	Botetourt Lodge, ,,	1773-74.
249,	Masters Lodge, Charleston, S.C.,	1756-60.	465,	Unity, Savannah, Georgia,	1774-74.
250,	Port Royal Lodge, Beaufort, S.C.,	1756-60.	481,	Grenadiers, ,, ,,	1775-75.
251,	Solomon's, Charleston, S.C.,	1735-60.	488,	Union, Detroit [*Michigan*],	1775-78.
272,	St John's, No. 2, New York,	1757-62.	459,	African Lodge, Boston, Massachusetts,	1784-85.
299,	St Mark's Lodge, S.C.,	1763-63.	465,	St John's [*Michigan*],	1784-86.
346,	Joppa Lodge, Maryland,	1765-66.	517,[4]	Fort William Henry [*N. Y.*],	1787-89.
403,	White Hart, Halifax, N.C.,	1767-67.	520,	New Oswegatchie [*N. Y.*],	1787-89.

Returning to Pennsylvania, it has been already shown that this was the first of the American States in which a stationary Lodge was established by the Ancients or Schismatics. We have also seen how the older system of Masonry was completely swept away in this part

[1] J.G.W., 1767; S.G.W., 1771.

[2] The same works quoted as my authorities for the sketch of Masonry in Pennsylvania, have also been used in the section just concluded. In addition I have consulted the Pocket Companions (London and Dublin), 1735; E. G. Storer, Early Records of Freemasonry in Connecticut, 1859; W. S. Gardner, Address upon Henry Price, 1872; New England Freemason, vol. i., 1874, pp. 57, 281, 312, 380; Proc. G.L. Mass., 1883, pp. 150-193; and the Boston Records, 1886. Throughout the remainder of the chapter, the works already cited, must also be regarded as my authorities, as in order to avoid a multiplicity of references, no book or author will be cited *for the second time* in a note, unless there is some special reason for so doing.

[3] The territory forming the present State of Michigan was retained (as a part of Canada) by Great Britain after the War of Independence, and in 1796 ceded to the United States.

[4] The localities in which Nos. 517 and 520 were originally constituted, only ceased to be Canadian territory about the year 1796.

of the continent by the preference accorded to the Lodges working *four* degrees. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, "acting by virtue of a warrant from the [Schismatic] Grand Lodge of England, was closed for ever," September 25, 1786, and on the following day, "at a Grand Convention of thirteen Lodges," was established as an independent Grand Lodge.

The annexed table gives a list of the Lodges formed in the United States by warrants from the British Islands, other than those issued by the original G.L. of England. A solitary Lodge, formed in Virginia by the G.O. of France, has also been included.

LODGES OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN, EXCLUDING THOSE UNDER THE G.L. OF ENGLAND.[1]

Boston (St Andrew's),	Mass., 81 S.	1756.	East Florida (Grant's),	Fla., 143 S.	1768.
Blandford,	Va., 82 S.	1756.	Boston,	Mass., 169 A.	1771.
Fredericksburgh,	Va., [] S.	1758.	Philadelphia (St John's),	Pa., 177 S.	1774.
Tappahannock,	Va., [] K.	1758.	Charleston,	S.C., 190 A.	1774.
Philadelphia,	Pa., 69 A.	1758.	Falmouth,	Va., [] K.	1775.
Charleston (Union Klwng),	S.C., 98 S.	1760.	New York,	N.Y., 210 A.	1779.
Philadelphia (P.G.L.),	Pa., 89 A.	1761.	,,	,, 212 A.	1780.
Charleston,	S.C., 92 A.	1761.	,, (P.G.L.),	,, 219 A.	1781.
New York,	N.Y., 399 I.	1763.	Portsmouth (Sagesse),	Va., [] Fr.	1785.
Norfolk (St John),	Va., 117 S.	1763.	Charleston,	S.C., 236 A.	1786.
Baltimore,	Md., 656 I.,	N.D.			

I shall now pass to the remainder of the thirteen or original States of the Union, taking them in the order of their connection with Freemasonry. The statistics of all the American Grand Lodges, so far as these can be conveniently grouped, it may be observed, will be found at the close of the chapter.

NEW YORK.—The first Provincial G.M. was Daniel Coxe (1730), after whom came Richard Riggs, 1737; Francis Goelet, 1751; George Harrison, 1753; and Sir John Johnson, 1767. The earliest Lodge of which any record has been preserved was in full working order, and had probably existed for some time, on January 24, 1738. During his long administration Harrison warranted at least eleven Lodges, and five others, meeting at New York City, are also supposed to have been constituted by him. Sir John Johnson, who was not installed until 1771, appointed Dr Peter Middleton his D.G.M., and the authority of the latter continued during the war. A Lodge at Schenectady, St John's Regimental, and Military Union, were warranted by the last-named Prov. G.M. or his Deputy.

The military occupation of New York by the British in 1776, and the erection of a Masonic Province by the "Ancients" in 1781, has already been related. After the war the body so established abandoned its provincial character, and assumed the title of Grand Lodge of New York. The "Grand Cheque Word" is mentioned in the proceedings of December 3, 1794, as having "continued in use for a longer time than was at first intended, and it was resolved to change it." In 1823 there was a schism, but the two Grand Lodges united in

[1] *Ante*, p. 410. The first entry in each line gives the locality, after which (when known) the name of the Lodge is shown within a parenthesis. With the abbreviations used to distinguish the various States American readers will be familiar, but for the information of others, it may be stated, that Mass. denotes *Massachusetts;* Va., *Virginia;* Pa., *Pennsylvania;* S.C., *South Carolina;* N.Y., *New York;* Fla., *Florida;* and Md., *Maryland.* The letters placed between the numbers of the Lodges and the dates of their constitution represent, as in the last chapter, the different sources of origin. There is only one addition to the previous list, viz., "Fr.," which here signifies *Grand Orient of France*, by which body a Lodge was established in Portsmouth, Virginia, in 1785.

1827. A few years later, however, further dissensions occurred, and the "St John's Grand Lodge" was established September 11, 1837. In 1848 a law was passed by the G.L. of New York depriving Past Masters—except each "immediate" P.M.—of their votes. This was repealed in a highly irregular fashion in March 1849, and on June 5 following, the G.M.—Willard—declaring the law of 1848 to be a part of the constitution, on the motion of the acting J.G.W.—Isaac Philips—and amid great uproar, a Provisional Grand Master and other Grand Officers were elected in dumb show. After this there were three Grand Lodges, and it will be sufficient to state that two earliest in point of date amalgamated in 1850, and were joined by the "Philips" Grand Lodge in 1858.

Lodge Pythagoras of New York—instituted June 24, 1841—at first sided with the Philips party, but afterwards joined the "Willard" Grand Lodge, having in the interim applied to the G.L. of Hamburg for a charter, which was granted in 1851, and in the same year the Lodge returned its original warrant to the G.L. of New York. Eventually, however, it resumed its old place under the jurisdiction of origin, and thus happily terminated a suspension of intercourse between the Grand Lodges of Hamburg and New York. Two further Lodges were warranted in the same way[1] by the former body, but have died out or joined the latter, which has now on its roll twenty-eight Lodges working in the German language, with a membership of 3208.

NEW JERSEY.—Although the "earliest Grand Master in America" resided in this colony, there is no record of a Lodge having been chartered by him, or of his having performed any official act as the owner of a Deputation. Neither of the Grand Lodges of England were directly, though both were indirectly, represented in this territory. The first Lodge was warranted at Newark from New York in 1761; and two others sprang up under charters from Boston in the next and following years. A similar number of Lodges was then established by the Prov. G. Lodge of Pennsylvania (*Ancients*), in 1767, 1779, and 1781. The Grand Lodge of New Jersey was organised by a convention of Master Masons on December 18, 1786, and in the following year—April 2—the Lodge of 1767 was given the first place on the roll, the others balloting for their numbers, which resulted in the Lodge at Newark drawing the No. 2.

GEORGIA.—The Charity of the Society was solicited in the Grand Lodge of England—December 31, 1733—to enable the trustees of the new colony "to send Distressed Brethren to Georgia, where they may be comfortably provided for." In 1735, a deputation to Mr Roger Lacy, for constituting a Lodge at Savannah, was granted by Lord Weymouth. This—the *second* American Lodge on the English roll—was doubtless the body referred to by Whitfield in his diary, where he records under June 24, 1738 (Savannah), "was enabled to read prayer and preach with power before the Freemasons, with whom I afterwards dined." In all, three English warrants were issued for Savannah. Grey Elliot was appointed Prov. G.M. by Lord Aberdour (1757-61), and he was succeeded by the Hon. Noble Jones about the year 1772.

In 1784, a Lodge was chartered by the G.L. of Pennsylvania at Savannah, and on December 16, 1786, the Grand Lodge of Georgia was organised. The details are wanting, but according to Mackey, "Samuel Elbert, the last Prov. G.M. [whose name I have elsewhere

[1] *Ante*, p. 230

failed to trace], resigned in favour of William Stephens, who was elected the first Grand Master."

SOUTH CAROLINA.—The first Provincial Grand Master was John Hammerton, appointed by the Earl of Loudoun in 1736. After this the office appears to have become elective, as James Graeme—Chief Justice of the colony in later days—who held it on December 27, 1737, was again chosen Grand Master for the ensuing year. Chief Justice Leigh succeeded to the charge of the Province in 1754, and was succeeded by Benjamin Smith under a patent dating between 1758 and 1762.

Five Lodges are shown in the Engraved List of 1760, the earliest of which was probably identical with the Lodge at Charleston constituted by Henry Price in 1735. A sixth Lodge was placed on the English roll in 1763, and about the year 1768, Egerton Leigh became Prov. G.M. This worthy, it is stated, was in England in 1777, in which year the Prov. G. Lodge elected the Hon. Barnard Elliot "Grand Master of Masons in the State." The new ruler died in the following year, and no meetings of the "Grand Lodge" took place in 1779 and 1780. In 1781, on the death of Leigh, the Provincial G. Lodge—wholly ignoring its own proceedings of 1777—met and elected John Deas, Prov. G.M.[1] Elliot's election is open to some doubt, but there is none with regard to the Provincial Grand Lodge awaking from its slumber, and continuing to assemble until after the peace. Indeed, the English patent granted to Deas was dated November 26, 1788, which will harmonise with the supposition that without any formal act beyond a mere change of title, the body over which he presided became what was ultimately styled the "Grand Lodge of Moderns" in the State.

The rival system was represented by eight Lodges, warranted between 1760 and 1786—one by the G.L. of Scotland, and three and four respectively by those of Pennsylvania and England (*Ancients*). Some of these combined, and on March 24, 1787, erected a "Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons." In 1808 the two Grand Lodges united, but again separated in the following year, and a permanent union did not take place until 1817, when the two bodies were merged into one, under the name of "The Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—One Lodge was warranted in this State by Henry Price (1736), and four by the Massachusetts G. Lodge—the latter in 1780, 1784, and (two) in 1788 respectively. The G.L. of New Hampshire was organised on July 8, 1789—there being at the time only three Lodges in the State—by one Deputy from the Lodge of 1736, and four from that of 1784—five Deputies from two Lodges.[2]

RHODE ISLAND.—The two Lodges, established under warrants from Boston in 1749 and 1757, met and formed the Grand Lodge on June 25, 1791. The early history of Masonry in this State has only one feature of interest, namely, the decision of the Grand Master of North America in 1759, that the warrant granted by Oxnard to the Newport Lodge in 1749 was an insufficient authority to confer more than the first two degrees of the Craft.

MARYLAND.—Lord Baltimore, who was proprietary Governor from 1715 to 1751, resided in the Province from 1732 to 1734. This nobleman was made a Mason in 1730, and seven years later assisted in forming the "Occasional Lodge," at which Frederick, Prince of Wales,

[1] Mackey, Hist. of Masonry in South Carolina, and Encyclopædia of F.; Proc. G.L. Mass., 1877, p. 29; and Keystone, December 5, 1885.

[2] W. S. Gardner, Address, March 8, 1870.

was initiated;[1] but with these exceptions his Masonic record is a blank, and it is altogether unknown whether or not he was a supporter of the Craft in America. Lodges were warranted from Boston in 1750, England in 1765,[2] and three—in 1759, 1761, and 1763—of uncertain origin. Ten more—the first dating from 1766, and the last from 1782, derived their existence from the Prov. G.L. of Pennsylvania. A Lodge at Baltimore (without date) is shown on an Irish list, and it is traditionally asserted that there were two others of foreign origin—besides a Lodge near Newmarket, in 1776. The former are assigned to Georgetown and New Bremen, with the dates of 1737 and (before) 1789 respectively. The earlier of these —supposed to have been composed of Scottish Masons—is believed to have opened a branch Lodge at Joppa in 1751. The Lodge at New Bremen is said to have derived its constitution from Germany. Robert Molleson was Prov. G.M. under England in 1776, and Henry Harford in 1783; but there is no evidence to show that either of them exercised any authority under the appointment.

The Grand Lodge of Maryland was organised July 31, 1783, by a convention of five Lodges, there being eight in the State at the time, all of which were on the roll of the G.L. of Pennsylvania. Four years later—April 17, 1787—actuated by a laudable desire not to err, but if at all, on the side of caution, the same number of Lodges again met in convention and *re-organised* the Grand Lodge, choosing the same Grand Master and Grand Secretary as on the previous occasion.[3]

CONNECTICUT.—Seven Lodges were chartered in this State by Oxnard and his successors at Boston—the first in 1750, the last in 1771; three by the Prov. G.M. of New York—in 1762, 1765, and 1766; and six by the Massachusetts Grand Lodge. A seventeenth Lodge, King Solomon's, at Woodbury, of unknown registry, was in existence when, "in pursuance of a recommendation of a committee of thirteen Lodges of the State, holden at New Haven on March 18, 1783," delegates from twelve Lodges met in convention, and formed what was virtually a Grand Lodge, though in lieu of the usual Grand Officers they elected a Moderator and Clerk. Of these Lodges, four held warrants from Boston and three from New York—under the older sanction; four from the Massachusetts G.L. (*Ancients*); and one (King Solomon's) has left behind it no trace of its origin. From this time it was arranged that General Conventions should be held half-yearly; but on July 8, 1789, a Grand Lodge was duly formed with the usual solemnities, the same number of Lodges being represented as in 1783.[4] The delay receives some explanation from the Early Proceedings of the G.L. of New York, the officers of which body were appointed—February 4, 1784—"a committee to determine the most eligible mode for the Grand Officers Elect of the State of Connecticut obtaining a Grand Warrant from the Grand Lodge in England."[5]

VIRGINIA.—From lists already given in this chapter, it will be seen that four Lodges were established by the G.L. of England, and two each by the Grand Lodge and Lodge Kilwinning of Scotland. One Lodge received a charter from Boston, and the jurisdiction of Ireland is

[1] Chaps. XII., p. 10; XVI., p. 288. [2] No. 346, afterwards (1782) No. 35, Pennsyl. *Cf. ante*, p. 412.

[3] Schultz, *passim*. The G.L. of Pennsylvania, in 1783, doubted the regularity of the G.L. of Maryland, as being formed without a warrant, though at the same time they frankly confessed their inability to decide "from what authority a warrant could be issued."

[4] Storer, Freemasonry in Connecticut, pp. 57-63.

[5] Barker, Early Hist. G.L. of New York, p. 22. *Cf.* the last note but one.

also supposed to have been represented in the State. The Prov. G.L. of Pennsylvania (*Ancients*) established Lodges at Winchester, 1768; Alexandria, 1783; and Portsmouth, 1784. H. P. Thornton was Prov. G.M. under the original G.L. of England about the year 1764, and Peyton Randolph in 1774. In this State it was customary, in the absence of a warrant from any Grand Lodge, for a competent number of Master Masons to obtain a written authority to assemble, which document operated as their warrant. It has also been inferred that in many instances the degrees of Masonry were imparted to non-military persons in Field (or travelling) Lodges, who received a warrant to confer these degrees on others in lieu of a certificate of enrolment.[1]

The Grand Lodge of Virginia was established, October 13, 1778, by a Convention at which four Lodges were represented. This assumed, however, the form of a Lodge, and the Master and Wardens of Williamsburg Lodge presided. John Blair, Past Master of the same Lodge, was elected Grand Master, and duly installed. There was an invasion of the jurisdiction by the Grand Orient of France in 1785, in which year a warrant was issued to some brethren in Portsmouth, and again in 1849, when a new Lodge was established at Richmond; but on the latter occasion the charter was recalled at the request of the G.L. of Virginia, and the Lodge advised to apply for one to the local authorities, which was done.

North Carolina.—Lodges in this State appear in the English Lists of 1756 and 1767, and under the year 1766 in the Boston Records. In 1767—December 30—Thomas Cooper was appointed by the Prov. G.M. of North America D.G.M. of North Carolina, with power to congregate the brethren into one or more Lodges. A year or two later, Joseph Montford became Prov. G.M. under the G.L. of England, and, it is said, constituted St John's Lodge at Newbern in 1771. According to Mackey there were nine (and to another authority, ten[2]) Lodges in the State in 1787, all of which were represented at the organisation of the Grand Lodge on December 9 of that year.

Delaware.—Five Lodges in this State received warrants from Pennsylvania, the first in 1765 and the last in 1802. There was also, if we may believe some authorities,[3] the Union Lodge, which is said to have been erected by the G.L. of Scotland about the middle of the last century. Of this, however, there is no trace in the official lists of that body. Four Lodges combined to organise the Grand Lodge on June 6, 1806; but it was refused recognition for some time by the G.L. of Pennsylvania on the ground that less than *five* Lodges having been represented the brethren had not "formed themselves in that regular way pointed out by the ancient Constitutions."

The remaining States and the territories of the Union will now be noticed according to the order in which Grand Lodges have been established in them, and after they have all been passed in review, a table will be given showing the number of Lodges and the aggregate of members (or Master Masons) under the several jurisdictions.

Vermont.—Lodges were established in this State by the "Massachusetts G.L." in 1781 and 1785, the first of which was authorised to meet at Cornish, Vermont, but appears to have been held at Charlestown, New Hampshire. For a period of four years, ending in February 1782, both sides of the Connecticut river were to some extent common territory; but after that date, when the boundaries were better defined, the Lodge moved to Windsor, Vermont, and

[1] Dove, Hist. G.L. Virginia, and Virginia Text Book. *Cf. ante*, pp. 416, 448, 454.

[2] Proc. G.L. Illinois, 1884.

[3] *Cf.* Macoy, Masonic Directory.

took the name of Vermont Lodge, No. I. The third Lodge was erected by Sir John Johnson, Prov. G.M. Lower Canada, who granted a warrant to Thomas Chittenden, Governor of the State, and others in 1791. This is a little remarkable as showing that neither the Provincial G.M. of a part of Canada (and who had held a similar position in New York), or the Chief Magistrate of an American commonwealth, then believed that the War of Independence had severed the Masonic connection between the parent power and the newly created States on the northern continent. Two further Lodges were established by the G.L. of Connecticut in 1793 and 1794.

The representatives of these five Lodges met in Convention, October 10; a Grand Lodge was organised October 14; and that body duly held a meeting, October 15, 1794. In no State of the Union did the anti-Masonic party, as a political power, exercise so much influence as it did in Vermont. The Grand Lodge was compelled to suspend its labours in 1833 (or 1836), and all the Lodges under its jurisdiction surrendered their charters. The Grand Lodge resumed work in 1846.[1]

KENTUCKY.—Five Lodges were established under warrants from the G.L. of Virginia, the earliest of which—erected in 1788—was the first Lodge instituted west of the Alleghany Mountains. These Lodges met in Convention, and—October 16, 1800—organised the Grand Lodge, by which body warrants were shortly after issued for parts of Tennessee, Mississippi, Indiana, Ohio, and Missouri.[2]

OHIO.—"American Union" met for the last time as an Army Lodge, April 23, 1783, and was ordered "to stand closed until the W. Master should call them together."[3] This occurred in 1790, when a colony from New England having become established north-west of the Ohio, the Lodge was reopened at Marietta by Jonathan Heart, the Master, with Benjamin Tupper and Rufus Putnam officiating as Wardens.[4] In the same year "Nova Cæsarea" was chartered at Cincinnati by the G.L. of New Jersey; but the warrant, which was not received until 1795, was returned in a somewhat irregular manner in 1805, and some of the members obtained in lieu thereof an authorisation to meet as the "Cincinnati" Lodge, No. 13, from the G.L. of Kentucky. These two Lodges, however, for all practicable purposes, must be regarded as one, since the members were reconciled in 1812, and all irregularities condoned. The third Lodge —Scioto—was erected by the G.L. of Massachusetts, also in 1805, and the fourth (for which I am able to assign a date and jurisdiction)—Amity—by that of Pennsylvania, in 1806. There were also in 1808, two others—"Erie," No. 47, and "New England," No. 48—and all the Lodges enumerated, or a total of six—Cincinnati, No. 13, being named, and Nova Cæsarea, No. 10, not—are stated to have been represented at the organisation of the Grand Lodge on January 6 of that year.[5] By other authorities the number of Lodges participating in this movement has been reduced to five[6] by the omission of "New England, No. 48," which agrees

[1] Records G.L. Vermont, 1794-1846 (printed 1879); Proc. G.L. Canada, 1857, p. 125; and J. H. Drummond, Hist. and Bibl. Memoranda (New England Freemason, vol. i., 1874, p. 181).

[2] R. Morris, Masonry in Kentucky, 1859.

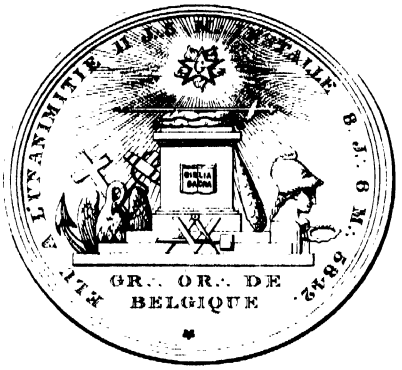
[3] Storer, p. 48; *cf. ante*, pp. 417, 418.

[4] Jonathan Heart was appointed, April 29, 1783, by the "Grand Convention" of Connecticut, "to visit each of the Lodges in that State, in order that there might be uniformity in the mode of working." He retained the position of Master, on the revival of "American Union," until August 1791, when he joined the army of St Clair, and was killed in the following November at the battle of Fort Recovery.

[5] J. H. Sutor, Hist. L. of Amity, No. 5, Ohio, 1879.

[6] Mackey, p. 543; Mitchell, p. 605.

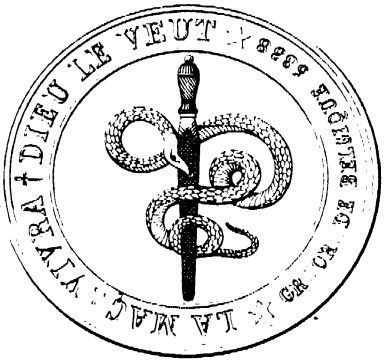
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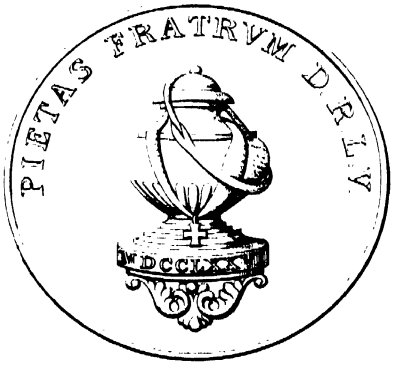






















Thomas C. Jack. London & Edinburgh

with the official version,[1] though as this includes "Nova Cæsarea," and leaves out "Cincinnati," while, as a matter of fact, it is certain that the former had been superseded by the latter,[2] I am inclined to discredit it.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—This territory—the seat of the Federal Government—is enclosed by the States of Maryland and Virginia, from which jurisdictions it received in all five warrants of constitution. The Grand Lodge was organised, December 11, 1810, by four Lodges, one only standing aloof from the movement. This was "Alexandria Washington," No. 22,[3] which is at the present time both within the Masonic and the territorial jurisdiction of Virginia.

LOUISIANA.—A Lodge—La Consolante Maçonne—was established at New Orleans by the Lodge Anglaise de Bordeaux, in 1764. After a long interval, in 1793-94, refugees chiefly from the island of Guadaloupe established the Lodges, Perfect Union and Polar Star, the former working the "York," and the latter the French or Modern Rite, and holding warrants from the G.L. of South Carolina and the Mother Lodge "la Parfaite Sincérité" of Marseilles respectively. Polar Star, it may be observed, was reconstituted by the G.O. of France in 1804, and the G.L. of Pennsylvania in 1811. The first Lodge under a warrant from Philadelphia was erected in 1801, and the last—Polar Star—making nine in all, in 1811, but in several instances the charters issued were virtually warrants of confirmation, authorising brethren who had previously met in Lodges beyond the limits of Louisiana, or under other Masonic jurisdictions, to work in subordination to the G.L. of Pennsylvania. In 1804, many fugitives arrived from San Domingo, and among them the members of La Reunion Desirée (Port au Prince), who obtained a duplicate charter from the G.O. of France in 1806, but being desirous of working according to the "York Rite," changed it in 1808 for a warrant empowering them to meet under their original title, as a daughter Lodge of Pennsylvania.

The first Lodge that worked in the English language was "Louisiana," established by the G.L. of New York in 1807; and the second, "Harmony"—the latest but one of the Philadelphian Lodges—warranted in 1810. Nor were there any others until 1826, when both of these had ceased to exist.

In 1811, Polar Star obtained a Philadelphian warrant, and a new Lodge—Bienfaisance—was erected by the Grand Consistory of Jamaica; the latter, however, soon after affiliated with Lodge Concord, under the G.L. of Pennsylvania.

In 1812, there were seven Lodges in full activity at New Orleans—Perfect Union (S.C.), Louisiana (N.Y.), Charity, Concord, Perseverance, Harmony, and Polar Star (Pennsylvania). Of these all but Louisiana and Harmony—the two English-speaking Lodges—took part in the organisation of the Grand Lodge, June 20, 1812. Afterwards the French novelties obtained the upper hand, and there was much confusion. Seven Lodges were chartered in the State by the G.L. of Mississippi, February 21, 1848; and on March 8, next ensuing, these formed a second Grand Lodge. The Schism lasted until March 4, 1850, when a Union was effected.[4]

TENNESSEE.—The Lodges in this State, with the exception of one that derived its origin from Kentucky, were all held under warrants from North Carolina until the close of 1813. In that year—December 27—by order of the G.M. of North Carolina, a convention was held, at which eight Lodges were represented, and the Grand Lodge of Tennessee was organised.

[1] Proc. G.L. Ohio, 1880, p. 123.
[2] Hough, pp. 110, 116, 132, 143.
[3] *Ante*, p. 421.
[4] Daruty, p. 89; Scot., *passim*. *Cf. ante*, pp. 348, 353, 359.

INDIANA.—The Grand Lodge was formed, January 12, 1818, at which date there were eight Lodges in the State—one under Ohio, the remainder deriving their authority from Kentucky. Five of these were represented on the occasion.[1]

MISSISSIPPI.—Three Lodges were established by the G.L. of Kentucky—the first in 1801—and two by that of Tennessee. The Grand Lodge of the State was organised by the representatives of three of these Lodges, July 27, 1818.

MAINE.—This became an independent State in 1820, and a Grand Lodge was organised by twenty-four Lodges on June 1 of that year. Maine had previously been within the territorial as well as the Masonic jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and the Grand Lodge of the latter State very gracefully consented to an equitable division of the Charity and other funds, when so large a cluster of daughter Lodges separated amicably from her.

MISSOURI.—Lodges were erected in this State by the Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania in 1807 and 1808; Tennessee, in 1816 and 1819 (2); and Indiana, in 1820. Three of these met in convention, April 23, 1821, and organised the G.L. of Missouri.[2]

ALABAMA.—The Grand Lodge was organised June 14, 1821, by seven[3] or nine[4] Lodges, the latter being the number then existing in the State. These are said to have been warranted by the Grand Lodges of Tennessee and North Carolina,[5] but the only point with regard to their origin that seems quite clear from the authorities is, that *one* was chartered by the G.L. of South Carolina in 1819.

MICHIGAN.—Three Lodges at Detroit received warrants from the Grand Lodge of England. The earliest of these, Zion, affiliated with the Prov. G.L. of Lower Canada in 1794, and the G.L. of New York in 1806, remaining on the roll of the latter until the formation of the G.L. of Michigan in 1826. The last-named body became dormant in 1829, and was revived in 1841; but this step being deemed irregular by the other American jurisdictions, a majority of the Lodges again met in Convention, and organised the present Grand Lodge in 1844. The G.L. of Michigan is stated to have been formed by four out of five Lodges in the State.

FLORIDA.—This peninsula was ceded to Britain in 1763, and Masonry obtained a footing from Scotland in 1768. The 14th Foot, in garrison at St Augustine, 1776, was ordered a renewal of its charter—No. 58—by the Ancients in 1777; and a second warrant for the same place was granted by them—which failed to reach its destination—in 1778. After the war Florida again became Spanish territory, and, July 12, 1783, a warrant was issued from Pennsylvania "to St Andrew's Lodge, No. 1, *late* of West Florida," and then at Charleston, S.C. A Lodge was next established at St Augustine from Georgia in 1806, but suppressed by the Spaniards in 1811. The country was sold to the United States in 1819, and in 1820 and 1824 warrants not fated to endure were granted from South Carolina. In 1826, however, three Lodges—from Tennessee and Georgia—were established and took root, all uniting in the organisation of the Grand Lodge on July 5, 1830.

TEXAS.—Three Lodges were erected in this territory by the G.L. of Louisiana, the first in 1835. These united to form the Grand Lodge of Texas, December 20, 1837.[6] By one writer, however, it is affirmed that two additional Lodges, holding warrants from the G.L. of Mississippi, participated in this movement.[7]

[1] Proc. G.L. Indiana, 1886, p. cxii.
[2] World Wide Register, p. 242.
[3] Proc. G.L. Illinois, 1884, p. iv.
[4] Mackey, p. 52; Macoy, p. 17.
[5] Mitchell, p. 630.
[6] W. W. Reg., p. 405; Mackey, p. 811.
[7] Mitchell, p. 649.

ARKANSAS.—Owing to the loss of its early records there is much confusion with regard to the formation of a Grand Lodge. Mackey and Hyneman[1] date the event in 1832, and three Lodges are said to have united for the purpose; but, according to a Committee of the G.L., it is traditional that Masonry was introduced into Arkansas by the Spanish more than a century ago, and that the present Grand Lodge was formed in 1838 by four Lodges, two holding warrants from Louisiana, and one each from Alabama and Tennessee.[2]

ILLINOIS.—A Grand Lodge was established in 1823, which became extinct in 1828, but was reorganised, April 6, 1840, by six chartered Lodges, an equal number not being represented, one of which was dormant, and three held dispensations only.

The remaining Grand Lodges, which I am compelled by exigencies of space to pass over very briefly, were organised by a majority[3] of the Lodges in the respective States or territories as follows, the actual number of Lodges represented on each occasion being shown between the name of the Grand Lodge and the year of its formation:—

Wisconsin, three, 1843; Iowa, four, 1844; California, three, 1850; Oregon, three, 1851; Minnesota, three, 1853; Kansas, three, 1856; Nebraska, three, 1857; Washington, four, 1858; Colorado, three, 1861; Nevada, eight, 1865; West Virginia, nine, 1865; Montana, three, 1866; Idaho, four, 1867; Utah, three, 1872; Indian Territory, three, 1874; Wyoming, four, 1874; Dakota, six, 1875; New Mexico, three, 1877; and Arizona, four, 1881.

STATISTICAL TABLE.

Grand Lodges.	Number of Lodges.	Number of Members.	Grand Lodges.	Number of Lodges.	Number of Members.
Alabama,	280	7,726	Mississippi,	293	8,422
Arizona,	5	353	Missouri,	522	25,821
Arkansas,	368	10,452	Montana,	24	1,234
California,	218	14,260	Nebraska,	107	5,979
Colorado,	49	3,756	Nevada,	22	1,095
Connecticut,	110	14,904	New Hampshire,	76	8,144
Dakota,	50	2,644	New Jersey,	154	12,403
Delaware,	21	1,457	New Mexico,	10	553
Dist. of Columbia,	21	3,032	New York,	715	72,318
Florida,	80	2,302	North Carolina,	207	8,211
Georgia,	277	11,024	Ohio,	469	29,345
Idaho,	11	495	Oregon,	70	3,261
Illinois,	691	40,015	Pennsylvania,	380	37,175
Indiana,	505	22,548	Rhode Island,	35	3,597
Indian Territory,	17	653	South Carolina,	172	5,477
Iowa,	394	21,309	Tennessee,	411	14,755
Kansas,	236	13,277	Texas,	486	18,690
Kentucky,	496	14,823	Utah,	8	474
Louisiana,	129	3,826	Vermont,	101	7,940
Maine,	182	20,077	Virginia,	240	9,013
Maryland,	82	4,896	Washington,	39	1,703
Massachusetts,	227	27,590	West Virginia,	83	3,542
Michigan,	351	27,045	Wisconsin,	200	12,968
Minnesota,	145	8,677	Wyoming,	6	43

Totals:—48 Grand Lodges; 9775 Lodges; and 569,304 Members.

[1] Encycl., p. 915; W. W. Reg., p. 62.

[2] Cited in Proc. G.L. Canada, 1873, p. 421.

[3] In the Indian Territory and New Mexico, however, there were six and seven Lodges respectively, and in each case the Grand Lodge is said to have been "legalised" by an additional Lodge joining shortly after its formation.

Negro Masonry.

The Black Masons, whose initiation in 1775 has been recorded under that year in the preceding chapter, applied to England for a charter—their Lodge having then existed for eight years—in 1784. Their request was granted, September 29, 1784, but the warrant did not arrive in Boston until 1787. It bore the number 459, and the title, "African Lodge." Prince Hall—born 1748, died 1807—who was the first Master, established a Lodge by his own authority at Philadelphia in 1797, and a second at Providence R.I. shortly afterwards. The three Lodges formed a Grand Lodge in 1808. The "African Lodge" was not shown in the English lists after 1813, but it did not formally declare its independence of foreign control until 1827. In 1847 there were three coloured Grand Lodges, one at Boston and two in Pennsylvania. These met in convention and organised a National G.L., which has since met triennially. Thirty-one Grand Lodges in different States of the Union are mentioned in the statistics before me, which show a total of 694 Lodges, and 17,909 members. These coloured or "lesser Grand Lodges," have been more or less recognised as legally constituted bodies, in France, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Peru, and Liberia; and in Ohio, a resolution by the White, acknowledging the regularity of the Black Grand Lodge, in that State, was only lost by fifty-eight votes—the numbers being 332 to 390—in 1875. The case of the "Negro Mason in America" has been ably stated by Mr Samuel Clark, "G.M. of Coloured Masons of the State of Ohio," from whose pamphlet and the other authorities at my disposal, I am inclined to think that the claim of the Black Mason to be placed on a footing of equality with the White one, is destined to pass through a somewhat similar ordeal in America, to that which has been (in part) undergone by the famous Jewish question in Germany.[1]

Anti-Masonry.

In August 1826, it became noised abroad, that William Morgan, then residing near Batavia in the State of New York, was about to publish a work in which the secrets of Masonry were to be revealed. Morgan was arrested on a charge of theft in September and lodged in jail for a night. The next day he was released, placed in a coach, and (with his own consent) taken to Fort Niagara, a distance of 115 miles. There he was confined for a few days by his abductors in a room formerly used as a powder magazine, after which all traces of him disappear, and what was his real fate has never been ascertained. The indignation of the community was aroused, the excitement spread, and the public did not pause to discriminate. Finally the whole fraternity were regarded as in some measure implicated in the transaction. A current of feeling so strong and so deep was soon turned to political purposes. An anti-masonic party was at once formed, and before long had converts in every part of the Union. Several of the Grand Lodges suspended their labours, and in the State of Vermont all the Lodges made a voluntary surrender of their charters. For ten years the Craft languished, but the era of persecution was brought to a close about the year 1836.

National Conventions.

Congresses or Conventions have been held, by Delegates from Grand Lodges, in Washington, 1842, 1855; Baltimore, 1843, 1847; Lexington, Kentucky, 1853; and Chicago, 1859. Their Proceedings were published.

Grand Chapters.

Grand Chapters exist, I believe, in all the States or Territories, in which there are Grand Lodges. There is also a General Grand Chapter—organised in 1798—and to this the greater number of Grand Chapters are in nominal subjection.

[1] Mas. Mag., vol. iv., p. 503; Clark, The Negro Mason in Equity, 1886 [the letters "R.W.," were prefixed to the Master's title in *all* Lodges under the Original G.L. of England, and Prince Hall was at no time vested with any higher authority, or the existing records would attest it]; Lewis Hayden, Caste among Masons, 1866; War of Races, 1868; and Masonry among coloured Men in America, 1871; Proc. (*Coloured*) G.L. Boston, 1875; 1883-84; Ontario, 1883.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA, AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

WDOUGLAS was appointed Prov. G.M. for the coast of Africa and the islands of America in 1737, and Robert Commins for Cape Breton and Louisbourg in 1746. The earliest Lodges, however, in the vast territory to which the name of Canada has at any time been applied, were established by warrants from New England. The Merchant's Lodge, Quebec, was shown in the Engraved List for 1762, and in the later issue of 1770, appears at the head of seven Lodges—Nos. 220-26—one of which was at Montreal, and the remainder—including a Sea and a Field Lodge, in H.M.S. Canceaux, and the 52d Foot respectively—at Quebec. All these, though six are first shown in the list for 1770, were allowed to rank from 1762. About the same year,[1] the Hon. Colonel Simon Frazer was appointed Prov. G.M. of Canada, and his successors were—Milborne West, 1763-64; John Collins, 1768-69; Colonel Carleton, 29th Foot (provisionally), 1786; and Sir John Johnson, 1788.

Further Lodges in Lower Canada (Montreal) were erected by the Original G.L. of England in 1787 (2), and 1793; and four in all in Upper Canada, by the same body, the first in 1787 and the last in 1793. In 1791, the country was divided into the territorial provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. A single stationary Lodge—No. 265 Quebec, 1791—was established directly by the "Ancient" (or Schismatic) G.L. of England, but by the issue of Provincial warrants for Upper as well as Lower Canada in 1792, its influence and authority in British North America gradually increased, to the detriment and finally to the utter extinction of the Lodges under the older sanction. In 1794, as we have already seen,[2] the brethren under the two systems cordially united in an address to Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent. In 1799, the number of Provincial Lodges in Canada, under the Ancient (or Atholl) banner was—Upper Canada (Niagara), fourteen; Lower Canada (Quebec), sixteen. None of the Lodges erected by the older G.L. of England, were carried forward at the Union; nor were any on the local lists, brought on the roll of the United G.L. until 1822, in which year a batch of twenty-one—Nos. 754-774—is shown in the Calendar, as being held in Upper Canada. Nine Lodges meeting in Lower Canada—Nos. 780-788—appear in the same way in the list for 1824. These results were due to the action of the Duke of Sussex, in applying the *new* laws to the *old* "Atholl" Provinces, by the appointment from home of Provincial Grand Masters for Upper Canada, Quebec, and Montreal.

[1] *Ante*, p. 865, note 1.

[2] Chap. XIX., p. 463.

Forty-one additional Lodges were warranted from England in the former Province—1843-57—and eight in the latter—1823-55. A Scottish Lodge was established at Quebec in 1819, another at Montreal in 1847, and a second at Quebec in 1851. Sixteen Lodges were warranted by the G.L. of Ireland, the first (at Kingstown, U.C.) in 1821, the last in 1855.

From 1791 to 1840, there were two distinct British Provinces, styled respectively, Upper and Lower Canada. In the latter year, a legislative union was effected, but the distinction between the Provinces was preserved, one (U.C.) being called "Canada West," and the other (L.C.) "Canada East."

The evils of a divided control, a diversity of working, and an imposition of rulers, not of their own selection, were endured for many years, if not with contentment, at least with equanimity, by the Canadian Craft. But in 1855, the cup of indignation overflowed, and their communications and remittances to the G.L. of England, eliciting neither response nor acknowledgment, the brethren hoisted the standard of revolt. At this time there were eighty-three Lodges in Canada—fifty English and fourteen Irish, in Canada West; and twelve English, two Irish, and two Scottish, in Canada East. Forty-one of these Lodges, fifteen Irish, one Scottish, and twenty-five English (fifteen in Canada West, and ten in Canada East), were represented by their delegates on October 10, 1855, when the Grand Lodge of Canada was organised. The English Prov. G.L. of Canada West at first discountenanced the movement; but on July 8, 1857, committees of the Grand and Prov. Grand Lodges met, and endeavoured to effect a fusion of the two bodies. This, however, fell through, and on September 9 following, the Prov. G.L. declared its independence, assuming the title of "Ancient Grand Lodge of Canada." After this, there were two Grand Lodges, until July 14, 1858, when articles of Union having been agreed to, the junior association was dissolved—its Grand Officers and Lodges being accorded their relative rank and seniority in the Grand Lodge of Canada. The united body was formally recognised by the G.L. of England in December of the same year, and on March 23, 1859, the Earl of Zetland, in a letter to Grand Master Wilson, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the G.L. of Canada, over all Canada, claiming, however, for the Lodges, still adhering to their original allegiance in Quebec and Montreal, their full privileges as individual Lodges, together with the rights and privileges of their Provincial Grand Lodges, which stipulation was agreed to, without the slightest demur, by the G.M. of Canada in his reply, dated April 23.

The Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867. Canada West became "Ontario," and Canada East, "Quebec." The federal union also included Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and to these was added in 1869, the vast territory of the Hudson's Bay Company—now the Province of Manitoba. In 1871, the league was augmented by the addition of British Columbia, and in 1873, by that of Prince Edward's Island. The only portion of British North America not yet included in the confederation is Newfoundland, but as it is certain in time to throw in its lot with the Dominion, provision was made for its admission in the Act of Union of 1867.

It is somewhat confusing that the jurisdiction of the "G.L. of Canada," only extends over what is now the Province of Ontario, and the more so, since two other bodies—not admitted within the family of Grand Lodges—one composed of white and the other of coloured Masons, have taken the title of "Grand Lodge of Ontario."

QUEBEC.—For some little time after the political changes of 1867, the formation of a Grand Lodge for the Dominion was "in the air." But the idea having become impracticable through the action of the Masons in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in forming Grand Lodges for

those Provinces, the example thus set was followed in Quebec—October 20, 1869—by the representatives of twenty-one out of thirty-seven Lodges meeting within its territorial limits. The first Lodge on the roll was originally in the 46th Foot (227, I.); and the two next in the Royal Artillery (Nos. 213 and 241, A.). Three English Lodges, at Montreal, under a D.G.M., appointed in 1849, have hitherto declined to affiliate with the Grand Lodge, and the G.L. of England, while interposing no obstacle to a transfer of their allegiance, wisely holds that the point is one which those Lodges are entitled to settle according to their own judgment, without pressure of any kind.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Lodges at Annapolis Royal and Halifax are said to have been formed from Boston in 1738 and 1750. The later of the two is probably identical with No. 109 on the Engraved List for 1770—where it appears for the first time—with the date of 1749?

Erasmus James Phillips was appointed Prov. G.M., and two Lodges were warranted by the Schismatic G.L. of England in 1757. Three others—Nos. 155, 156, and 211—sprang up under the same sanction—the first two in 1768, and the third in 1781. In the year last named three out of these five Lodges were extinct, and the "Ancients" were only represented by Nos. 155 and 211—St Andrew's and St John's,[1] by whose joint act four dispensations were granted, thus bringing up the number to six. A Prov. G.L. was organised under a renewed (but virtually a new) warrant in 1784—its subordinates numbering nineteen in 1789 and thirty-two in 1807. In 1813 the only Lodges carried forward on the Union roll were Nos. 155 and 211 (now 1 and 2, N.S.), and the Prov. G.L. continued to exist as before, electing its G.M. yearly, paying tribute to none, and exacting the respect due to any independent Grand Lodge, until 1822, when its proceedings were styled irregular by the G.M. of England. John Albro, the Prov. G.M. at that time, was annually re-elected until 1829, when he received a Patent from England, and in the same year seventeen Lodges—Nos. 828-44—were removed from the local to the general list. Nineteen others were added to the English roll between 1840 and 1868. Scotland entered the field in 1827, and Ireland in 1845. From the latter country only two warrants were received, but under the former a Province was erected, by ten of whose daughter Lodges a Grand Lodge was established, June 21, 1866. This, on June 24, 1869, formed a Union with the Prov. G.L. under England—twenty-five Lodges on each side (and one Scottish one, or fifty-one in all), taking part in the *regular* organisation of the G.L. of Nova Scotia. A single (English) Lodge adhered to its original allegiance, of which the G.M. of Nova Scotia remarks (1880)—"working side by side with us, a healthy emulation is produced, and both parties are the better for it."

In CAPE BRETON—now a dependency of Nova Scotia—a warrant was granted by Richard Gridley in 1758 (Louisbourg); and Lodges were afterwards erected by the "Atholl" G.L., 1801; three by the G.L. of England, 1844-68; and one under a Scottish warrant in 1858.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—Two Military Lodges were brought with them by the Loyalists in 1783,[2] but the first stationary Lodge was established by dispensation of Nos. 155 and 211 (A.) in 1784. Warrants of the P.G.L. of Nova Scotia were issued to the latter, and one of the former (No. 2, N.Y.) in 1786 and 1789 respectively. An English warrant (from the

[1] Captain (afterwards Sir John) Moore was initiated in St John's, March 12, 1781.

[2] Held in the New Jersey Volunteers (No. 2, N.Y.), and The Prince of Wales' American Regiment, respectively. The Lodge in the latter claimed to work under an Irish warrant—No. 535—really granted to the 30th Foot (but from whom they may have received *a copy*), and to have been "installed" in Lodge No. 512, 63rd Foot, in South Carolina.

Original G.L.) was also granted in 1789. Six further Lodges were added to the Provincial roll, 1792-1809; and eight, 1814-25. About the year 1827 a Grand Lodge was formed, independent of both Nova Scotia and England, but in 1829 the Grand Lodge at home asserted its supremacy, which was followed by submission. Between the latter year and 1865, twenty-two English Lodges were erected in the colony. Within the same period six Irish and three Scottish charters were granted. The Grand Lodge was organised October 10, 1867, by sixteen Lodges—twelve English, three Irish, and one Scottish; there being at the time twenty-six, viz., twenty English, three Irish, and three Scottish, in the Province.

PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.—Military Lodges were formed under Nova Scotian warrants in 1781 and 1797. The last became a stationary Lodge, and with seven others was placed on the English roll, 1828-69. A solitary Scottish charter was issued in 1858, and the Lodge so formed, with seven on the registry of England, organised the Grand Lodge, February 24, and June 23, 1875.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.—In this territory and Vancouver's Island four Lodges were established under warrants from England, 1859-67; and five from Scotland, 1862-69. Eight of these organised the Grand Lodge, September 21, 1871.

MANITOBA.—Three Lodges were established in this Province by the G.L. of Canada (the first in 1870), and they united to form the G.L. of Manitoba, May 12, 1875. There was a schism in 1877, during which year and a part of the next there were two Grand Lodges in the Province, but a union was effected in 1879.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The two earliest Lodges on this island were established under warrants from Boston. Others were erected by the G.L. of England in 1784 and 1785, and five by its Schismatic rival, 1774-88. Eight English Lodges have been formed since the Union and two Scottish (1866-67). Each jurisdiction has its District Grand Master, with, in one case, six, and in the other two, Lodges, to supervise. At MIQUELON, a little island on the southern coast, a Lodge was erected by the G.O. of France in 1867, but is now extinct.[1]

STATISTICAL TABLE.

	Lodges.	Members.		Lodges.	Members.
Canada,	356	18,983	Prince Edward's Island,	14	428
Quebec,	68	2,822	British Columbia,	10	312
Nova Scotia,	67	2,966	Manitoba,	31	1,350
New Brunswick,	32	1,910	Newfoundland,	8	[]

[1] Authorities:—Brennan, Standard Hist., p. 359 *et seq.*; *Weekly Telegraph*, St John, N.B., July 9, 1884; and the Proceedings of the various Grand Lodges of the Dominion, notably those of Canada, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island—which having been kindly sent me by Messrs J. J. Mason, W. F. Bunting, and G. W. Wakeford, respectively, I was enabled to peruse at leisure, and have derived much assistance from, in preceding chapters.

L'ENVOI.

"A VERY considerable claim to candour may be advanced in favour of this work. The number and difficulty of the subjects treated of—the compass of reading necessary to obtain materials to elucidate them—the singular felicity of avoiding undue prolixity or unsatisfactory conciseness—and the perplexity arising from the jarring opinions of learned men on many of these subjects, render it an arduous task for an individual to accomplish."—This plea was advanced by Samuel Burder, in the preface to his "Oriental Customs," and I shall adopt it as my own, on presenting my readers with the final volume of this History of Freemasonry. Not, indeed, that in strictness I am entitled to do so, for the assistance I have received from others, to whose names I gladly turn, has alone enabled me to *complete* a general history of the Craft, an undertaking alleged on high authority to be of so formidable a character, that the span of ten men's lives was deemed too short a period for its execution.[1]

To Mr C. G. C. Rennie, I am indebted for many valuable notes, which have been of general utility, and for his assistance in Chapters I., VI., X., and XII. The proofs of the entire work have been perused by Hughan, to whose judicious counsel I owe much, and who, besides rendering assistance of a general character throughout, undertook the main preparation of Chapters II., VIII., XVIII., and XXII. For the pictures of the German Steinmetzen, of the Companionage, and of Continental Masonry—Chapters III.-V., and XXIV.-XXVIII.—I am indebted to Speth, whose co-operation, moreover, was not circumscribed within these limits, but extended to other chapters, and to the perusal of the latter half of the proofs. To this friend I stand under a peculiar weight of obligation, from his familiarity with several modern languages, which, in the absence of his assistance, I must have personally acquired in order to consult the foreign literature of the Craft with the minuteness that was essential. The earlier proofs were read by Rylands, to whom I am indebted for the plates of arms and seals, and their description; also for many valuable suggestions and useful notes, especially in Chapters IX., XI. (§ vi.), XIV., and XV. Nor must I omit to record the benefit I have derived from his special knowledge of manuscript literature. All the friends named (with the exception of Mr Rennie, who is not a Freemason) are members of my own Lodge (Quatuor Coronati, No. 2076). So also is Woodford, the *Doyen* of British Masonic students, whose wise counsel, so often sought, has never been withheld, and whose ample library was placed freely at my disposal.

The Grand Secretaries of England, Ireland, and Scotland merit my most grateful acknowledgment of their invariable courtesy in replying to my frequent inquiries. To the informa-

[1] Chap. I., p. 2.

tion so amply supplied by the officers of foreign Grand Lodges I have borne testimony on earlier pages. Messrs Wyatt Papworth, William Officer, H. D. Sandeman, T. B. Whytehead, Cæsar Kupferschmidt, Joseph Todd, Wilhelm Begemann, W. F. Vernon, and Henry Sadler (whose unwearied attention to my requirements I cannot too warmly recognise), have also in various ways rendered me great assistance. Many others have likewise contributed to my store of facts, whose names have already been gratefully referred to in footnotes. Nor in candour should I omit to state how deeply I have benefited from the robust criticisms—*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*—of a few writers, who, like Messrs W. P. Buchan and Jacob Norton, "consider rather what is said, than who says it, and the consequence of the argument, rather than the consequence of him that delivers it," and would have great names bow to the authority of truth, not truth to the authority of great names. Lane's "Masonic Records," I regret to say, was published too late to be of any service to me; but had the work appeared a year earlier, my toil would have been much lessened.

My labours are brought to a conclusion, but without the feeling of satisfaction that I had fondly anticipated, on the completion of my task. Where the friend and brother, whose approval I should have most valued, once sat, there is now a vacant chair. A worthy Mason and a good man has been called to his rest. Throughout the fleeting shadows of the past five years, I look back, with gratitude, upon the kindness and encouragement which I always received at the hands of Mr THOMAS CHISHOLM JACK, the publisher of this work, with whom, indeed, it was a great privilege to be associated in any common undertaking. But the design of a General History of the Craft will, I hope—however faulty the execution—be for ever associated with his memory. More I cannot trust myself to say, and with this brief allusion to a devoted husband, a loving father, and a true man, who

> "Never made a brow look dark,
> Nor caused a tear, but when he died,"

I bid the reader heartily farewell.



APPENDIX.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE demands upon the Text have been so great, that I am compelled to bring the Appendix within much narrower limits than I had intended. This will necessitate the omission of some original matter; of a quantity of extracts from ancient records; and lastly, of many explanatory references. These, however, I hope, may be given in due season in a further or supplementary volume.

In the course of the History, the reader has been referred to the Appendix in vols. i., 382, note 5; ii., 260, 339, 467, 493; and iii., 26, 39, 46, and 256; but having to choose between the omission of matter already printed in works that are generally accessible, or of that lying comparatively in the dark, I have decided, under these limitations, to adopt the former alternative, and in the "Grand Mystery" and "Mason's Examination" my readers will at least have specimens of what I should have proceeded with on a far larger scale had there been the requisite space at my command.

Two plates of Medals are given in Vol. III., and those who are desirous of investigating a subject of so much interest, will find their studies very pleasantly directed by Hughan in his "Masonic Register" (1878), and by Marvin in his ampler work, "The Medals of the Masonic Fraternity" (1880).

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

Page 11, note 3, *add*, Lubbock, Origin of Civilization, 1870, p. 337; and Bancroft, Hist. U.S.A., 1885, vol. ii., p. 131.
Page 16, note 3, *to read*, Epigenes de Poesi Orph. Norimb., 1702, pp. 21, 22; note 5, *to read*, De Triplici Theologiâ Mysteriisque Commentatis, Paris, 1784.
Page 17, note 4, *to read*, Ad. Dion Perieg., 524 (Geogr. Graec. Min., p. 664).
Page 22, line 27, *for* will, *read* shall.
Page 72, line 2, *for* No. 18, *read* No. 19.
Page 75, line 3, *read*, MDCCXXII.
Page 86, line 17, *for* Burano, *read* Murano.
Page 105, line 11, *for* 56, *read* 88; line 31, *delete* "the" before *facile princeps*.
Page 106, line 16, *for* p. 45, *read* p. 77.
Page 147, line 27, *for* Heinsch, *read* Heimsch.
Page 148, note 1, *add*, *cf.* Browne, Hist. of the Met. Church of St Peter, York, 1847, p. 50, note 2.
Page 166, note 3, *add*, *cf. post*, vol. ii., p. 28; and Disraeli, Cur. of Lit., 1859, iii., p. 153.
Page 177, line 9, *to read*, The cradle of German architectural skill, but not the organization of the Steinmetz Guild, is to be found in the convents.
Page 178, last line, 1829.
Page 224, Howling. *See* Brand, Pop. Antiq., 1870, ii., pp. 188, 189.
Page 231, line 8, *to read*, Between 1651 and 1648.
Page 251, line 27, factor.
Page 272, note 3, line 3, *read* hagiographer.
Page 275, line 22, *for* savages, *read* ravages.
Page 351, line 14, *for* "of," *read* "de."
Page 355, note 6, line 3, *read* (xxiii.); last line *to read*, See *post*, p. 266, note 2.
Page 366, note 2, line 5, *after* "Illustrations of Masonry, p. 191," *add*, copying from Scott's Pocket Companion, 1754, p. 109.
Page 382, The St Clair Charters. These have been already printed by Lawrie and Lyon in their respective Histories.
Page 396, line 27, "prejudicially."
Page 440, line 1, *for* speaking pynt, *read* founding pynt; line 26, *to read*, admitted a freeman.
Page 456, note 2, "Apprentice Steinmetz."
Page 465, note 1, Dr Birch.
Page 482, line 20, *for* there are, *read* these are.
Page 489, note 2, *add*, Disraeli, Cur. of Lit., 1858, i. 135, 136.
Page 492, line 34, *for* antiquity, *read* mysticism.
Page 497, line 2, *for* on, *read* or; line 36, *delete* it.

VOLUME II.

Page 22, Papal Bulls.

"A monk of the abbey of St Medard being on his death-bed, confessed with great contrition and repentance, that he had forged numerous Bulls of exemption in favour of various monasteries,—the abbey of St Ouen in Normandy, and of St Augustine's, Canterbury, being amongst the number, to the prejudice of the rights of their ordinaries" (Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ii., p. ccxi.). See also, Walpoliana, ii., p. 63.

Page 153, note 1, There are also Free miners of the Forest of Dean.

Page 194, Descriptive List of the Old Charges.

Three additional MSS. have recently been discovered, which I have incorporated with the pre-existing list at the following numbers:—24*a*, "Dauntesey," 1690; 31*b*, "Probity," 1736; and 31*c*, "Crane," 1781. The dates given are approximate only. All are written on paper, the last named consisting of two fragments, and the others being in book form. 24*a* was published by Mr W. H. Rylands in the *Keystone*, Philadelphia, March 20, 1886; and as it possesses many common features with the "Supreme Council" MS. (24), I have placed it after that document in the numerical list. 31*b* has been transcribed by Hughan, and printed in the *Freemason*, January 30 and February 13, 1886. It consists of ten pages of MS., bound up with a copy of "The Book M., or Masonry Triumphant," 1736, in the possession of the Probity Lodge, No. 61, Halifax, Yorkshire. As the age of the MS. appears to correspond pretty closely with that of the printed book, its value is not great. The text is similar to that of the Lansdowne (3) and Antiquity (23) MSS. 31*c*, consisting of two fragments or loose sheets, was discovered by Mr J. C. Robinson, of Chester, among the papers of the Rev. T. Crane, deceased, in 1884, and by him published in the *Freemason* of that year (pp. 476, 486, 497, 507, 522), to which I refer my readers for the reasons which appear to justify the classification of the "Wren" (37) and the "Crane" (31*c*) MSS. as separate and distinct authorities.

Page 260, Alnwick Records. The works in which an abstract of these has appeared, are indicated in the 3d note.

Page 286, note 8. This is qualified by the fuller argument in the next chapter at p. 358 *q.v.*

Page 339, General Regulations and Members of Lodges in 1724-25. The former are given in most histories of Masonry, and reprints of the Constitutions of A.D. 1723 have been issued in both England and America. The names of the latter I am simply unable to find room for in the present work.

Page 355, Dr Anderson.

The Rev. Mr Craven, of Kirkwall, Orkney, informs me that on the fly leaf of a copy of the "Royal Genealogies," in the University of Aberdeen, he has found, apparently in the handwriting of the author, the following:—"Almam Matrem Academiam *Mareschallanam* hoc libro donavit ejusdem auctor.—Jacobus Anderson, D.D."

Page 356, Masonic Catechisms.

These may be conveniently divided into three groups—all of which have their especial points of interest—the first extending over the period 1717-27, the second having its first exemplar in 1730, and the third beginning with the year 1760. The earliest collection comprises Sloane MS. 3329 (*temp. incert.*); the Mason's Examination, 1723; the Grand Mystery and the Briscoe MS., 1724; and the Mason's Confession (*temp. incert.*, but supposed to date

from 1727, though only printed in 1755). Of these the only two not accessible to the general reader are given at a later page—the Mason's Examination, transcribed by myself from the *Flying Post or Post Master*, No. 4712, April 11 to April 13, 1723, and the Grand Mystery, 2d edition—really printed in 1724, though dated 1725—containing an interesting account of the Gormogons, which is reprinted from *the only known copy in existence*, at present in the Dresden Royal Library, through the courteous assistance of Dr W. Begemann, of Rostock. The second group commences with "The Mystery of Freemasonry," published in the *Daily Journal*, August 15, 1730 (of which the salient features were given by Franklin, under the same name, in his *Pennsylvania Gazette*); after this came Masonry Dissected, by Samuel Prichard, of which four editions were published in the same year—the first on October 20; and the *Daily Journal* of December 16 has, "This day is published—'A defence of Masonry, occasioned by a Pamphlet call'd *Masonry dissected*'" (*ante*, ii., p. 356, note 2). Passing to the third group, in 1760—February—we meet with "A Master Key to Freemasonry;" and—April—"The Three Distinct Knocks;" 1762—March—Jachin and Boaz; 1764, Hiram, or the Grand Master Key; 1765, Shibboleth, or Every Man a Freemason; and, 1766, Solomon in all his Glory, and "Mahabone, or the Grand Lodge Door Open'd." Dr W. Begemann, of Rostock, to whom I am indebted for many of the preceding details, will shortly bring out a work entitled "Catechisms and Usages of English Freemasons of the Eighteenth Century," to which the curious reader is referred.

Page 365, Hiram Abif.

This name is given in the Inigo Jones MS. (i., 63; ii., 244, 365), which document—in the opinion of Dr Begemann—was manufactured *after* 1723, "as its chronology is taken from Anderson's Constitutions of that year, while the letters of Solomon and Hiram were copied *verbatim et literatim* from an English translation of Josephus, dated 1670." The same critic assigns no higher antiquity than (at the utmost) the year 1722, to Sloane MS. 3329 (ii., 279, 316, 356), and considers that both the demand and the supply of such writings, could have had no earlier beginning than 1720.

In these conclusions I hesitate to concur, at least without further consideration, for they appear to me to suggest a qualification of my previous judgment of Harleian MS. 1942 (ii., 210), in the *simulated antiquity* of which document—like that of the Leland-Locke (i., 489), the Inigo Jones, and the Sloane MSS.—we may possibly find (if Dr Begemann's views will bear investigation) an explanation of what has hitherto appeared insoluble, when associated with the remote date, which, by experts in writing, has been somewhat arbitrarily assigned to it.

Page 372, note 10.

A curious superstition is recorded of the fishermen of the Daii—a river in Tongking. If a fish jumps into the boat, it is a very bad omen; and to avert impending evil, it is necessary to cut the fish into two and throw it into the water again (J. G. Scott, France and Tongking, 1885, p. 207).

Page 438, Early Atholl Records.

Further documentary evidence has recently been brought to light by Mr Henry Sadler, and published by Lane, who at once identified a long-missing register ("Masonic Records," preface, p. xii.). A series of articles arising out of the same discovery, from the pen of Mr G

B. Abbott, appeared in the *Freemason*, commencing in vol. xix., p. 196; and Mr Sadler is now preparing for the press his own views with regard to the origin of the "Ancients."

Page 201, note 4, last line, *to read*, p. 152.
Page 242, line 13, *to read*, traditional history; line 31, *for* aphorism, *read* aphanism.
Page 243, note 1, line 4, Sir G. Lewis.
Page 251, line 11, *for* respect, *read* repeat.
Page 255, line 22, last word *to read* he.
Page 269, line 7, Domaskins.
Page 345, line 17, 1767-73.
Page 398, line 29, 1789. This was the date of Preston's restoration to his Masonic privileges.
Page 415, note 2, *for* York, *read* Eboracum Lodge, No. 1610.
Page 423, line 9, a period after "(No. 134);" *and to continue*, On May 21, 1772, he instituted, etc.
Page 434, heading of Chapter, "According to *the* Old Institutions."
Page 436, line 21, inform us.
Page 467, note 1. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 493 Foreign Deputations. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 501, Articles of Union. These are given in Preston's "Illustrations of Masonry," also in Hughan's "Masonic Memorials" and "Masonic Register."

VOLUME III.

Page 14, line 13, The Emulation Lodge of Improvement was founded October 2, 1823.
Page 26, Statistics of English Masonry. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 39, The Grand Masters of Ireland. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 46, note 4. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 53, line 29, *for* 44th, *read* 55th.
Page 82, line 21, *to read*, "entered" at Kilwinning or some other Scottish Lodge previous to the era of Grand Lodges.
Page 113, line 37, *to read*, "Observantia Lata."

Page 195, C. F. Scheffer.

The name of this nobleman is shown in the Engraved List for 1770 as Prov. G.M. for Sweden, and is continued in the "Freemason's Calendar" until 1794. In a letter dated April 10, 1886, Mr Robert Dickson, G.S., Sweden, informs me—"The Grand Lodge of Sweden was constituted December 25, 1759. Its first Grand Master was Carl Frederick von Eckleff till 1777. Baron Carl Frederick Scheffer was S.P. and Deputy G. Master 1761-77." The authorities are hopelessly at variance, and we can only assume that in all probability Scheffer succeeded Fullman, as *English* Prov. G.M. in 1769?

Page 224, Dr Jacnisch.

Here I was misled by Nettelbladt, see p. 226.

Page 249, note 1, *to read*, *Post*, p. 284.

Page 256, note 5. *See* Introductory Note.

Page 285, Union of German Freemasons.

Out of this sprang "the Lessing Union of German Freemasons," founded in 1884. Its organ is the *Bauhütte*, and its Corypheus, Herr Findel. The aims and tendencies of the new "bund" are not regarded with favour by the Diet of German Grand Lodges.

Page 360, Porto Rico. "In 1821, authority was given by the G.L. of Massachusetts for a French Lodge at Mayaguez" (Proc. G.L., 1869).
Page 363, The Lesser Antilles. *See* pp. 422 and 488.
Page 380, Chilé.

Page 387, Dutch Guiana. *See* p. 448.

THE
Grand MYSTERY
OF THE
FREE MASONS
DISCOVER'D.

WHEREIN

Are the several QUESTIONS put to them at their *Meetings* and *Installations.*

As also, Their OATH, HEALTH, SIGNS, and POINTS, to know each other by.

As they were found in the Custody of a FREE-MASON who Dyed suddenly.

And now publish'd for the Information of the PUBLICK.

The SECOND EDITION.

To which are ANNEXED,

Two LETTERS to a FRIEND;

The *First*, Concerning the Society of *FREE-MASONS.*

The *SECOND*,

Giving an Account of the Most Ancient Society of *GORMOGONS*, in its *Original, Institution, Excellency*, and *Design:* Its *Rules* and *Orders*, and the Manner of its Introduction into *Great Britain.* With an intire Collection of all that has been made Publick on that Occasion. Together with the supposed Reason of their *Excluding the Free-Masons*, without they previously undergo the Form of *Degradation, &c.* Now first set forth for the *Satisfaction* and *Emolument* of the *Publick.*

Ambubajarum collegia, Pharmacapolæ,
Mendici, Medici, balatrones, hoc genus omne. HOR.
——— *Mulus scabit Mulum.*

LONDON:
Printed for A. MOORE, near St. *Paul*'s. 1725. [Pr. 1*s.*]

THE

Grand Mystery *of FREE-MASONS* DISCOVER'D.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS Piece having been found in the Custody of a FREE-MASON, who died suddenly, it was thought proper to publish it in the very Words of the Copy, that the Publick may, at last, have something Genuine concerning the Grand Mystery of *Free-Masons*.

There was a Man at *Louvain*, who publish'd, That he had, with great Toil and Difficulty, found out, overcome, and tamed, and was now ready at his Booth, to shew, at the Rate of Six Stivers a-piece, the most hideous and voracious Monster, the Common Disturber of Mankind, especially in their Adversity.

Peopled flock'd from all Parts to see this Monster: They went in at the Fore-Door; and after they had seen the Creature, went out at the Back-Door, where they were ask'd, Whether the Monster was worth seeing? And as they had, at their Admittance into the Booth, promised to keep the Secret, they answer'd, It was a very wonderful Creature; which the Man found his Account in. But, by some Accident, it was divulged, that this wonderful Creature prov'd to be a LOUSE.

But to proceed to the Subject in Hand; we shall first present our Readers with

THE FREE-MASON'S SIGNS.

A GUTTERAL ⟩ A PEDESTAL ∠ A MANUAL ▽ A PECTORAL ✕

EXAMINATION UPON ENTRANCE INTO THE LODGE.

PEACE be here.
Answer. I hope there is.
Q. What a-Clock is it?
A. It's going to Six, or going to Twelve.
Q. Are you very busy?
A. No.
Q. Will you give, or take?
A. Both; or which you please.
Q. How go Squares?
A. Straight.
Q. Are you Rich, or Poor?
A. Neither.
Q. Change me that?
A. I will.
Q. In the Name of, *&c.* are you a Mason?
What is a Mason?
A. A Man begot of a Man, born of a Woman, Brother to a King.
Q. What is a Fellow?
A. A Companion of a Prince.
Q. How shall I know you are a Free Mason?
A. By Signs, Tokens, and Points of my Entry.
Q. Which is the Point of your Entry?
A. I Hear and Conceal, under the Penalty of having my Throat cut, or my Tongue pull'd out of my Head.
Q. Where was you made a Free-Mason?
A. In a just and perfect Lodge.
Q. How many make a Lodge?
A. God and the Square, with Five or Seven right and perfect Masons, on the highest Mountains, or the lowest Valleys in the World.
Q. Why do Odds make a Lodge?
A. Because all Odds are Mens Advantage.
Q. What Lodge are you of?
A. The Lodge of St. *John.* △
Q. How does it stand? ✠
A. Perfect East and West, as all Temples do.

Q. Where is the Mason's Point?
A. At the East-Window, waiting at the Rising of the Sun, to set his Men at Work.
Q. Where is the Warden's Point?
A. At the West-Window, waiting the Setting of the Sun, to dismiss the Entred Apprentices.
Q. Who rules and governs the Lodge, and is Master of it?
A. *Irah,*) or the Right Pillar.

Q. How is it govern'd?
A. Of Square and Rule.
Q. Have you the Key of the Lodge?
A. Yes, I have.
Q. What is its Virtue?
A. To open and shut, and shut and open.
Q. Where do you keep it?
A. In an Ivory Box, between my Tongue and my Teeth, or within my Heart, where all my Secrets are kept.
Q. Have you the Chain to the Key?
A. Yes, I have.
Q. How long is it?
A. As long as from my Tongue to my Heart.
Q. How many precious Jewels?
A. Three; a square Asher, a Diamond, and a Square.
Q. How many Lights?
A. Three; a Right East, South, and West.
Q. What do they represent?
A. The Three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
Q. How many Pillars?
A. Two; *Iachin* and *Boaz.*
Q. What do they represent?
A. A Strength and Stability of the Church in all Ages.
Q. How many Angles in St. *John's* Lodge?
A. Four, bordering on Squares. 
Q. How is the Meridian found out?
A. When the Sun leaves the South, and breaks in at the West-End of the Lodge.
Q. In what Part of the Temple was the Lodge kept?
A. In *Solomon's* Porch, at the West-End of the Temple, where the two Pillars were set up.
Q. How many Steps belong to a right Mason?
A. Three.
Q. Give me the Solution?
A. I will. --- The Right Worshipful, Worshipful Masters, and Worshipful Fellows, of the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence I came, greet you well.
Response. That Great God to us greeting, be at this our Meeting, and with the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence you came, and you are.
Q. Give me the *Jerusalem* Word?
A. *Giblin.*
Q. Give me the Universal Word?
A. *Boaz.*
Q. Right Brother of ours, your Name?
A. *N.* or *M.*
Response. Welcome, Brother *M.* or *N.* to our Society.
Q. How many particular Points pertain to a Free-Mason?
A. Three; Fraternity, Fidelity, and Taciturnity.
Q. What do they represent?
A. Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth, among all Right Masons; for which all Masons were ordain'd at the Building of the Tower of *Babel,* and at the Temple of *Jerusalem.*
Q. How many proper Points?
A. Five; Foot to Foot, Knee to Knee, Hand to Hand, Heart to Heart, and Ear to Ear.
Q. Whence is an Arch deriv'd?
A. From Architecture.
Q. How many Orders in Architecture?
A. Five; the *Tuscan, Dorick, Ionick, Corinthian,* and *Composit.*
Q. What do they answer?
A. They answer to the Base, Perpendicular, Diameter, Circumference, and Square.
Q. What is the right Word, or right Point of a Mason?
A. Adieu.

THE FREE-MASON'S OATH.

You must serve God according to the best of your Knowledge and Institution, and be a true Liege Man to the King, and help and assist any Brother as far as your Ability will allow: By the Contents of the Sacred Writ you will perform this Oath. So help you God.

A FREE-MASON'S HEALTH.

Here's a Health to our Society, and to every faithful Brother that keeps his Oath of Secrecy. As we are sworn to love each other, the World no Order knows like this our Noble and Antient Fraternity: Let them wonder at the Mystery.

Here, Brother, I drink to thee.

SIGNS TO KNOW A TRUE MASON.

1. To put off the Hat with two Fingers and a Thumb.
2. To strike with the Right-Hand, on the Inside of the Little-Finger of the Left three Times, as if hewing.
3. By making a Square, *viz.* by setting your Heels together, and the Toes of both Feet straight, at a Distance, or by any other Way of Triangle.
4. To take Hand in Hand, with Left and Right Thumb close, and touch each Wrist three Times with the Fore-Finger each Pulse.
5. You must Whisper, saying thus, The Masters and Fellows of the Worshipful Company from whence I came, greet you all well.

The Other will answer, God greet well the Masters and Fellows of the Worshipful Company from whence you came.

6. Stroke two of your Fore-Fingers over your Eye-Lids three Times.
7. Turn a Glass, or any other Thing that is hollow, downwards, after you have drank out of it.
8. Ask how you do; and your Brothers drink to each other.
9. Ask what Lodge they were made Free-Masons at.

N.B. In the Third of King *Henry* VI. an Act of Parliament was pass'd, Whereby it was made Felony, to cause Masons to confederate themselves in Chapiters and Assemblies. The Punishment is Imprisonment of Body, and to make Fine and Ransom at the King's Will.

TWO

LETTERS

TO A

FRIEND.

The *FIRST*, Concerning

The Society of FREE-MASONS.

The *SECOND*, Giving an Account of

The Most Ancient Order of *GORMOGONS*,

IN

Its *Original*, *Institution*, *Excellency*, and *Design*: Its *Rules* and *Orders*, and the Manner of its Introduction into *Great Britain*.

With an intire Collection of all that has been made Publick, on that Occasion. Together with the supposed Reason of their *Excluding the Free-Masons*, without they previously undergo the Form of *Degradation*, *&c.*

Now first set forth for the *Satisfaction* and *Emolument* of the *Publick*.

——Nullo penetrabilis astro,
Lucus erat.—— VIRG.

LONDON:
Printed for A. MOORE, near St. *Paul*'s. *M.DCC.XXV.*

A

LETTER to a FRIEND,

CONCERNING

The Society of FREE-MASONS.

SIR,

THE Command, you have been pleas'd to lay upon me, is not to be discharged in a few Words: You require of me, To give you an Account of the *Fraternity* (as you are pleas'd to term it) which call themselves FREE-MASONS; together with my Opinion about *them*, and their *Tenets*.

This, *SIR*, will cause some little Time to be spent; first, In Enquiry after their *Tenets;* and then, in maturely judging, and reasoning upon 'em: for rash and unpremeditated Determinations, in *such* Matters, will only expose their Authors; and give Strength and Reputation to the opposite Parties.

As for their *Tenets*, they seem to be all Riddle and Mystery, to every Body but themselves; and I make a Doubt, whether or no, they be able to give any fair and satisfactory Account of 'em. By what I can learn, they are under an *Oath*, or some solemn obligatory *Tie*, not to make known, or divulge their *Arcana* to any, except to the Members of their own Society. This, I presume, is because they are either so nonsensically *ludicrous*, and *foolish*, or else so horribly *lewd*, and *blasphemous*, that they will not endure a Publick Censure.

They set an huge Value upon themselves, in regard of being *Free Masons:* entertaining strange, aukward Notions of the Word *Mason;* such as it never had belonging to it, in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *English*, or, I believe, in any Language under Heaven. They seem to be listed under the Patronage of *Hiram*, the King of *Tyre*, who was doubtless an *Heathen;* unless converted to *Judaism* after his Acquaintance with *Solomon:* Which is, at best, but a groundless *Chimæra*, and *Supposition;* for the *Scriptures*, which are the only Authentick Records of those Matters, have taken no notice at all of it.

They tell strange foppish Stories of a *Tree*, which grew out of *Hiram's Tomb*, with wonderful *Leaves*, and *Fruit* of a *monstrous Quality;* although, at the same Time, they know neither where, nor when he dy'd; nor any thing more of his Tomb, than they do of *Pompey's*. But, to stop the Mouths of their ignorant, crackbrain'd Disciples (such as *Ale-house-keepers*, *Botchers*, *Corn-cutters*, &c.) some of their principal Θαυματεργοι, lugg 'em by the Ears with a bombast Gypsie-like Jargon, which they call *Arabick:* although I am morally certain, That not one of the Society knows any more of the *Arabick* Language, than I do of the CHINESE.

Upon the Account, SIR, of this stupendous *Docardo*, they assume to themselves the August Title of *Kabalists;* or rather, as I submissively conjecture, *Cabal-lists: i.e.* A Knot of whimsical, delirious Wretches, who are caballing together, to extirpate all manner of *Science*, *Reason*, and *Religion* out of the World.

To explain the senseless and irrational Mode of their Proceedings, I shall ask you, or them, or all the World; Whether 'twas ever known, that Men of common Sense and Discretion, did profess themselves to be of an Imployment or Occupation, which they know nothing at all of? As for Instance, SIR, would you not take that Man to be qualified for *Bedlam*, that should call himself a *Gold-Smith*, when his Business is to *mend Shoes?* and would it not make you laugh, to hear a Fellow call himself a *Lapidary*, when he gets his Living by *sweeping of Chimneys?* Yet this is exactly the Case of *Free Masons;* Every Member, forsooth, is a *Free Mason;* although there be some *Divines*, or rather, if they were perfectly understood, *Dry-Vines*, some *Petti-foggers*, some *Clyster-pipe Men*, *Thread-makers*, *Taylors* and *Weavers*, and an huge Bead-roll besides, of Men calling themselves *Masons*, who know no more how to lay a Brick, or a Stone, as it should be laid, than they know how to make a *Hog* play upon a *Flute*, or a *Horse* understand *Algebra*.

There are several amongst 'em, who write themselves *S. T. P.* which some are apt to imagine, stands for *Sacrosanctæ Trinitatis Persecutores;* for it is observable, That the Creed of St. *Athanasius* is treated very scurvily and opprobriously amongst divers of their Principals; and the Divinity (nay, even the Divine Accomplishments of our Saviour) are handled by some of those Wretches, with a most shameful Buffoonry and Contempt. Remarkably eminent for this, is a certain *Renegado Papist;* who has formerly wrote a nonsensical *Farrago* about the Plague: and makes the World believe, That he'll undertake to translate the Works of a certain Classick; and, no doubt, in that Case, will render them nine time more ridiculous and unintelligible than any Man alive is able to do.

That, SIR, which gives the greatest Gloss, and Lustre to their Cabal, is this, *viz.* That they have artfully drawn some Great Names, into their wild, latitudinarian Measures: This I cannot in the least wonder at; for Great Men, are but *Men*, and as apt to run into giddy, whimsical Schemes, as their Inferiors. Excellent was the Observation of the *Buzite*, *Job* xxxii. 9. where he says, *Great Men are not always Wise:* and I really look upon some certain Gentlemen among them, however otherwise dignified and distinguished, to be just such another Decoration to the *Free Masons*, as *Julian* and *Maxentius* were to *Atheism;* or *Constantius* and *Valens*, to the *Arian Heresy.*

I protest, SIR, I had like to have forgotten one Man, who makes a most Il-Lustrious Figure amongst 'em; and stiles himself R.S.S. and L.L.D. He makes wonderful Brags of being of the *Fifth Order:* I presume (as he is a *Mason*) he means the *Fifth Order* of *Architecture;* which is otherwise call'd, The *Compound Order:* and by it one would be tempted to imagine, that the Doctor is a *Composition* of all sorts of *Maggots* and *Enthusiasm.* One thing there is, which makes me more bold in affirming this; and this is it——The Doctor pretends, he has found out a Mysterious, *Hocus-pocus* Word, which belongs to the *Anathema* pronounc'd against *Ananias* and *Saphira*, in the 5th Chapter of the *Acts;* and he farther pretends, That against whomsoever he (as a Member of the *Fifth Order*) shall pronounce this terrible Word, the Person shall instantly drop down dead, as they did. I cannot imagine how the Doctor came by this powerful Word; unless he found it in *Rabluis's Pantagruel;* or in Dr. *Fuller's Dispensatory;* which are two great Repositories of incomprehensible Nonsense. I'll take all the Care I can, to keep out of the Doctor's Way; for I am sure if he meets me, and knows me, out comes the great MILLESYLLABICUM, and I'm as dead as *William the Conqueror.*

But now, SIR, to draw towards a Conclusion; and to give my Opinion seriously, concerning these prodigious *Virtuosi;*——My Belief is, That if they fall under any Denomination at all, or belong to any Sect of Men, which has hitherto appear'd in the World, they may be rank'd among the GNOSTICKS; who took their Original from *Simon Magus:* These were a Set of Men, which ridicul'd not only *Christianity*, but even *Rational Morality;* teaching, That they should be *sav'd* by their *capacious Knowledge*, and *Understanding* of no Mortal Man could tell what. They babbled of an *amazing Intelligence* they had, from no-body knows whence: They amus'd, and puzzled the hare-brain'd, unwary Crowd, that follow'd 'em, with *Superstitious Interpretations*, of *extravagant Talismanical Characters*, and *abstruse Significations*, of uncommon *Kabalistick Words;* which exactly agrees with the Proceedings of our *Modern Free Masons.*

I am inclinable to believe, That by the Word MASON, they mean a *Builder*, and they take the Word BUILD, in a *Figurative* and *Metaphorick* Sense; as it is us'd *Acts* xx. 32. and in many other Places of the New Testament: in which Places the Word *Build*, is us'd to signify the *Founding* and *Establishing* of the *Christian Church.* If this be their Meaning, 'tis no Breach of Charity to presume, that these Gentlemen are *Masoning* and *Building up* something, that it were heartily to be wish'd they would let alone; for I must take the Freedom to say, That there are *Schisms* and *Fractions*, more than enough already, in our most Excellent Religion.

SIR, I shall trouble you with nothing more at present, than just to observe, That if the *Tenets* of these Men, do contain any thing that is conducive to the *Improvement* of *Manners*, the *Honour of God*, or the *real Advantage of Mankind;* they are guilty of an unpardonable piece of Injustice, to conceal such beneficial *Dogmata* from the World. But if, contrariwise, they advance any thing, which is, or may be *Detrimental* and *Pernicious*, it is great Pity, it is not made Publick; that it might be expos'd, censur'd, and taken care of, for *Diu crescentes nugæ, floreant in miseriis.*

I am, SIR,

Your most Humble Servant,

VERUS COMMODUS.

P.S. SINCE my writing this, I have seen a little Tract call'd, *The Grand Mystery of the Free Masons Discover'd;* which, as I take it, gives us a Genuine Account of the Questions severally put to the Members of that Society, at their *Admission*, *Meetings*, &c. As also of their *Oath*, *Health*, *Signs*, *Points*, &c. and this I inclose, that you may have a farther Light into this pretended *Mysterious* Fraternity. Whereby, also, you will perceive what an unintelligible *Jargon* these People make a Mystery of.

LETTER II.

Giving an ACCOUNT of the

Most Ancient ORDER of *GORMOGONS*,

IN

Its *Original, Institution, Excellency,* and *Design:* Its *Rules* and *Orders,* and the Manner of its Introduction into *Great Britain.*

With an intire Collection of all that has been made Publick on that Occasion. Together with the supposed Reason of their *Excluding the Free-Masons,* without they previously undergo the Form of *Degradation, &c.*

SIR,

SINCE my last, the Venerable Order of GORMOGONS having been brought into *England,* by a *Chineze Mandarin,* of great Dignity and Note in his own Country, I could not deny my-self the Pleasure to give you as particular an Account as has come to my Knowledge, of what has been done and publish'd since his Arrival, relating to the Establishing that Society in this Island.

You, Sir, are not to be informed, That the *Chineze* pretend to have Accounts of Time and Transactions, many Thousand Years before *Adam;* And I am now to acquaint you, That their first Chief Monarch, or Emperor, as he has since been called, who, tho' *European* Historians frequently call him by another Name, was commonly in *China,* known by that of CHIN-QUAW-KY-PO, is the Institutor of this Order, for the Reward of Merit, and Encouragement of Science, into that *Kingdom of Philosophers,* many Centuries before *Adam.* And I must needs confess, That as their only Boast is not their *Antiquity,* but that they chiefly aim to establish their Order on the MERIT of their Members; they bid fair totally to eclipse the other Society, which, without any other Regards than the Entrance-Fine, and consequential Gluttony, and Ebriety, promiscuously, and without Distinction, admits the Worthy and the Unworthy.

This Order, it seems, as well as the other, has a SECRET, and, as I am inform'd, it is of a very extraordinary Nature; but what, I am well assur'd, is neither shocking to *Decency,* to *Humanity,* or to *Morals,* tho' I cannot penetrate into the Nature of it. As the Cultivating of Arts and Sciences is the principal End of its Institution, Gentlemen of Wit and Parts, who are Members of it, entertain the Society with such Productions, either of their own, or others, as are truly Curious, whether in Prose or Verse, in every Science, as well Mechanical as Liberal. And for this Reason, ingenious Mechanicks are far from being excluded, each being encouraged, in his own particular Way, to excel. Nor do they, it seems, disdain to divert and entertain one another with a pleasant Song, so as it is not contrary to Decency and good Manners, and turns not upon Party or Politicks.

And this leads me to tell you, That the only Point of Conversation which is expresly prohibited, is that of the Politicks of their own Country; which is a most excellent and necessary Rule, because, as the Society consists of ingenious Men of all Persuasions, and no body is excluded for his private Opinion, Disputes might otherwise arise, which would create Feuds and Animosities among them: The propagating the contrary of which, is, it seems, a fundamental Article among them.

After the Qualifications of the Person are examin'd into (which, I am told, is extremely strict) and approv'd, the Terms of Entrance are very easy: Instead of Three, Four, or Five Guineas, which the Masons require for Admission, they only deposite such a Sum as they shall think proper above so many * *Rupees.*

FRUGALITY is one extraordinary Injunction with them, that so they may avoid the Rocks on which others too frequently split: And the little easy Forfeitures and Fines of Entrance, are deposited in the Hands of a HUPU, or Treasurer, to be disposed of either to Charitable Uses, whenever any calamitous Case offers, or for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences; Reserving a Proportion thereof towards a General Feast, whether Quarterly, Half-Yearly, or Yearly, I cannot say, in order to cement and consolidate the Union of the several Chapters.

The Officer who presides in Chief over the whole Body or Order, must be a Man of Quality and Learning, and is called, as I am told, *Sub-Oecumenical Volgee.* He is repeesented by another Great Officer, stiled *Deputy Volgee,* who under him governs the Society. There is a Third Great Officer who acts as *Præses* over each par-

* *Rupee* is a *Chineze* Coin about the Value of 2*s.* 6*d.* Sterling.

ticular *Chapter*, and governs all Affairs therein, conformable to the *General Statutes* of the *Order*. But the Name of this Officer (for 'tis not made a *Secret*) I have forgot; only that it is, as all the rest, of *Chinese* Extraction.

By this Knowledge, which I have been able to come at, tho' I have not the Honour to be a GORMOGON, you will observe, Sir, the Excellency of the Order; and that they are not *asham'd* to let People know, in some Measure, the laudable *Ends* and *Purposes* of their *Institution*. I say, *In some Measure*, because it must be confess'd, they are very tenacious of the Great and Important SECRET of their Society, into which it is morally impossible, that any-body but a thoroughly-graduated GORMOGON can penetrate. You will also have the greater Opinion even of their SECRET, tho' 'tis past the Comprehension of the *Vulgar World*, inasmuch as you will observe, that they put on no affected Grimaces, in order to palm upon the Publick, the most *insignificant Trifles* for the *profoundest Mysteries;* nor do they treat *real* and *venerable Mysteries* as *Trifles*.

Having thus given you an Account of what I have been able to collect, relating to this Society, I come now to entertain you with the several Pieces that have been publish'd relating thereto. The first of which is from the *Daily Post* of the 3d of *September* last; tho' I am informed, that this Order was begun in *England* long before, and several Worthy Gentlemen had form'd themselves into a Body, under the *Auspices* of the *Mandarin* HANG CHI; and did not intend to make Publick their Institution. But, it seems, some *over-busy* Persons having got a Knowledge of a few Particulars, which were made no *Secret* of, and that the Assembly was held at the *Castle Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, they, being minded to rally the *Free-Masons* at the same time, published the following Advertisement.

WHEREAS the truly Ancient and Noble Order of the GORMOGONS, Instituted by CHIN-QUAW-KY-PO, the first Emperor of *China* (according to their Account) many Thousand Years before *Adam*, of which Order the great Philosopher CONFUCIUS, was *Oecumenical Volgee*, has lately been brought into *England* by a *Mandarin*, and he having admitted several Gentlemen of Honour into the Mystery of that most illustrious Order, they have determin'd to hold a Chapter at the *Castle-Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, at the particular Request of several Persons of Quality. This is to inform the Publick, that there will be no *drawn Sword at the Door*, nor *Ladder in a Dark Room*, nor will any *Mason* be received as a Member, till he has renounced his *Novel Order*, and been *properly degraded*. *N.B.* The *Great Mogul*, the *Czar of Muscovy*, and Prince *Tochmas*, are enter'd into this Honourable Society, but it has been refus'd to the Rebel *Meriweys*, to his great Mortification. The *Mandarin* will shortly set out for *Rome*, having a particular Commission to make a Present of this Antient Order to his *Holiness;* and it is believ'd the whole *Sacred College* of *Cardinals* will commence GORMOGONS. Notice will be given in the Public Papers the Day the *Chapter* will be held.

After this, several Gentlemen, who before had not heard of this Order, came to the *Castle-Tavern* to inquire into the Fact; and among the rest the Author of the PLAIN DEALER (a Gentlemen of great Sagacity and Genius, as may be gather'd from the Excellent Papers wherewith he obliges the curious World every *Monday* and *Friday*) having in Person come to inquire concerning it, and meeting with the *Mandarin's* Secretary and Interpreter, received from him so satisfactory an Account of the Matter, and was so pleased with the Institution, that he desir'd to be admitted a Member. But *unhappily* for the *Gentleman*, and to the *great Regret* of the *Interpreter* also, he happen'd to be a *Free-Mason*, and so could not be admitted without being solemnly *Degraded*, and formally renouncing that Society. Tho' that Gentleman was much mortified hereupon, not being able to persuade himself to be the *first* to give the Example of *Degradation*, yet he departed with such a favourable Idea of the Institution, that in his very next *Plain Dealer*, he began with a fine Dissertation on the Effects of *Credulity* and *Imposture;* for which I refer to his Excellent Paper, and then addressed himself to his Brethren of the *Apron* and *Trowel*, in a very Pathetick Manner. In the mean Time, the Interpreter being no less pleased with the Conversation, Curiosity, and Frankness of this Gentleman, gave the *Mandarin* an Account of it; Whereupon the illustrious HANG CHI (as he is call'd) being pleas'd with his Interpreter's Description of the Gentleman, vouchsafed to write him a Letter, to persuade him to be *degraded*, and offering to him, in that Case, the Honours of the Order, in a Manner so concise, and so polite, as seems to be peculiar to the Chiefs of the *Eastern Nations*, and at the same time communicated to him a Letter from another *Great Mandarin* named SHIN SHAW, at *Rome;* giving an Account of the good Reception the Order meets with in that once Imperial City. The *pathetick Expostulations* of the *Plain Dealer*, to his *Guilty Brethren*, as he calls 'em; The Letter of HANG CHI, that of SHIN SHAW, and the *Plain Dealer's* Answer, are all as follows, taken from that Paper of the 14th of *September*, N° LI.

I WILL not be so partial to my own *Brotherhood*, I mean the Worshipful Society of FREE *and* ACCEPTED MASONS, as to forbear rebuking them, on this Occasion, for the unaccountable Pother and Noise they have lately made in the World. What Stories have been told to amuse, delude, and engage the *Credulous?* And how many have been drawn into the *Fraternity*, that have no Business there, to the manifest Detriment of their own Affairs, and Disadvantage of the Publick? What Reflections, what Reproach, have we brought upon Ourselves, and upon our *Ancient Order*, by making so many Proselytes, in so cheap and prostituted a Manner? It afflicts me sensibly, when I see so many idle, vain, and empty Coxcombs introduced into our *Lodges*, and made privy to our *Secrets*. I have often enter'd my Protest against this Abuse, in private Society; and must use the Freedom to offer this Memorial, in the Publick Character I bear. 'Tis my Opinion, that the late Prostitution of our *Order*, is next to the betraying of it. The weak Head of *Vintners*, *Drawers*, *Wigmakers*, *Weavers*, &c. admitted into our *Fraternity*, have not only brought Contempt upon the Institution, but do very much endanger it. Complaints have been made against the Abuse, even by Strangers and indifferent Persons: And I have heard it ask'd, Why we don't admit *Women*, as well as *Taylors*, into our *Lodges?* I profess, I have

met with as *sufficient* Heads among the *Fair Sex*, as I have in the *Brotherhood:* And I have some Reasons to fear, that our *Secrets* are in Danger of being expos'd. There is, in the Conduct of too many, since their Admission, the

-Cœcus amor sui,
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem
Arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro;

which is expressly prohibited by our Excellent *Rules* and *Constitutions;* and which is the very Characteristick of the Fools, that were received into the *Lodges* at *Rome*, in the Days of *Augustus Cæsar;* and whereof our Brother *Horace* complained vehemently, in an Ode to *Varus*, who was then the *Grand Master.* But whatever Freedoms others may imagine they may lawfully and discreetly use, my Conscience cannot brook them.

-NON EGO TE - - - - -
INVITUM QUATIAM: NEC - - - - -
SUB DIVUM RAPIAM - - - - -

My Female Readers, and, I'm afraid, some of the *Brotherhood* too, may stop here, and stare, as if I had blabb'd out the whole *Mystery* in these Lines. My Friend *Tony Jyngle*, happening to cast his Eye upon this Paper, when I was writing it, ask'd me, Whether the above Words, and Dashes, wou'd not be *decypher'd* into the famous *Mason Word?* But I must leave Folks, that know no better, to their *Wonder;* and proceed to assure my guilty *Brethren*, that they have promoted *Superstition and Babbling*, contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, by their late Practices and Condescentions. Alarming Reports, and Stories of raising the DEVIL, of WITCHES, LADDERS, HALTERS, DRAWN SWORDS, and DARK ROOMS, have spread Confusion and Teror. Trade and Business, and *Family Duty*, have been shamefully neglected: And, if the Government does not put the Laws against us in Execution, it will be an extraordinary Favour, or *Oversight.* For my own Part, I am so faithful a Subject, and have the Weal of the good People of *England*, and of *Our Ancient Order*, so much at Heart, that I have resolv'd never to countenance a *Lodge* again, unless the *Grand Master* puts a Stop to these Proceedings, by a speedy and peremptory Charge to all the *Brotherhood.* I do not say, I will utterly forsake, far less divulge the tremendous *Secrets* of our *Society:* But I wish I could honourably enter into *Another*, that seems to be *better* establish'd, and regulated.

And, now that I have hinted at *another Society*, or *Order*, I must entertain my Readers with Two Letters; the first is address'd to myself, and the last, written from *Rome*, to the Author of the first.

HANG CHI *to the* British PLAIN DEALER: *Health.*

Sage SIR,

BY the Help of my *Secretary* and *Interpreter* I peruse all your Lucubrations; and write this Epistle, to assure you of my Esteem.

I am inform'd, that you have taken Notice of the *Advertisement* publish'd in the News Papers; and that you call'd at the *Castle Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, to be satisfy'd of the Truth of my Arrival in this Place. Your Enquiry, and the Conversation you had with my Secretary, give me Occasion to gratify you farther; and I am proud to distinguish one of your Merit, in the Manner I intend.

The *Laws* and *Constitutions* of the most ancient and illustrious *Order* of *GORMOGONS* oblige us to be very *cautious* and *frugal*, in admitting *new Members.* Remarkable *Virtues* have always recommended the Candidates. No Rank, Station, or Condition of Life, intitles a Person to be of our *Fraternity.* We know no *Prejudice*, nor *Partiality*, in conferring this Honour; and all the *Interest* in the World to procure it, would be fruitless, without *Merit.*

My Residence here will be but short. It cannot therefore be expected, that I should invite many worthy Persons to enter into our *Order;* nor dare I render it cheap and contemptible, by admitting every Pretender: But I know several Persons of Quality and Fashion in this Place, who truly deserve to be received, and to whom I have promis'd the Distinction.

I shall consider it as an Honour and Ornament to our *most ancient* and illustrious *Order*, which is the Ornament of all its Members, if you, *Sage Sir*, will be pleas'd to accept the Privileges, that I am empower'd to bestow on the *Deserving.* I confess, you must be DEGRADED, as our Laws require, and renounce, and abandon, the Society of *Masons*, in the first Place: But, as your great Judgment must distinguish the Excellence of our *Order* above *that other*, I hope you will prefer being a *Fellow* with *Us.* Nothing wou'd more sensibly concern me, when I leave *London*, than not to be able to transmit your Name in the List, that I must send to the OECUMENICAL VOLGEE in *China.*

, Sage SIR,

Your Affectionate Friend,

HANG CHI.

SHIN SHAW *to* HANG CHI *in* London: *Health.*

Most Illustrious Brother and Friend,

I Congratulate you on the speedy Progress you have made from the Court of the *Young Sophy* in *Persia*, and your safe Arrival in the Isle of *Britain*. Your Presence is earnestly expected at *Rome*. His *Holiness* is fond of our *Order*, and the *Cardinals* have an Emulation to be first distinguish'd. Our Excellent Brother GORMOGON and Brother *Mandarin*, CHAN FUE, is well, and salutes you. Since my last, I had Advices from *Pekin*, which confirm former Accounts, that our Emperor is an open Enemy to the *Missionary Jesuits:* But I pray, their Disgrace in *China*, may not provoke the *Europeans* to use *Us* ill. Take Care of your Health. Farewell.

SHIN SHAW.

I thankfully acknowledge the Honour done me, by the illustrious *Mandarin* HANG CHI; and, tho' [illegible] *titutions* of th Order [illegible]cting none, bu whom [illegible] I propose th good Conduct, and Regularity of the GORMOGONS, as a Pattern to the *Free* and *Accepted Masons*, for the Future: And, if I shall be enabled to make any useful Discoveries for the Service of the *Brotherhood*, they may depend on my watchful Fidelity.

[*Thus far the Author of the* Plain-Dealer.]

I cannot guess why so excellent and laudable a Society as this of the GORMOGONS, should think it worth their while to make it an Article to exclude the *Free-Masons*, or that they should condescend to take so much Notice of them: Except there be any Truth in what I have heard reported, and to which I cannot give intire Credit, having never heard it from a *Graduated Gormogon*. The Report is this, That the *Mandarin* has declared, that many Years since, Two unhappy busy Persons, who were *Masons*, having obtruded their idle Notions among the *Vulgar Chineze*, of *Adam*, and *Solomon*, and *Hiram*, and I can't tell who besides, being Crafts-men of their Order, and offering to assert, that *Adam* was the first Man, which in *China*, is, it seems, received as a *Heterodox Notion*, and that the great *Chin-Quaw-Ky-Po*, the Institutor of the Order of *Gormogons*, was of *later* Date, many Centuries, than that Patriarch; and having, besides, deflower'd a venerable OLD Gentlewoman, under the Notion of making her an *European* HIRAMITE (as they called it) they were taken up, and obliged to recant, in Publick, their Absurdities, and afterwards, with Characters on their Breasts, denoting their Offence, and their Violence on the *Old Woman*, were hang'd Back to Back, on a Gibbet, erected for that Purpose, 60 Foot high, in the middle of a spacious Plain, some Miles from the great City *Nangking*, where their Bodies were left to be Food to the Fowls of the Air; And ever since, it has been an Article among the *Gormogons*, to exclude the Members of that Society, without they first undergo a solemn *Degradation*, *&c.* But this Story I leave as I find, for you to believe or reject as you please; having never heard it, as I have said, from the Mouth of a *Gormogon*. Tho' methinks, the Business of the OLD Gentlewoman affords, as our Weekly Politicians say, Mater of Speculation; and, at the worst, I hope the inraged Matron went too far in her Evidence, and was rather *saluted* than *violated*.

But however this be; the good Order and Regulations of the Society of *Gormogons*, have so much alarm'd the *Masons*, and convinc'd them of the Necessity of correcting the Abuses which have crept into their Fraternity, that we soon after had the Pleasure to read the following Advertisement, suppos'd to be publish'd by them, in the *Daily Journal*, on which I shall leave it to you, Sir, to make what Remarks you think fit.

ON *Michaelmas Day*, being the 29th of this Instant *September*, a *New Lodge* will be open'd, at the *St. Alban's Tavern*, in *St. Alban's Street*, for regulating the *Modern Abuses*, which have crept into the *Ancient Fraternity* of *Free-Masons;* where 'tis desired, that all the *old real Masons* will be present, to accompany their Founders, viz. *Jubel*, *Jubel*, *Tubal Cain*, and their Sister *Nahama*, also *Nineveh*, *Marcus*, *Gracchus*, *Euclid*, *Hierom*, *Charles Martin*, *Athelstone*, and their good Friend St. *Alban*, who *loved Masonry well.*

'Tis desired, that all *Fathers*, *Masters*, and *Wardens* of *Lodges*, who have discover'd no *Secrets* but to the *Brotherhood*, will be present. None under *Seven* will be admitted, and such as come, are to enter the *Lodge*, on the *bare Hand* and *Knee*, as usual.

Thus, Sir, have I given you all I know, or can collect, relating to this Affair; and if ever you hear from me again on this Subject, it will be in a few REMARKS on that empty Book called, *The Constitutions*, &c. *of the Free-Masons*, written, as I am told, by a *Presbyterian Teacher*, and pompously recommended by a certain Reverend *Orthodox*, tho' *Mathematical* Divine. In the mean time, I remain,

SIR,

Your very Humble Servant,

VERUS COMMODUS.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the closing this Letter, I have had the Pleasure to receive an Account, which I much desir'd, of the *Derivation* of the Word GORMOGON; and, as it is very Curious and Significant, and is not made a Secret of, I could not but inform you of it. It is, it seems, a *Compound Word* in the *Chineze* Tongue, signifying, A Person made Illustrious by *Social Love*, by the *Excellency* of his *Genius*, and by the *Antiquity* of his *Descent:* For GOR, in that most expressive Language, signifies *Brother*, or *Friend*, the most valuable Title on Earth; MO is a Word of Eminence, prefix'd to a Name or Thing, to distinguish its *Excellency;* and GON, signifies *Antiquity* or *Length of Continuance:* And it is observable, That the Province of MO-GON in *China*, which was formerly the Residence, Birth-place, and Paternal Inheritance of the Great *Chin-Quaw-Ky-Po* (as its Name [MO-GON] denotes *The most Excellent and most Ancient Kingdom*) is one of the most plentiful and flourishing Provinces of that vast Empire.

In short, Sir, I am so pleas'd with this excellent Society, that I shall only wait for your Return from the Country, not doubting but you will join your Interest with me, that we may be recommended as Members (however otherwise unworthy I may be!) of this Ancient Order.

By this Time you will Laugh with me at the Pretensions of the *poor Masons* (who, I am told, now sculk about, and meet in Corners) since, as they pretend to derive their Ancientry from *Babel*, they seem to confess, that they found their *Order* on *Confusion;* And indeed, I am much pleased, with what I heard an ingenious GORMOGON express on this Occasion, with which I shall conclude. "We are not displeas'd, said he, That "these *Hewers* of *Stone*, and *Drawers* of *Water*, these *mere Pretenders* to nothing more than *Labour* and *Mechanicks*, "who boast so much of their *Hod-man-ship*, should pretend to derive their Originals from any Place, where "they have *happen'd to read* of *Buildings* or *Monuments* of *Antiquity*, or from *Babel*, from *Noah*, or even from "*Adam:* We could even permit them to go still *higher*, and deduce their *Rise* before the Earth itself was created, "among the *Infernal Founders* of PANDEMONIUM, for the Erecting of which they might quote the Authority "of the Great *Milton;* and, as a *far-fetch'd Antiquity* is their *only Pride*, so might they, with *equal Justice*, and "*equal Reputation* to themselves, derive their Original from that *Infernal Capital*, as from *Babel*. But let them, "said he, shew us once, That *Merit*, in the First Place, or ought tending to *Edification*, to *Morals*, to *Improve-* "*ment* of those *Arts* and *Sciences*, which they lay so proud a Claim to, are any Part of their Consideration; or, "Secondly, That any *Free-Mason*, after his Commencement, became either a *wiser* or a *better Man;* or, Thirdly, "That *Cain*, *Nimrod*, *Semiramis*, and the Founders of *Babel*, are not rather the Examples which they follow; "and I'll give my Vote, that they shall be admitted *Gormogons* without *Degradation*, and be no longer the "*standing Jest* of the *Vulgar*, and the *Derision* of *Men of Sense*."

He concluded with a severe Sting, "That those Persons who saw the Masons go reeling Home, at unseason- "able Hours, after a *Meeting* or a *Lodge-Night*, would not question their following the Example of *Noah*, in "that Instance, at least, of his *getting drunk* with the Fruits of his own *Plantation*, and discovering his "*Nakedness*, to *Shem*, *Ham*, and [illegible]

FINIS.

A MASON'S EXAMINATION.

The earliest of the "so-called" exposures of Freemasonry appeared in the *Flying Post* or *Post Master*, No. 4712, from Thursday, April 11, to Saturday, April 13, 1723. From 1723 to the present era, hundreds of these "Examinations" and "Catechisms" have seen the light, and it may be stated generally, that they bear a strong "family likeness" to the original "revelation," which is subjoined.

The (so-called) "exposure" of 1723 professes, of course, to have been compiled from the papers of a deceased brother"—a "formula" with which readers of more recent "Catechisms" will be familiar, and which implies that our Masonic ancestors of 150 years ago had, even then, forestalled our German brethren of to-day in the use of printed or written rituals; students will, however, find several points of interest presented in the "Examination" under notice, *e.g.:*

The allusions to the Second Degree (though this was then only conferred *in* Grand Lodge), to the *Mark* of a Master Mason, and to the *Pattern of an Arch*—the first mention of the word "Arch" in connection with Freemasonry, it may be here observed—occur in the Constitutions of 1723, at the close of Dr Anderson's exordium.

[FROM THE FLYING POST, No. 4712.—A.D. 1723.]

To the Author of the Flying Post.

The Ancient Fraternity of *Free and Accepted Masons*, has thro' all Ages been justly esteemed the only One Society, which hath inviolably observed and kept those two essential and fundamental *Pillars* of all good Fellowship, *Taciturnity* and *Concord;* there being but one single instance since the Beginning of Time, that a *Free Mason* betray'd the *Grand Arcanum* of the Society; namely, *Samson*, who indeed proved a mere *Judas*, and was punished accordingly.[1]

This has been a Matter of much Speculation to the rest of Mankind, and hath occasioned various Reasonings and Disputes.

It is indeed agreed on all hands, that *Masonry*, the most *Substantial* Part of *Architecture*, is of singular Use and Ornament: that *Free Masons* are no prying inquisitive Busie-bodies, but honest industrious Persons, who desire only to excel in their own Profession; that the *Worshipful Society* are no Innovators in Religious Affairs, no perjured Plotters or Conspirators against the established Government: that they in no way interfere or clash with any other Society or Corporation, however dignify'd or distinguish'd; for all which excellent Qualifications, a reasonable Person would be willing to pay their *Persons*, their *Lodges*, their *Constitutions*, all due Respect and Honour.

But so it is, there are Men of Shallow Capacities, Blabbers of Secrets, who, because they have lost or misused their own retentive Faculties, envy and hate those who retain the Gift of *Secrecy* and *Fidelity;* these mean Wretches have of late Studied a Thousand Practices to bring this *Worshipful Society* into Contempt and Obloquy, and are egg'd on by some silly Women, who (because for good Reasons their Sex are by the Constitutions judged incapable of *Fellowship*) are, therefore, nettled and seek Revenge. These are the Persons who trump up many foolish and idle Signs, Gestures, and Practices, and vouch them for the very *Basis* and *Ground-plot* of *Free-Masonry*. The enclosed is a sample of their Malice, and which they pretend was left in Writing by a *Fellow Mason* lately deceased; but, in very Truth, is a Senseless Pasquinade, highly derogatory to the Honour of the whole *Body*, and each *Worshipful Fellow*, many of whom daily stand in Presence of Kings, and are Cloathed with Titles, Dignities, and Honours.

I shall not take upon me to vindicate the high Reputation of the *Fraternity*, their numerous *Lodges* stand in no need of *Props* and *Buttresses* for their support; neither will their *Members*, by any Arts or Contrivances, be induced like Fools and Children to divulge the Lessons and Instructions given by their Masters and Wardens; but will have a constant Eye to that memorable Saying of Wise King *Solomon* in his Time *Grand Master* of *Masonry* and *Architecture*, and which pointed to *Samson's* Fate aforementioned—*A prating Fool shall fall.—I am*, &c.

When a Free-Mason is enter'd, after having given to all present of the Fraternity a Pair of Men and Women's Gloves and Leathern Apron, he is to hear the . . . belonging to the Society read to him by the Master of the Lodge. Then a Warden leads him to the Master and Fellows; to each of whom he is to say—

I fain would a Fellow-Mason be,
As all your Worships may plainly see.

After this, he Swears to reveal no Secrets of the Worshipful Fraternity, on Pain of having his Throat cut, and having a double Porrion (Portion?) of Hell and Damnation hereafter. Then he is blind-folded, and the ceremony of ——— is performed. After which he is to behold a Thousand different Postures and Grimaces, all of which he must exactly imitate, or undergo the Discipline till he does.

After this the word *Maughbin* is whispered by the youngest Mason to the next, and so on, till it comes to the Master, who whispers it to the entered Mason, who must have his Face in due order to receive it. Then the entered Mason says what follows:

An enter'd Mason I have been,
Boaz and *Jachin* I have seen;
A Fellow I was sworn most rare,
And know the Astler, Diamond, and Square:
I know the Master's Part full well,
As honest *Maughbin* will you tell.

Then the Master says:

If a Master-Mason you would be,
Observe you well the *Rule of Three;*
And what you want in Masonry,
Thy *Mark* and *Maughbin* makes thee free.

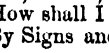
[1] *Hence comes the saying on One who blabs all he knows*, He'll bring an old House on his Head.

When you would enter a Lodge you must knock three times at the Door, and they'll challenge you.

Q. Are you a Free-Mason?

A. Yes, indeed, I am.

Q. How shall I know it?

A. By Signs and Tokens——from my Entrance into the Kitchen, and from thence to the Hall.

Q. What is the first Point of your Entrance?

A. Hear and conceal, on Pain of having my Throat cut or Tongue pull'd out.

Then one of the Wardens will say—God's greeting be at this Meeting; and with the Right Worshipful the Master, and the Worshipful Fellows, who keep the Keys of the Lodge from whence you came; and you are also welcome, Worshipful Brother, into this Worshipful Society.

Then you salute as follows—

The Right Worshipful the Master and the Worshipful Fellows of the Lodge from whence I came greet you abundantly.

Q. What Lodge are you of?

A. I am of the Lodge of St. Stephen's.

Q. What makes a just and Perfect Lodge?

A. A Master, two Wardens, four Fellows, five Apprentices, with Square, Compass, and Common Gudge.

Q. Where was you made?

A. In the Valley of *Jehosophet*, behind a Rush-bush, where a Dog was never heard to bark, or Cock crow, or elsewhere.

Q. Where was the first Lodge Kept?

A. In *Solomon's* Porch; the two Pillars were called *Jachin* and *Boaz.*

Q. How many Orders be there in Architecture?

A. Five; Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, or Roman.

Q. How many Points be there in Fellowship?

A. Six: Foot to Foot, Knee to Knee, Hand to Hand, Ear to Ear, Tongue to Tongue, Heart to Heart.

Q. How do Masons take Place in Work?

A. The Master S.E., the Wardens, N.E., and the Fellows Eastern Passage.

Q. How many precious Jewels are there in Masonry?

A. Four: Square, Astler, Diamond, and Common Square.

Q. How many Lights be there in a Lodge?

A. Three: The Master, Warden, and Fellows.

Q. Whence comes the Pattern of an Arch?

A. From the Rainbow.

Q. Is there a Key to your Lodge?

A. Yes.

Q. What is't?

A. A well hung Tongue.

Q. Where is it Kept?

A. In an Ivory Box between my Teeth, or under the Lap of my Liver, where the Secrets of my Heart are not.

Q. Is there a Chain to it?

A. Yes.

Q. How long is it?

A. As long as from my Tongue to my Heart.

Q. Where does the Key of the working Lodge lie?

A. It lies on the Right Hand from the Door two Foot and a-half under a Green Turf, and one Square.

Q. Where does the Master place his Mark on the Work?

A. Upon the S.E. Corner.

To know an Entred Apprentice, you must ask him whether he has been in the Kitchen, and he'll answer, Yes.

To know an Entred Fellow, you must ask whether he has been in the Hall, and he'll say, Yes.

To know a Mason in the Dark, you must say, there is no Darkness without Absence of Light; and he'll answer, There is no Light without Absence of Darkness.

To compliment a Brother Mason, you put your Right Hand to the right side of your Hat, and bring your Hat under your Chin; then the Brother will clap his Right Hand to the right side of his Hat, and bring it to the Left Side under his Heart.

To meet a Brother, you must make the first Step with your Right Foot, the Second with your Left; and at the third you must advance with your Right Heel to your Brother's Right Instep; then lay your Right Hand to his Left Wrist, and draw the other Hand from your Right Ear to the Left under your Chin; and then he put his Right Hand to his Left Side under his Heart.

To Gripe, is when you take a Brother by the Right Hand, and put your middle Finger to his Wrist, and he'll do so to you.

To know a Mason privately, you place your Right Heel to his Right Instep, put your Right Arm over his Left, and your left under his Right, and then make a Square with your middle Finger, from his Left Shoulder to the Middle of his Back, and so down to his Breeches.

When a Mason alights from his Horse, he lays the Stirrup over the Horse's Neck.

To call a Mason out from among company, you must cough three times, or knock against any thing three times.

A Mason, to show his Necessity, throws down a round Piece of Slate, and says, Can you change this Coin?

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